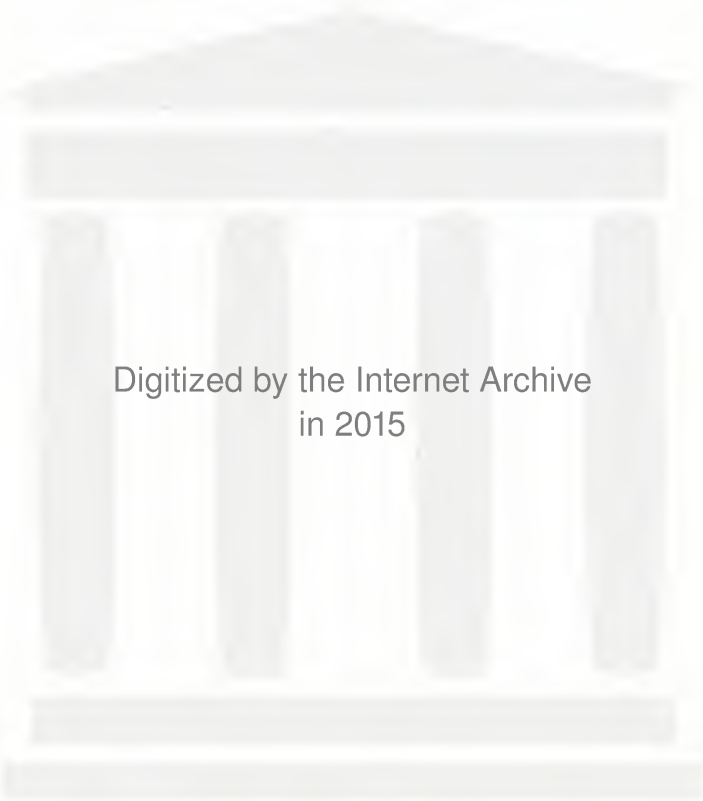
UNIVERSITY
OF FLORIDA
LIBRARIES


Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2015

https://archive.org/details/chroniclesofokla5619okla

VOLUME LVI NUMBER 1 SPRING 1978

U. OF T. LIBRARIES

the chronicles

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

OF OKLAHOMA

976.6
C557

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

Published quarterly by the Oklahoma Historical Society
Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73105

OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY OFFICERS

W. D. Finney, President Pro Tempore
Jack T. Conn, 2nd Vice President
Mrs. George L. Bowman, Treasurer

Jack Wettengel, Executive Director
Historical Building, Oklahoma City

OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY DIRECTORS

Term Expiring in January, 1978

W. D. Finney, Fort Cobb
Jordan Reaves, Oklahoma City
James D. Morrison, Durant
John E. Kirkpatrick, Oklahoma City
Q. B. Boydstun, Fort Gibson

Term Expiring in January, 1979

O. B. Campbell, Vinita
E. Moses Frye, Stillwater
Denzil Garrison, Bartlesville
Nolen Fuqua, Duncan
Jack T. Conn, Oklahoma City

Term Expiring in January, 1980

LeRoy H. Fischer, Stillwater
Bob Foresman, Tulsa
Miss Genevieve Seger, Geary
Mrs. Charles R. Nesbitt, Oklahoma City
Britton D. Tabor, Checotah

Term Expiring in January, 1981

Mrs. Mark R. Everett, Oklahoma City
H. Milt Phillips, Seminole
H. Merle Woods, El Reno
Odie B. Faulk, Stillwater
A. M. Gibson, Norman

Term Expiring in January, 1982

Joe W. Curtis, Pauls Valley
Mrs. George L. Bowman, Kingfisher
Harry L. Deupree, Oklahoma City
C. Forest Himes, Del City
Earl Boyd Pierce, Muskogee

Correspondence concerning contributions, books for reveiw, and all editorial matters should be sent to the Editor, Oklahoma Historical Society, Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73105.

The Chronicles of Oklahoma is published quarterly in spring, summer, fall, and winter by the Oklahoma Historical Society with its editorial office in the Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73105.

Annual membership in the Oklahoma Historical Society is $5.00 and each member receives *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* free. The subscription rate for institutions and libraries is $6.00 a year. Single numbers of *The Chronicles* are available for most years and the price will be supplied on request. In addition business memberships are available at $25.00 per year; corporate memberships with annual dues of $100.00; and life memberships priced at $100.00. Subscriptions, change of address, membership applications, orders for current issue of *The Chronicles*, and non-current back issues should be sent to the Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Responsibility for statement of facts or opinions made by contributors in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* is not assumed by the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Second-class postage paid at Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. Copyright 1978 by the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Publication Permit Number 110080.

the
chronicles
OF OKLAHOMA

VOLUME LVI *Spring, 1978* NUMBER 1

DR. KENNY A. FRANKS, *Director of Publications*
PUBLICATION COMMITTEE

Dr. Odie B. Faulk, Chairman
Dr. LeRoy H. Fischer
Denzil Garrison
Dr. A. M. Gibson
H. Milt Phillips

Associate Editor, Martha L. Mobley
Assistant Editor, Jennifer M. Burris

CONTENTS

Indian Pioneer Legacy: A Guide to Oklahoma Literature 3
By Arrell Morgan Gibson

Horsethief Canyon: Landmark on The Cimarron River 34
By LeRoy H. Fischer and Thomas D. Isern

The E. W. Marland Mansion and Estate 40
By Denise Browning

Special Collections Department at Northeastern Oklahoma State University 73
Helen Wheat and Brad Agnew

The Opening of Oklahoma: A Businessman's Frontier 85
By Norman L. Crockett

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS 96
Charles Thomson Prize Competition in History
Southwestern Studies Program
Central State University

BOOK REVIEWS 97
William A. Settle, Jr., *The Dawning: A New Day for the Southwest; A History of the Tulsa District, Corps of Engineers, 1939–1971*, by Odie B. Faulk
Steve Wilson, *Oklahoma Treasures and Treasure Tales*, by C. E. Metcalf
John Edward Weems, *Death Song: The Last of the Indian Wars*, by Thomas D. Isern
Theodore Roosevelt and Frederick Remington, *Ranch Life in the Far West*, by Cliff Trafzer

Donald J. Berthrong, *The Cheyenne and Arapaho Ordeal: Reservation and Agency Life in the Indian Territory, 1875–1907*, by T. Paul Wilson
Robert M. Utley, *Frontier Regulars: The United States Army and the Indian, 1866–1890*, by Glen Roberson
Eulalia Bourne, *Ranch Schoolteacher*, by Melvena Kay Thurman
Murray L. Wax and Robert W. Buchanan, eds., *Solving "The Indian Problem": The White Man's Burdensome Business*, by Bill Pennington
Carl P. Russell, *Firearms, Traps, & Tools of the Mountain Men*, by Donald W. Reeves
Savoie Lottinville, *The Rhetoric of History*, by Richard C. Rohrs
Charles W. Harris and Buck Rainey, eds., *The Cowboy: Six-Shooters, Songs, and Sex*, by James H. Thomas
Annie D. Tallent, *The Black Hills: or, The Last Hunting Ground of the Dakotahs*, by James McLaird
Robert P. Swierenga, *Beyond the Civil War Synthesis: Political Essays of the Civil War Era*, by James F. Morgan
Glenn Shirley, *Last of the Real Badmen: Henry Starr*, by Guy Logsdon
John Upton Terrell, *The Plains Apache*, by Richard N. Ellis

OKLAHOMA BOOKS 114
By Vicki Sullivan and Mac Harris

FOR THE RECORD 116
Minutes
Gift List
New Members

THE COVER Painted in gold leaf to resemble a mosaic, this dome, here in detail, is located on the landing above a carved marble stairway at the west end of the gallery of the E. W. Marland Mansion in Ponca City, Oklahoma.

INDIAN PIONEER LEGACY: A GUIDE TO OKLAHOMA LITERATURE

*By Arrell Morgan Gibson**

The drama and depth of the Sooner chronicle has attracted sustained literary attention which in turn has produced an immense number of provocative books and articles. While the Oklahoma experience has been edified in fiction—*Cimarron*, *Oklahoma Run* and *Grapes of Wrath*—and poetry—*The Prairie Speaks* and *Prairie Schooner*—most of the writings about Oklahoma have been non-fiction and in the field of history. The Oklahoma histories produced thus far fall into two classes, the general survey type often used as textbooks in elementary and secondary schools or colleges and universities and the "mug history." The format of the latter is distinguished from the general history in that it frequently is multi-volume and contains, besides a summary of state history, the portraits and biographies of subscribers.

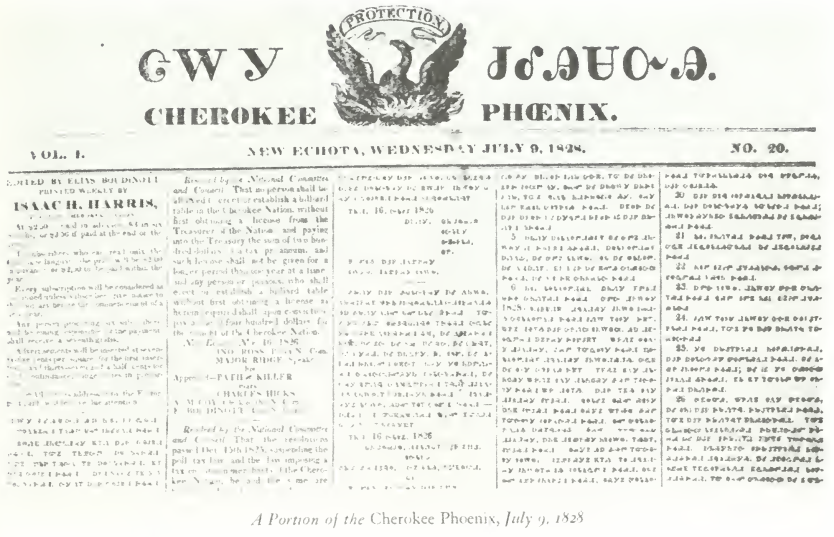
"Mug histories" have been produced for towns, counties and regions of the state, as well as for the entire state. They include C. B. Douglas, *The History of Tulsa* (Tulsa, 1921), three volumes; W. F. Kerr and Ina Gainer, *The Story of Oklahoma City* (Chicago, 1922), three volumes; John D. Benedict, *History of Muskogee and Northeast Oklahoma* (Chicago, 1922), three volumes; Roy J. Johnson (ed.) *Oklahoma History South of the Canadian* (Chicago, 1925), three volumes; Charles F. Barrett, *Oklahoma After Fifty Years: A History* (Oklahoma City, 1940), four volumes; Joseph B. Thoburn, *History of Oklahoma* (Chicago, 1916), five volumes; Joseph B. Thoburn and Muriel H. Wright, *Oklahoma: A History of the State and Its People* (New York, 1929), four volumes; and Gaston Litton, *History of Oklahoma* (New York, 1957), four volumes.

The first general history of Oklahoma was published at Topeka, Kansas, in 1890. Marion Tuttle Rock was the author of this pioneer work titled *Illustrated History of Oklahoma: The Land of the Fair God*. Subsequent similar publications have included Joseph B. Thoburn and Isaac M. Holcomb, *A History of Oklahoma* (San Francisco, 1908); L. J. Abbott, *History and Civics of Oklahoma* (Boston, 1910); A. Cantonwine, *Star Forty-six: Oklahoma* (Oklahoma City, 1911); Joseph B. Thoburn and Isaac M. Holcomb, *Oklahoma History and Government* (Oklahoma City, 1914); Frank S. Wyatt and George Rainey, *Brief History of Oklahoma* (Oklahoma City, 1919); J. F. Hatcher and T. T. Montgomery, *Elementary History of*

* The author is the George Lynn Cross Research Professor of History at the University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma.

Joseph B. Thoburn and Muriel H. Wright, two well known early Oklahoma historians

Oklahoma (Oklahoma City, 1924); James S. Buchanon and Edward E. Dale, *A History of Oklahoma* (Evanston, Illinois, 1924); Muriel H. Wright, *The Story of Oklahoma* (Oklahoma City, 1929); Victor E. Harlow, *Oklahoma: Its Origins and Development* (Oklahoma City, 1934); Lerona R. Morris, *Oklahoma Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow* (Guthrie, 1930); Grant Foreman, *History of Oklahoma* (Norman, 1942); Edward E. Dale and Morris L. Wardell, *History of Oklahoma* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1948); Edward E. Dale, *Oklahoma: The Story Of A State* (Evanston, Illinois, 1949); Edwin C. McReynolds, *Oklahoma: A History of the Sooner State* (Norman, 1954); Kaye Teall, *Black History in Oklahoma: A Resource Book* (Oklahoma City, 1971); Arthur L. Tolson, *The Black Oklahomans, A History: 1541–1972* (New Orleans, 1972); Muriel Wright, George Shirk and Kenny Franks, *Mark of Heritage* (Oklahoma City, 1976); LuCelia Wise, *Oklahoma's Blending of Many Cultures: Illustrated in Oklahoma Art* (Oklahoma City, 1974); Edwin C. McReynolds, Alice Marriott and Estelle Faulconer, *Oklahoma: The Story of Its Past and Present* (Norman, 1967); H. Wayne and Anne Hodges Morgan, *Oklahoma* (New York, 1973); and Arrell M. Gibson, *Oklahoma: A History of Five Centuries* (Norman, 1965).



CHEROKEE PHŒNIX.

VOL. I. NEW ECHOTA, WEDNESDAY JULY 9, 1828. NO. 20.

A Portion of the Cherokee Phoenix, *July 9, 1828*

The *Cherokee Phoenix*—provides an early history of Oklahoma's Cherokee Indian

The extent and diversity of historical literature which chronicles Oklahoma's evolution from a primitive frontier to a modern community are almost overwhelming at first glance. The most useful bibliographies and guides are Henry H. Evans, *Western Bibliographies* (San Francisco, 1957); Stanley Vestal (Walter Campbell), *The Book Lover's South West* (Norman, 1955); Jesse L. Rader, *South of Forty: From the Mississippi to the Rio Grande* (Norman, 1947); Ramon Adams, *Six Guns and Saddle Leather* (Norman, 1954) and by the same author, *Rampaging Herd: A Bibliography of Books and Pamphlets on Men and Events in the Cattle Industry* (Norman, 1959); Oscar O. Winther, *A Classified Bibliography of the Periodical Literature of the Trans-Mississippi West (1811–1957)* (Bloomington, 1964); Carolyn Foreman, *Oklahoma Imprints, 1835–1907: A History of Printing in Oklahoma Before Statehood* (Norman, 1936); Lester Hargrett, *A Bibliography of the Constitution and Laws of the American Indians* (Cambridge, 1947) and R. Palmer Howard, "A Historiography of the Five Civilized Tribes," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLVII (Autumn, 1969), pp. 312–331.

Periodical literature is a rich source of information on Sooner State history. The *Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature* indexes articles in national publications pertaining to Oklahoma. During territorial times a number of magazines were published in Oklahoma. These include *Sturm's*

Zebulon M. Pike left detailed accounts of his early expeditions into present day Oklahoma

Oklahoma Magazine, *McMaster's Oklahoma Magazine* and *Twin Territories Magazine* and comprise a productive source of historical information.

Harlow's Weekly, published between 1914 and 1942, is the mother lode of information on Oklahoma politics as well as social, economic and cultural developments for that period. A number of contemporary periodicals and journals are published locally and contain useful information. Selected articles from these sources enhance one's knowledge and appreciation of Oklahoma's unique history. They include *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, published quarterly by the Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City;

Major Ridge and his son John Ridge whose letters in *Cherokee Cavaliers* cover the most turbulent period in Cherokee history

The American Scene published quarterly by Gilcrease Institute and Museum, Tulsa; *Oklahoma Today*, published quarterly by Oklahoma State Government; the *Great Plains Journal*, published quarterly by the Museum of the Great Plains at Lawton; the Red River Valley Historical Review, published quarterly at Southeastern State University, Durant; and *Oklahoma Monthly*. The Oklahoma Historical Society staff has prepared and published a *Cumulative Index for the Chronicles of Oklahoma.*

Tribal publications provide an important source of information on Oklahoma before statehood. These include the *Choctaw Intelligencer*, *Chickasaw Intelligencer*, *Cherokee Phoenix* and *Cherokee Advocate*. Files of these newspapers are found at the University of Oklahoma Library, the Oklahoma Historical Society and the Gilcrease Museum. Also, the serious student of Sooner history will find that newspapers published in the border towns during the nineteenth century, notably at Fort Smith and Van Buren, Arkansas; Neosho and Southwest City, Missouri; and Wichita, Kansas, contain interesting and vital information on Indian Territory and Oklahoma Territory affairs and portray the evolution of the Sooner State.

Files of certain newspapers including the *Oklahoma Journal*, *Daily Okla-*

homan, *Oklahoma City Times*, *Tulsa World* and *Tulsa Tribune* provide information on contemporary affairs. The Oklahoma Historical Society has on hand the accumulated files of most newspapers published in the state, and the student will find the Society's card subject index useful in locating articles on specific subjects.

Special sources and guides indispensable for a full understanding of Oklahoma history include: the *Annual Reports* and *Bulletins* published by the Bureau of American Ethnology; the annual *Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*; the periodicals and published annual reports of missionary groups working among the Indian tribes of Oklahoma, including the *Missionary Herald*; the *Checklist of United States Public Documents, 1789–1909* (Washington, 1911) for assistance in locating published reports concerning both Indian Territory and Oklahoma Territory; and George Peter Murdock, *Ethnographic Bibliography of North America* (New Haven, 1960).

Oklahoma subjects have been popular with graduate students in the writing of theses and dissertations at Oklahoma institutions of higher learning and at colleges and universities across the nation. A catalog of theses and dissertations completed at the University of Oklahoma is available to the serious student of Sooner State history. Another helpful guide is Frederick J. Dockstader, *The American Indian in Graduate Studies* (New York, 1957) which lists all theses and dissertations completed on the subject of the American Indian as well as the college or university library where the student may obtain a particular work on interlibrary loan. Also see Vicki Dale Withers, "A Checklist of Theses and Dissertations Relating to Oklahoma History Completed at the University of Oklahoma and Oklahoma State University Through 1973" (Master of Arts thesis, Stillwater, 1974).

The bedrock material of Oklahoma history—the manuscripts, journals, diaries and personal papers of prominent men and women—is scattered in libraries and archives across the nation. Many useful collections of manuscript material are located in Oklahoma at the State Historical Society, Gilcrease Museum and the University of Oklahoma Library. Guides describing the content of pertinent collections and providing location include: The Library of Congress, *National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections* (Ann Arbor, Michigan and Hamden, Connecticut, 1962–1964), four volumes; Philip M. Hamer (ed.) *A Guide to Archives and Manuscripts in the United States* (New Haven, 1961); *Oklahoma: A Guide to Materials in the National Archives* (Norman, 1951) and Arrell M. Gibson, *A Guide to Regional Manuscript Collections* (Norman, 1960).

Oklahoma's progress in industrialization, urbanization and general mod-

ernization is documented in the *Oklahoma Business Bulletin* and *Oklahoma's Economy* produced by the University of Oklahoma Bureau of Business Research. The University of Oklahoma Press has published two instructive and helpful books which trace the evolution of the modern Sooner State—*Oklahoma: A Guide to the Sooner State* (Norman, 1941), and Kent Ruth (ed.), *Oklahoma: A Guide to the Sooner State* (Norman, 1957).

Walter Prescott Webb's classic, *The Great Plains* (Boston, 1931) describes the climate, plants and human adaptation to that extensive and distinctive geographic region which includes the western third of Oklahoma, and Carl F. Kraenzel provides through his *The Great Plains in Transition* (Norman, 1955) a recent interpretation of this region. The variety of Oklahoma's natural environment is depicted in Charles N. Gould, *Travels Through Oklahoma* (Oklahoma City, 1928) while information on Oklahoma place geography including origins of names for counties, towns, cities, mountains, rivers and other geographic features are found in Charles N. Gould, *Oklahoma Place Names* (Norman, 1933) and George Shirk, *Oklahoma Place Names* (Norman, 1974). Indispensable to the student for map work and place geography location is the *Historical Atlas of Oklahoma* (Norman, 1971) by John W. Morris and Edwin C. McReynolds. Also see John W. Morris (ed.), *Geography of Oklahoma* (Oklahoma City, 1977).

Oklahoma's rich prehistory has been the subject of extensive writing by archeologists and anthropologists. Authoritative articles, monographs and books on this phase of Sooner State development include David A. Barreis, "Preceramic Horizons of Northeastern Oklahoma," *Anthropology Paper No. 6* (University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1951); Museum of Anthropology, by the same author, "Two New Cultures in Delaware County, Oklahoma" *Oklahoma Prehistorian*, Vol. II (1939), pp. 2–5; Waldo R. Wedel, *Prehistoric Man on the Great Plains* (Norman, 1961); Robert E. Bell, "Recent Archeological Research in Oklahoma, 1946–1948," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVII (Autumn, 1949), pp. 303–312; and by the same author "Trade Materials at Spiro Mound as Indicated by Artifacts," *American Antiquity*, Vol. XII (1943), pp. 181–184. Henry W. Hamilton, "The Spiro Mound," *The Missouri Archeologist*, Vol. XIV (October, 1952) is the most extensive work in print on this famous Oklahoma archeological discovery. Despite the title, *Archeology of Eastern United States*, James B. Griffin (ed.) (Chicago, 1952) this work contains a section on Oklahoma prehistory by Kenneth G. Orr titled "Survey of Caddoan Area Archeology." Also see Robert E. Bell, *Oklahoma Archeology: An Annotated Bibliography* (Norman, 1969) and Arrell M. Gibson, "Pre-

history of Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLII (Spring, 1965).

Vast sources are available on the subject of Oklahoma's Indian heritage. The University of Oklahoma Press alone through its Civilization of the American Indian series has published nearly one-hundred fifty books on the various Indian tribes, many of these now resident in Oklahoma. Two basic sources of information on the tribes generally and of Oklahoma specifically are Frederick W. Hodge (ed.), *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico* (New York, 1959), two volumes and Muriel H. Wright, *A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma* (Norman, 1951). Angie Debo, *A History of the Indians of the United States* (Norman, 1970); United States Bureau of Indian Affairs, *Indians of Oklahoma* (Washington, 1965); Dale Van Every, *Disinherited: The Lost Birthright of the American Indian* (New York, 1966); Murray L. Wax, *Indian Americans: Unity and Diversity* (Englewood Cliffs, 1971) and Alvin Josephy, *The Indian Heritage of America* (New York, 1958) are useful survey works on the American Indian.

The effort by various European nations to establish colonial empires in the interior of North America, including Oklahoma, is described in the journals of explorers, traders' accounts, official reports and governmental documents. Spanish entradas began with Coronado. His journey across western Oklahoma in search of the fabled Gran Quivira is described in Herbert E. Bolton, *Spanish Borderlands* (New Haven, 1921); Grove A. Day, *Coronado's Quest: The Discovery of the Southwestern States* (Berkeley, 1940) and *The Coronado Expedition* (Washington, 1896) edited by George P. Winship. The late Professor Bolton provided additional information on Coronado in Oklahoma, including Andres de Campo's sojourn, in the very readable *Coronado—Knight of Pueblos and Plains* (New York, 1949).

Historians for years have written that De Soto's peregrinations in the lower Mississippi Valley included Oklahoma. This claim was laid to rest by publication of the definitive *Final Report of the United States De Soto Expedition Commission* (Washington, 1939) which indicated this conquistador's party came no farther west than present Little Rock, Arkansas.

Spanish administration and use of its northern borderland, including Oklahoma, is told in Bolton's two volume *Athanase de Mezieres and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier* (Cleveland, 1914); Woodbury Lowery, *Spanish Settlements within the Present Limits of the United States* (New York, 1959) and Alfred B. Thomas, *Forgotten Frontiers* (Norman, 1932).

The French period in Oklahoma history is documented by the scarce and out-of-print *Historical Collections of Louisiana* (New York, 1846–1853) in

five volumes edited by Benjamin French. Available sources include two articles by Anna Lewis: "French Interests and Activities in Oklahoma, 1718–1719," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. II (September, 1924), pp. 253–268 and "La Harpe's First Expedition in Oklahoma, 1718–1719," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. II (December, 1924), 331–349.

A Master's thesis by Elizabeth Ann Harper John, "Trade and Diplomacy of the Taovayas Indians on the Northern Frontier of New Spain, 1719–1835" (Norman, 1951) is the most detailed and informative work done thus far on the story of the French traders and their Wichita Indian mercenaries in the early economic utilization of Oklahoma resources. Also see her *Storms Brewed in Other Men's Worlds* (College Station, Texas, 1975). For information on military affairs on the Oklahoma border during French times see Henry E. Allen, "The Parilla Expedition to the Red River in 1759," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XVIII (July, 1939), pp. 51–71.

Oklahoma as a component of French Louisiana came under United States jurisdiction in 1803. For nearly a quarter of a century the future Sooner State developed much like other frontier regions of the United States—government agents exploring and mapping the area, trappers and traders, the "Long Knives," harvesting the natural bounty and emerging pioneer settlements—before it was designated as the Indian Territory. One of the most informative general books on this period is Grant Foreman, *Pioneer Days in the Early Southwest* (Cleveland, 1926). More detailed information on early explorations is found in *Expedition of Zebulon M. Pike*, edited by Elliott Coues, which contains the journal of Lieutenant James Wilkinson describing his exploration of northeast Oklahoma in 1806. A highly readable biography of Zebulon M. Pike is W. Eugene Hollon, *The Lost Pathfinder* (Norman, 1949). Also see *The Journals of Zebulon Montgomery Pike*, edited by Donald Jackson (Norman, 1966), two volumes.

Accounts of the Stephen H. Long and John R. Bell expeditions on the Arkansas and Canadian rivers are found in *Early Western Travels 1748–1865*, edited by Reuben G. Thwaites (Cleveland, 1905), volume sixteen. George Sibley's reconnaissance of Oklahoma's Great Salt Plains is described in "Major Sibley's Diary," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. V (June, 1927), pp. 196–211. One of the most interesting early Oklahoma adventures is found in Thomas Nuttall, *Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory* in *Early Western Travels 1748–1865*, edited by Reuben G. Thwaites (Cleveland, 1905), volume thirteen.

The trappers and traders in early Oklahoma are the subject of Elliott Coues (ed.), *The Journal of Jacob Fowler* (New York, 1898) and Walter B. Douglas (ed.), *Three Years Among the Mexicans and Indians* (St.

Louis, 1916) which chronicles the trading enterprises of Thomas James in Oklahoma. In Max Moorhead, *Commerce of the Prairies* (Norman, 1954) the reader will find descriptions of the early efforts to blaze a trail along the Canadian to Santa Fe. On early Oklahoma settlers, articles like Grant Foreman, "Nathaniel Pryor," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. VII (June, 1929), pp. 152–163 tell of efforts to settle Oklahoma before it was set aside as the Indian Territory. Also see Albert-Alexandre de Pourtales, *On the Western Tour with Washington Irving: The Journal and Letters of Count de Pourtales* edited by George F. Spaulding and translated by Seymour Feiler (Norman, 1968) and Joseph A. Stout, Jr. (ed.), *Frontier Adventurers, American Exploration in Oklahoma* (Oklahoma City, 1976).

Muriel H. Wright, "Early Navigation and Commerce along the Arkansas and Red Rivers in Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. VIII (March, 1930), pp. 65–88 explains the use made of Oklahoma waterways during these early times. Also see Wayne Morris, "Auguste Pierre Chouteau, Merchant Prince at Three Forks of the Arkansas," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLVIII (Summer, 1970), pp. 155–163.

The story of the evolution of Oklahoma as a resettlement zone for Indian tribes with the designation of Indian Territory is discussed from a legal viewpoint in Luther B. Hill, *A History of the State of Oklahoma* (Chicago, 1908) volume one. Basic information on Indian culture is found in Frederick W. Hodge (ed.), *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico* (New York, 1959), two volumes; Clark Wissler, *The American Indian* (New York, 1938) and James Adair, *The American Indian* (Johnson City, Tennessee, 1930).

Muriel H. Wright, *A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma* (Norman, 1951) is the most informative work on the sixty-seven tribes presently resident in the Sooner State. John W. Caughey, *McGillivray of the Creeks* (Norman, 1939); Ralph Gabriel, *Elias Boudinot, Cherokee, and His America* (Norman, 1941) and Grant Foreman, *Sequoyah* (Norman, 1938), although primarily biographies of Indian leaders, are especially instructive as studies in acculturation. Accounts of white-Indian relations which produced conflict and removal to Indian Territory include Mary Elizabeth Young, *Redskins, Ruffleshirts, and Rednecks: Indian Allotments in Alabama and Mississippi* (Norman, 1961); David H. Corkran, *The Cherokee Frontier: Conflict and Survival* (Norman, 1962) and Grant Foreman, *Indians and Pioneers* (New Haven, 1930).

Oklahoma's indigenous tribes have received the attention of the historian and anthropologist and are described in: John Joseph Mathews, *The Osages: Children of the Middle Waters* (Norman, 1961); Mildred Mayhall,

The Kiowas (Norman, 1962) and Ernest Wallace and E. Adamson Hoebel, *The Comanches, Lords of the South Plains* (Norman, 1952). John Methvin has written widely on the native peoples of western Oklahoma including *In The Limelight or History of Anadarko* (Anadarko, 1920).

The agony of removal of the Indian tribes from their ancestral homeland in the East to Indian Territory has appealed to authors from the beginning and continues to be a popular subject for research and writing. While the Five Civilized Tribes have received most attention in this regard, it should be borne in mind that those tribes north of the Ohio River in the Old Northwest Territory—the Delawares, Shawnees, Sacs, Foxes, Potawatomis and Kickapoos—received an identical type of pressure and harassment and suffered Trails of Tears of their own. Three books which tell the story of the removal of the tribes from the Old Northwest Territory are Grant Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians* (Chicago, 1946); Annie H. Abel, *Indian Consolidation West of the Mississippi*, in the *Report of the American Historical Association for 1906* and Muriel H. Wright, *Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma* (Norman, 1951).

James Mooney, *Myths of the Cherokees* (Washington, 1900) describes in vivid details derived from contemporary accounts the suffering of the Cherokees. On this subject also see Thomas V. Parker, *The Cherokee Indians* (New York, 1907); Marion L. Starkey, *The Cherokee Nation* (New York 1946); Gary E. Moulton, "Chief John Ross and Cherokee Removal Finances," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. LII (Fall, 1974), pp. 342–359; Gary C. Stein, "Indian Removal as Seen By European Travelers in America," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. LI (Winter, 1973–1974), pp. 399–410; C. W. West, *Fort Gibson, Gateway to the West* (Muskogee, 1974); Thurman Wilkins, *Cherokee Tragedy: The Story of the Ridge Family and of the Decimation of a People* (New York, 1970); R. Palmer Howard and Virginia E. Allen, "Stress and Death in the Settlement of Indian Territory," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. LIV (Fall, 1976), pp. 352–359; Michael Doran, "Population Statistics of Nineteenth Century Indian Territory," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. LIII (Winter, 1976–1977), pp. 492–515; Arrell M. Gibson (ed.), *America's Exiles: Indian Colonization in Oklahoma* (Oklahoma City, 1976); Arthur H. DeRosier, *The Removal of the Choctaw Indians* (Knoxville, 1970); Mary Whatley Clarke, *Chief Bowles and the Texas Cherokees* (Norman, 1971); Arrell M. Gibson, "America's Exiles," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. LIV (Spring, 1976), pp. 3–15; Linda Parker, "Indian Colonization in Northeastern and Central Indian Territory," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. LIV (Spring, 1976), pp. 104–129; Tom Holm, "Cherokee Colonization in Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. LIV (Spring, 1976), pp.

60–76; Louise Welsh, "Seminole Colonization in Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. LIV (Spring, 1976), pp. 77–103; Blue Clark, "Chickasaw Colonization in Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. LIV (Spring, 1976), pp. 44–59; H. Glenn Jordan, "Choctaw Colonization in Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. LIV (Spring, 1976), pp. 16–33; Carol Hampton, "Indian Colonization in the Cherokee Outlet and Western Indian Territory," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. LIV Spring, 1976), pp. 130–148; and William W. Savage, Jr., "Creek Colonization in Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. LIV (Spring, 1976), pp. 34–43. Grant Foreman, *Indian Removal* (Norman, 1932) and *The Five Civilized Tribes* (Norman, 1934) provide details on the removal story for all the Five Civilized Tribes. For information on the devastating Seminole War see Charles H. Coe, *Red Patriots: The Story of the Seminoles* (Cincinnati, 1898); John K. Hahon, *History of the Second Seminole War, 1835–1842* (Gainsville, 1974) and by the same author (ed.) *Reminiscences of the Second Seminole War* (Gainesville, 1966). Also see Gloria Jahoda, *The Trail of Tears* (New York, 1975).

The United States treaties which relocated the Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Creeks and Seminoles in Oklahoma are found in Charles J. Kappler (comp. and ed.), *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties* (Washington, 1904), three volumes; and Edward E. Dale and Jesse L. Rader (eds.), *Readings in Oklahoma History* (Evanston, Illinois, 1930). The neglect and cupidity of government removal contractors, which contributed so heavily to the high death rate on the Trail of Tears, are exposed in the published journal of Colonel Ethan Allen, *A Traveler in Indian Territory* (Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1930) edited by Grant Foreman. Accounts of travel in Oklahoma during this period are found in Washington Irving, *A Tour on the Prairies* (Norman, 1956); Charles Joseph Latrobe, *The Rambler in Oklahoma*. Muriel H. Wright and George Shirk (eds.), (Oklahoma City, 1955); Brad Agnew, "The Dodge, Leavenworth Expedition of 1834," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. LIII (Fall, 1975), pp. 376–396; also see Albert-Alexandre de Pourtales, *On the Western Tour with Washington Irving: The Journal and Letters of Count de Pourtales* edited by George F. Spaulding and translated by Seymour Feiler (Norman, 1968).

A work on the removal story, interesting because of its attempt to whitewash Georgia's harassment and persecution of the Cherokees is Wilson Lumpkin, *Removal of the Cherokee Indians from Georgia* (New York, 1907), two volumes. Also see Wilcomb Washburn (ed.), *The American Indian and the United States: A Documentary History* (New York, 1977), four volumes.

Until 1866, virtually all of present Oklahoma was divided among the Five Civilized Tribes. The story of the political development of these quasi-independent Indian republics is told in the writings of numerous historians. The Five Civilized Tribes community has received definitive treatment in such works as *The Seminoles* (Norman, 1957) by Edwin C. McReynolds; Grace S. Woodward's *The Cherokees* (Norman, 1963); Angie Debo's *The Rise and Fall of the Choctaw Republic* (Norman, 1934) and by the same author on the Creeks, *And Still the Waters Run* (Princeton, N.Y., 1941) and *The Road to Disappearance* (Norman, 1941) and Arrell M. Gibson, *The Chickasaws* (Norman, 1971). Also see Grant Foreman, *A History of Oklahoma* (Norman, 1942); James H. Malone, *The Chickasaw Nation* (Louisville, 1922); Muriel H. Wright, *Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma* (Norman, 1951); Grant Foreman, *Indian Removal* (Norman, 1932) and by the same author *The Five Civilized Tribes* (Norman, 1934).

The published constitutions and laws of the Five Civilized Tribes are extremely scarce and out-of-print but have been reproduced in *The Oklahoma Red Book* (Oklahoma City, 1912), two volumes. Selected portions are found also in Edward E. Dale and Jesse L. Rader (eds.), *Readings in Oklahoma History* (Evanston, Illinois, 1930). Also see Lester Hargrett, *Bibliography of the Constitutions and Laws of the American Indians* (Cambridge, 1977).

The intellectual development of the Five Civilized Tribes in the period immediately preceding the Civil War is documented in Angie Debo's *Rise and Fall of the Choctaw Republic* (Norman, 1934); Grace S. Woodward's *The Cherokees* (Norman, 1963); Edwin C. McReynolds' *The Seminoles* (Norman, 1957); Arrell M. Gibson's *The Chickasaws* (Norman, 1971) and Angie Debo's *The Road to Disappearance* (Norman, 1941). The most famous of the educators and missionaries working among the Five Civilized Tribes was Samuel Austin Worcester. His life is reported in *Cherokee Messenger* (Norman, 1936) by Althea Bass. Her *The Story of Tullahassee* (Oklahoma City, 1960) records educational advancement among the Creeks.

Accounts by missionaries working among the Five Civilized Tribes provide a candid and interesting insight into the problems of developing schools and churches on the Oklahoma frontier. These include Henry C. Benson, *Life Among the Choctaw Indians* (Cincinnati, 1860); E. B. Cushman, *History of the Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Natchez Indians* (Greenville, Texas, 1899); O. B. Campbell, *Mission to the Cherokees* (Oklahoma City, 1973); Keith L. Bryant," The Choctaw Nation in 1843: A Missionary View," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLIV (Autumn, 1966), pp.

319–321 and William G. McLoughlin, "Indian Slaveholders and Presbyterian Missionaries, 1837–1861," *Church History*, Vol. XLII (December, 1973), pp. 535–551.

Work in the Indian languages, translation and publication are told in Carolyn Foreman, *Park Hill* (Muskogee, 1948) and Ralph Gabriel, *Elias Boudinot, Cherokee, and His America* (Norman, 1941). *Park Hill* records the publication program of Samuel A. Worcester at the famous Park Hill Press. *Oklahoma Imprints* (Norman, 1936), also by Carolyn Foreman, brings to light the pre-Civil War publications produced on presses in the Indian Nations. Lester Hargrett's scholarly *Bibliography of the Constitutions and Laws of the American Indians* (Cambridge, 1947) lists and annotates the publications of the Five Civilized Tribes, including their constitutions and laws. Also see Jack Frederick Kilpatrick and Anna Gritts (trans. and eds.), *The Shadow of Sequoyah: Social Documents of the Cherokees, 1862–1964.* (Norman, 1965); John Philip Reid, *A Law of Blood: The Primitive Law of the Cherokee* (New York, 1970) and Rennard Strickland, *Fire and the Spirits, Cherokee Law From Clan To Court* (Norman, 1975).

Between 1830 and 1861 the citizens of Oklahoma's five Indian republics showed remarkable initiative and energy in changing this frontier wilderness to settled communities and prosperous farms, ranches and plantations. The economic advancement of the Five Civilized Tribes is told in Grant Foreman, *Advancing the Frontier* (Norman, 1933) and Joseph H. Thoburn and Muriel H. Wright, *Oklahoma: A History of the State and Its People* (New York, 1929), volumes one and two.

Slavery was widely practiced in Oklahoma during this period. The leading works on this institution among the Five Civilized Tribes include Annie H. Abel, *The American Indian as a Slave Holder and Secessionist* (Cleveland, 1915); Grant Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes* (Norman, 1934); J. B. Davis, "Slavery in the Cherokee Nation," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XI (December, 1933), pp. 1056–1072 and William B. Morrison, "The Choctaw Mission," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. IV (June, 1926), pp. 166–183.

Oklahoma in the ante-bellum period was tied to the leading economic and political centers of the nation by an extensive system of communications. One of the most heavily traveled arteries in Indian Territory was the Texas Road. See Grant Foreman, *Down the Texas Road* (Norman, 1954) for a description of this famous north-south highway. Thousands of gold seekers crossed Oklahoma along the California Road on their way to the Sacramento. Grant Foreman, *Marcy and the Gold Seekers* (Norman, 1939) documents this movement. For exploration and mapping of Okla-

homa see W. Eugene Hollon, *Beyond the Cross Timbers: The Travels of Randolph B. Marcy* (Norman, 1955). Muriel H. Wright, "Early Navigation and Commerce Along the Arkansas and Red Rivers of Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. VIII (March, 1930), pp. 65–88 describes commercial traffic on Indian Territory's waterways, and the over land mail story is told in Roscoe Conkling, *The Butterfield Overland Mail* (Glendale, 1947), three volumes; and Muriel H. Wright, "The Butterfield Overland Mail One Hundred Years Ago," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXV (Spring, 1957), pp. 55–69.

Extended control by the federal government over ante-bellum Oklahoma produced some peculiar relationships and interesting history. Leading sources on this phase of the Sooner story include Katharine C. Turner, *Red Men Calling on the Great White Father* (Norman, 1951); Morris L. Wardell, *A Political History of the Cherokee Nation* (Norman, 1938); Grant Foreman, *Advancing the Frontier* (Norman, 1933); Angie Debo, *Rise and Fall of the Choctaw Republic* (Norman, 1934); Grace S. Woodward, *The Cherokees* (Norman, 1963); Edwin C. McReynolds, *The Seminoles* (Norman, 1957); and Angie Debo, *The Road to Disappearance* (Norman, 1941). Also see W. David Baird, *Peter Pitchlynn: Chief of the Choctaws* (Norman, 1972); Cheryl Haun Morris, "Choctaw and Chickasaw Indian Agents, 1831–1874," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. L (Winter, 1972), pp. 415–436 and Kenny Franks, "Political Intrigue in the Cherokee Nation," *Journal of the West*, Vol. XIII (October, 1974), pp. 17–25.

Oklahoma's role as a military frontier for the United States is related in William B. Morrison, *Military Posts and Camps in Oklahoma* (Oklahoma City, 1936); Arrell M. Gibson and Edwin Bearss, *Fort Smith, Little Gibraltar on the Arkansas* (Norman, 1969); R. Glisan, *Journal of Army Life* (San Francisco, 1874); Grant Foreman, *Fort Gibson* (Norman, 1936); Colonel Ethan Allen Hitchcock, *A Traveler in Indian Territory*, edited by Grant Foreman (Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1930) and Carol Davis and LeRoy Fischer, "Dragoon Life in Indian Territory," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLVIII (Spring, 1970), pp. 2–24. For additional reading on the many military posts in Oklahoma see the *Cumulative Index to Chronicles of Oklahoma* for articles on specific army installations.

In 1855 the federal government leased that land between the ninety-eighth and one hundredth meridians from the Choctaws and Chickasaws and established the Leased District, a reservation home for the tribes on Oklahoma's western border. Sources on activities in the Leased District include Walter P. Webb, *The Texas Rangers* (Cambridge, 1935); Muriel H. Wright, "A History of Fort Cobb," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXXIV (Spring, 1956), pp. 53–71; Nelson Lee *Three Years Among the*

Angie Debo, one of Oklahoma's most respected Indian historians. Photograph courtesy of *Oklahoma Monthly*

Comanches (Norman, 1957); Arrell M. Gibson, *The Kickapoos, Lords of the Middle Border* (Norman, 1963) and Wilbur S. Nye, "The Battle of Wichita Village," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XV (June, 1937), pp. 226–228.

Military historians have shown their fascination with the story of the Civil War in Indian Territory by their prodigious output of articles and books on the subject. Certainly the basic source continues to be the old but unsurpassed Annie H. Abel, *The American Indian as a Participant in the Civil War* (Cleveland, 1919). Also important are LeRoy Fischer, *The Civil War in Indian Territory* (Los Angeles, 1974) and Muriel H. Wright, Civil War Sites in Oklahoma (Oklahoma City, 1967).

Wiley Britton, a Union soldier who spent most of his military service in Indian Territory has produced three books detailing his experiences: *The Civil War on the Border* (New York, 1899); *The Union Brigade in the Civil War* (Kansas City, 1922); and *The Aftermath of the Civil War* (Kansas City, 1924).

Accounts of military operations in Oklahoma are sprinkled throughout the volumes of *The United States Official Records: War of Rebellion.* In this documentary set most of series one, volume three is devoted to the Civil War in Oklahoma.

Biographies of leading figures of this period include Rachel C. Eaton, *John Ross and the Cherokee Indians* (Menasha, Wisconsin, 1914); Frank Cunningham, *General Stand Watie's Confederate Indians* (San Antonio, 1959). Additional information on Stand Watie, the Confederate Cherokee general, is found in Edward E. Dale and Gaston Litton (eds.), *Cherokee Cavaliers* (Norman, 1939) and Mabel W. Anderson, *Life of General Stand Watie* (Pryor, 1915).

A bizarre phase of the struggle in Indian Territory was its devastatingly destructive guerrilla warfare. Jay Monaghan, *Civil War on the Western Border* (Boston, 1955) and William E. Connelley, *Quantrill and the Border Wars* (Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1910) are the leading works treating this activity.

The Civil War in Indian Territory has been the subject of many articles in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma.* These include Muriel H. Wright, "Colonel Cooper's Civil War Report on the Battle of Round Mountain, 1861," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVII (Summer, 1949), pp. 187–206; LeRoy Fischer and Kenny Franks, "Confederate Victory at Chusto-Talasah," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLIX (Winter, 1971–1972), pp. 452–476; Kenny Franks, "The Implementation of the Confederate Treaties With the Five Civilized Tribes," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. LI (Spring, 1973), pp. 21–33 and T. Paul Wilson, "Delegates of the

Five Civilized Tribes to the Confederate Congress," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. LIII (Fall, 1975), pp. 353–366.

The Reconstruction formula for Oklahoma was set forth by federal commissioners at the Fort Smith Council during September, 1865. The proceedings are described in Annie H. Abel, *The American Indian Under Reconstruction* (Cleveland, 1925) and "The Cherokee Question," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. II (June, 1924), pp. 141–242. The Reconstruction treaties negotiated in 1866 by the federal government with the Five Civilized Tribes are found in Edward E. Dale and Jesse L. Rader (eds.), *Readings in Oklahoma History* (Evanston, Illinois, 1930). Tribal response to Reconstruction, especially vigilante action, is reported in Joseph B. Thoburn, *History of Oklahoma* (Chicago, 1916), volume one. Also see Ohland Morton, "Reconstruction in the Creek Nation," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. IX (June, 1931), pp. 171–179; Hanna Warren, "Reconstruction in the Cherokee Nation," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLV (Spring, 1967), pp. 180–189; O. H. Platt, "Problems in the Indian Territory," *North American Review*, Vol. CCLVIII (Winter, 1973), pp. 87–89; Thomas F. Andrews, "Freedmen in Indian Territory: A Post-Civil War Dilemma," *Journal of the West*, Vol. IV (July, 1965), pp. 367–376 and Lewis Kensall, "Reconstruction in the Choctaw Nation," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLVII (Summer, 1969), pp. 138–153.

Lawlessness in the Indian Territory after the Civil War is described in Burton Rascoe, *Belle Starr, The Bandit Queen* (New York, 1941); Benjamin A. Botkin, *Treasury of Western Folklore* (New York, 1951) and Richard A. Graves, *Oklahoma Outlaws* (Oklahoma City, 1915). The work of Isaac C. Parker, the "Hanging Judge" who presided over the federal court at Fort Smith in taming the Indian Territory has been the subject of many books and articles. These include Glenn Shirley, *Law West of Fort Smith* (New York, 1956); Homer Croy, *He Hanged Them High* (New York, 1952); Fred H. Harrington, *Hanging Judge* (Caldwell, Idaho, 1951); S. W. Harmon, *Hell on the Border* (Fort Smith, 1898); W. F. Jones, *The Experiences of a Deputy U.S. Marshal in the Indian Territory* (Tulsa, 1937); Bailey C. Hanes, *Bill Doolin: Outlaw O.T.* (Norman, 1968); C. G. McKennon, *Iron Men, A Saga of the Deputy United States Marshals Who Rode the Indian Territory* (Garden City, 1967) and "Negro Marshals in the Indian Territory," by Daniel F. Littlefield and Lonnie E. Underhill, *Journal of Negro History*, Vol. LVI (April, 1971), pp. 77–87.

The recovery of the Five Civilized Tribes from the ruin of war is told in W. P. Adair, "Indian Territory in 1878," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. IV (September, 1926), pp. 255–274; Angie Debo, "Education in the

Choctaw Country after the Civil War," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. X (September, 1932), pp. 383–391; R. M. Johnson (ed.), *Oklahoma South of the Canadian* (Chicago, 1925), volume one; Gaston Litton, *History of Oklahoma* (New York, 1957), volume one and O. B. Campbell, *Vinita, I.T., The Story of a Frontier Town of the Cherokee Nation, 1871–1907 1907* (Oklahoma City, 1969).

The Federal government relocated tribes from Kansas and other Western states and territories on land taken from the Five Civilized by the Reconstruction Treaties of 1866. While many of the immigrant tribes settled peacefully on their new reservation homes in Oklahoma, some had to be subdued by military force. One of the most readable books on the pacification of the Western tribes is William H. Leckie, *The Military Conquest of the Southern Plains* (Norman, 1963). Also see his *The Buffalo Soldiers: A Narrative of the Negro Cavalry in the West* (Norman, 1967). Others include Donald J. Berthrong, *The Southern Cheyennes* (Norman, 1963); Mildred Mayhall, *The Kiowas* (Norman, 1962); Arrell M. Gibson, *The Kickapoos: Lords of the Middle Border* (Norman, 1963); William B. Morrison, *Military Posts and Camps in Oklahoma* (Oklahoma City, 1936); Wilbur S. Nye, *Bad Medicine and Good: Tales of the Kiowas* (Norman, 1937); Stanley Vestal, *Warpath and Council Fire* (New York, 1948); Alice Marriott, *The Ten Grandmothers* (Norman, 1945); Ernest Wallace and E. Adamson Hoebel, *The Comanches: Lords of the South Plains* (Norman, 1979); Douglas C. Jones, *The Treaty of Medicine Lodge* (Norman, 1966); Wilbur S. Nye, *Plains Indian Raiders: The Final Phases of Warfare from the Arkansas to the Red River* (Norman, 1968); Robert C. Carriker, *Fort Supply, Indian Territory: Frontier Outpost on the Plains* (Norman, 1970); Marvin Kroeker, *Great Plains Command: William B. Hazen in the Frontier West* (Norman, 1976) and Robert Frazer, *Forts of the West* (Norman, 1965).

Additional sources on tribes resettled in Oklahoma after 1865 include William T. Hagan, *The Sac and Fox Indians* (Norman, 1958); John J. Mathews, *The Osages: Children of the Middle Waters* (Norman, 1961); Frederick W. Hodge (ed.), *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico* (New York, 1959), two volumes; Thomas Wildcat Alford, *Civilization* (Norman, 1936); Muriel H. Wright, *A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma* (Norman, 1951); Berlin B. Chapman, *The Otoes and Missourias: A Study of Indian Removal and the Legal Aftermath* (Oklahoma City, 1965); James H. Howard, *The Ponca Tribe*, Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 195 (Washington, 1965); George E. Hyde, *The Pawnee Indians* (Norman, 1974); William E. Unrau, *The Kansa Indians: A History of the Wind People*, 1673–1873 (Norman, 1971); Virginia C.

Trenholm, *The Arapahoes, Our People* (Norman, 1970) and C. A. Weslager, *The Delaware Indians: A History* (New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1972).

An excellent fresh study of reservation life is Donald Berthrong, *The Cheyenne and Arapaho Ordeal: Reservation and Agency Life in Indian Territory, 1875–1907* (Norman, 1976). Also see Althea Bass, *The Arapaho Way: A Memoir of Indian Boyhood* (New York, 1966); John H. Seger, *Early Days Among the Cheyenne and Arapaho Indians*, edited by Stanley Vestal (Norman, 1934); William T. Hagan, *United States-Comanche Relations: The Reservation Years* (New Haven, 1976) and Francis Paul Prucha, *American Indian Policy in Crisis: Christian Reformers and the Indian, 1865–1900* (Norman, 1976).

Two books reporting President Grant's peace policy among the tribes of Oklahoma in the post-Civil War period are Thomas C. Battey *The Life and Adventures of a Quaker Among the Indians* (Boston, 1875) and Laurie Tatum, *Our Red Brothers* (Philadelphia, 1889). On this same subject see Martha Buntin, "The Quaker Agents," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. X (June, 1932), pp. 204–218.

Oklahoma's surging economic recovery following the ruin of war and Reconstruction was made possible in large measure by the extension of railroads across the Indian nations. The leading sources on railroad building in this region are V. V. Masterson, *The Katy Railroad and the Last Frontier* (Norman, 1953); Grant Foreman, *History of Oklahoma* (Norman, 1942); Edwin C. McReynolds, *Oklahoma: A History of the Sooner State* (Norman, 1954); James L. Allhands, "Construction of the Frisco Railroad Line in Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. III (September, 1925), pp. 229–239; John D. Benedict, *History of Muskogee and Northeast Oklahoma* (Chicago, 1922), three volumes; Kent Ruth (ed.), *Oklahoma: A Guide to the Sooner State* (Norman, 1957); J. F. Holden, "The Story of an Adventure in Railroad Building," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XI (March, 1933), pp. 637–666; Walter A. Johnson, "Brief History of the Missouri, Kansas-Texas Railroad Lines," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXIV (September, 1946), pp. 340–358; Fred Floyd, "The Struggle for Railroads in the Oklahoma Panhandle," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. LIV (Winter, 1976–1977), pp. 489–518; H. Craig Miner, *The Corporation and the Indian: Tribal Sovereignty and Industrial Civilization in Indian Territory, 1865–1907* (Columbia, 1976) and Donovan Hofsommer (ed.), *Railroads in Oklahoma* (Oklahoma City, 1977).

Mining development in the Indian nations is described in Paul Nesbitt, "J. J. McAlester," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XI (June, 1933), pp. 758–764; Frederick L. Ryan, *The Rehabilitation of Oklahoma Coal Mining*

Communities (Norman, 1935); Samuel Weidman, *The Miami Picher Zinc-Lead District* (Norman, 1932); Arrell M. Gibson, "A Social History of the Tri-State District," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXCII (August, 1959), pp. 182–195 and by the same author, "Leasing of Quapaw Mineral Lands," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XVXXXV (October, 1957), pp. 338–347. Also see Arrell M. Gibson, *Wilderness Bonanza: The Tri-State District of Missouri, Kansas, and Oklahoma* (Norman, 1972).

Although the big thrust in Oklahoma's petroleum development came after statehood, there were some pioneer efforts in the Indian Territory. These are described in S. B. Bayne, *Derricks of Destiny* (New York, 1924); Wilbur F. Cloud, *Petroleum Production* (Norman, 1937); Muriel H. Wright, "First Oklahoma Oil Was Produced in 1859," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. IV (December, 1926), pp. 322–328 and Angie Debo, *Tulsa: From Creek Town to Oil Capital* (Norman, 1943).

One of Oklahoma's shortest lived post-Civil War industries was hide hunting. The destruction of the Great Plains bison herds is told in Wayne Gard, *The Great Buffalo Hunt* (New York, 1959); James H. Cook, *Fifty Years on the Old Frontier* (New Haven, 1923); Olive K. Dixon, *The Life of Billy Dixon* (Dallas, 1927) and Carl C. Rister, *The Southwestern Frontier* (Cleveland, 1928).

Ranching, one of Oklahoma's oldest industries, continues as a leading enterprise in the Sooner State. Its development is told in Wayne Gard, *The Chisholm Trail* (Norman, 1954); Sam P. Ridings, *The Chisholm Trail* (Guthrie, 1936); Neil Johnson, *The Chickasaw Rancher* edited by Arrell M. Gibson (Stillwater, 1961); Edward E. Dale, *The Range Cattle Industry* (Norman, 1930); and by the same author, *Cow Country* (Norman, 1930) and Evan G. Barnard, *A Rider in the Cherokee Strip* (Boston, 1936). Among the many relevant articles on this subject are Ralph H. Records, "Range Riding in Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XX (June, 1942), pp. 159–171; Edward E. Dale, "Cherokee Strip Live Stock Association," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. V (March, 1927), pp. 58–73; Norman A. Graebner, "Cattle Ranching in Eastern Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXI (September, 1943), pp. 300–311; Arrell M. Gibson, "The Cowboy in Indian Territory," in Charles W. Harris and Buck Rainey (eds.), *The Cowboy: Six-Shooters, Songs, and Sex* (Norman, 1976); R. M. Burrill, "Establishment of Ranching on the Osage Indian Reservation," *Geographical Review*, Vol. LXII (October, 1972), pp. 542–543; Louis Maynard, *Oklahoma Panhandle, A History and Story of No-Man's Land* (Boise City, Oklahoma, 1972); Charles Francis Colcord, *Autobiography of Charles Francis Colcord* (Tulsa, 1970) and William W. Savage, Jr., *The Cherokee Strip Live Stock Association* (Columbia, 1973).

It required ten years of Boomer promotion, agitation and pressure before Congress relented and opened the Indian Territory to the homesteader. Boomer activity is described in Carl C. Rister, *Land Hunger: David L. Payne and the Boomers* (Norman, 1942); Hamilton S. Wicks, "The Opening of Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. IV (June, 1926), pp. 129–142; Dan W. Peery, "Captain David L. Payne," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XIII (December, 1935), pp. 438–456; and by the same author, "Colonel Crocker and the Boomer Movement," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XIII (September, 1935), pp. 273–296 and George Rainey, *The Cherokee Strip* (Guthrie, 1933).

For the growth of Oklahoma Territory after the opening of the Unassigned Lands in 1889 see the extensive writings on this subject by Dr. Berlin B. Chapman: *The Claim of Texas to Greer County* (Oklahoma City, 1950); *Oklahoma City, from Public Land to Private Property* (Oklahoma City, 1960); *The Founding of Stillwater* (Oklahoma City, 1948) and "Dissolution of the Wichita Reservation," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXII (July, 1944), pp. 192–209. Other sources on this subject include Edward E. Dale and Morris L. Wardell, *A History of Oklahoma* (New York, 1948); George Rainey, *No-Man's Land* (Norman, 1948); Emma A. Estill, "The Great Lottery," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. IX (December, 1931), pp. 365–381; Roscoe E. Harper, "Homesteading in Northwestern Oklahoma Territory," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XVI (September, 1938), pp. 326–336; G. E. Lemon, "Reminiscences of Pioneer Days in the Cherokee Strip," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXII (December, 1944), pp. 435–457; Joe B. Milam, "The Opening of the Cherokee Outlet," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. IX (September, 1931), pp. 268–286, 454–475; Orrin U. Burright, *The Sun Rides High: Pioneering Days in Oklahoma, Kansas, and Missouri* (Wichita Falls, Texas, 1975); Irene Brown Bartel, *No Drums or Thunder* (San Antonio, 1970); Angie Debo, *Prairie City: The Story of an American Community* (Staten Island, New York, 1944); Sidney Thiel, *The Oklahoma Land Rush* (New York, 1973); Guy P. Webb, *History of Grant County, Oklahoma, 1811 to 1970* (North Newton, Kansas, 1971); Margaret Withers Teague, *History of Washington County and Surrounding Area* (Bartlesville, 1967–1968); Roy P. Stewart, *Born Grown, An Oklahoma City History* (Oklahoma City, 1974); Robert E. Cunningham, *Stillwater, Where Oklahoma Began* (Stillwater, 1969); Cecil Chesser, *A History of Jackson County* (Altus, 1971); Daniel F. Littlefield, Jr., and Lonnie E. Underhill, "Black Dreams and Free Homes: The Oklahoma Territory, 1891–1894," *Phylon*, Vol. XXXIV (December, 1973), pp. 342–357; W. Eugene Hollon, "Rushing for Land: Oklahoma, 1889," *American West*, Vol. III (Fall, 1966), pp.

Grant and Carolyn Thomas Foreman, two of Eastern Oklahoma's best known historians

4–15; Muriel H. Wright, "Captain W. Whipple's Notebook: The Week of the Run into Oklahoma in 1889," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLVIII (Summer, 1970), pp. 146–154 and Doug Hale, "European Immigrants in Oklahoma, "*The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. LIII (Summer, 1975), pp. 179–203.

The rise of political parties and administration of Oklahoma Territory are reported in Mrs. Thompson B. Ferguson, *They Carried the Torch* (Kansas City, 1937); Dora Ann Stewart, *Government and Development of Oklahoma Territory* (Oklahoma City, 1933); Dan W. Peery (ed.), "Autobiography of Governor A. J. Seay," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XVII (March, 1939), pp. 35–47; by the same author "George W. Steele, First Governor of the Territory of Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XII (December, 1934), pp. 383–392 and John B. Meserve, "The Governors of Oklahoma Territory," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XX (September, 1942), pp. 218–227. Additional information on this

subject is found in John Alley, *City Beginnings in Oklahoma Territory* (Norman, 1939); Edward E. Dale and Jesse L. Rader (eds.), *Readings in Oklahoma History* (Evanston, Illinois, 1930); Gerald Forbes, *Guthrie: Oklahoma's First Capital* (Norman, 1938); Roy Gittinger, *Formation of the State of Oklahoma* (Norman, 1939); Charles N. Gould, *Oklahoma Place Names* (Norman, 1933); Terry Paul Wilson, "The Demise of Populism in Oklahoma Territory," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLIII (Autumn, 1965), pp. 265–274 and LeRoy Fischer (ed.), *Territorial Governors of Oklahoma* (Oklahoma City, 1975).

Pioneer life on the Oklahoma frontier has attracted several prominent fiction writers. Two of the better known works in fiction on Oklahoma during territorial times are Edna Ferber, *Cimarron* (New York, 1929) and the excellent *Oklahoma Run* by Alberta Constant (New York, 1955).

Before Oklahoma could be admitted to the Union, the system of landholding in the Indian Territory and certain other changes had to be made. The story of these changes is told in Grant Foreman, *History of Oklahoma* (Norman, 1942); Loren N. Brown, "The Dawes Commission," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. IX (March, 1931), pp. 71–105; and by the same author, "The Establishment of the Dawes Commission for Indian Territory," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XVIII (June, 1940), pp. 171–181; Robert L. Williams, "Tams Bixby," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XIX (September, 1941), pp. 205–212; Roy Gittinger, *Formation of the State of Oklahoma* (Norman, 1939); Victor E. Harlow, *Oklahoma: Its Origins and Development* (Oklahoma City, 1934) and Norman A. Graebner, "The Public Land Policy of the Five Civilized Tribes," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXIII (July, 1945), pp. 107–118.

Both single and double statehood were proposed for Oklahoma. Details of these plans for admitting Oklahoma Territory and Indian Territory to the Union are found in Amos D. Maxwell, *The Sequoyah Constitutional Convention* (Boston, 1953); C. M. Allen, *The Sequoyah Movement* (Oklahoma City, 1925); Thomas H. Doyle, "Single versus Double Statehood," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. V (March, 1927), pp. 18–41, 117–148 and Grant Foreman, "Oklahoma and Indian Territory," *The Outlook*, Vol. LXXXII (October 5, 1907), pp. 550–552.

The writing of the Oklahoma constitution and consummation of statehood is best told in Irvin Hurst, *The Forty-Sixth Star: A History of Oklahoma's Constitutional Convention and Early Statehood* (Oklahoma City, 1957) and Gerald Forbes, *Guthrie: Oklahoma's First Capital* (Norman, 1938). Also see Albert H. Ellis, *A History of the Constitutional Convention of the State of Oklahoma* (Muskogee, 1923); William H. Murray, "The Constitutional Convention," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. IX (June,

Walter S. Campbell, one of Oklahoma's literary greats

1931), pp. 126–138; *Journal of the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention* (Muskogee, 1907); George O. Carney, "Oklahoma's Territorial Delegates and Progressivism, 1901–1907," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. LII (Spring, 1974), pp. 38–51; James R. Wright, "The Assiduous Wedge: Woman Suffrage and the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention," *The*

Chronicles of Oklahoma, Vol. LI (Winter, 1973–1974), pp. 421–443; and Blue Clark, "Delegates to the Constitutional Convention," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLVIII (Winter, 1970–1971), pp. 400–415.

No comprehensive account of Sooner politics since statehood is available. Several political leaders have been the subjects of published biographical and autobiographical studies and from these the reader can gain at least a piece-meal look at Oklahoma politics in action. These studies include Oscar P. Fowler, *The Haskell Regime: The Intimate Life of Charles Nathaniel Haskell* (Oklahoma City, 1933); Gordon Hines, *Alfalfa Bill* (Oklahoma City, 1932); William H. Murray, *Memoirs of Governor Murray* (Boston, 1945), three volumes; Oscar Ameringer, *If You Don't Weaken* (New York, 1940); Edward E. Dale and James D. Morrison, *Pioneer Judge: The Life of Robert L. Williams* (Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1954); and Keith L. Bryant, *Alfalfa Bill Murray* (Norman, 1968).

Additional sources containing material on early statehood politics are Frederick F. Blachly and Miriam E. Oatman, *The Government of Oklahoma* (Oklahoma City, 1924); John S. Brooks, *First Administration of Oklahoma* (Oklahoma City, 1908); *Oklahoma Almanac* (Oklahoma City, 1908) and *Directory of the State of Oklahoma* compiled and published by the State Election Board, and containing data on national, state and local elections.

The most productive source of political information for the early statehood period is *Harlow's Weekly* (Oklahoma City). Edward E. Dale and Jesse L. Rader (eds.), *Readings in Oklahoma History* (Evanston, Illinois, 1930) contains documentary material on early political administrations. Also see Paul Nesbitt, "Haskell Tells of Two Conventions," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XIV (June, 1936), pp. 189–217 and Jimmie L. Franklin, "Prohibition in Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLIII (June, 1965), pp. 19–34. Franklin's article contains an excellent summary of Sooner prohibition during the Haskell administation. Also see Jimmie Franklin, *Born Sober, Prohibition in Oklahoma, 1907–1959* (Norman, 1971). Orben Casey, "Governor Lee Cruce and Law Enforcement, 1911–1915," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. LII (Winter, 1974–1975), pp. 456–475 is a superb study of this enigmatic chief executive. And Sherry Warrick, "Radical Labor in Oklahoma: The Working Class Union," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. LII (Summer, 1974), pp. 180–195; Howard L. Meredith, "Agrarian Socialism and the Negro in Oklahoma, 1900–1918," *Labor History*, Vol. XI (Summer, 1970), pp. 277–284 and by the same author, "The Agrarian Reform Press in Oklahoma, 1889–1922," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. L (Spring, 1972), pp. 82–94 are outstanding sketches of Sooner radicalism. Also see Keith L. Bryant, Jr., "Labor in

Politics: The Oklahoma State Federation of Labor During the Age of Reform," *Labor History*, Vol. XI (Summer, 1970), pp. 259–276 and by the same author, "Kate Barnard, Organized Labor, and Social Justice in Oklahoma During the Progressive Era," *Journal of Southern History*, Vol. XXXV (May, 1969), pp. 145–164. Little known aspects of race relations are traced in William Bittle and Gilbert Geirs, *The Longest Way Home: Chief Alfred C. Sam's Back-To-Africa Movement* (Detroit, 1964); J. A. Langley, "Chief Sam's African Movement and Race Consciousness in West Africa," *Phylon*, Vol. XXXII (Summer, 1971), pp. 164–178 and R. Halliburton, *The Tulsa Race War of 1921* (San Francisco, 1975).

Biographical studies providing an intimate look at political leaders of the early statehood period are John Joseph Mathews, *Life and Death of an Oil Man: The Career of E. W. Marland* (Norman, 1951); Parker La More, *Pat Hurley, The Story of an American* (New York, 1932); Don Lohbeck, *Patrick J. Hurley* (Chicago, 1956) and Russell D. Buhite, *Patrick J. Hurley and American Foreign Policy* (Ithaca, New York, 1973). For additional biographical information on Oklahoma leaders of this period see C. B. Douglas, *The History of Tulsa* (Tulsa, 1921), three volumes; W. F. Kerr and Ina Gainer, *The Story of Oklahoma City* (Chicago, 1922), three volumes; Joseph B. Thoburn and Muriel H. Wright, *Oklahoma: A History of the State and Its People* (New York, 1929), four volumes; Rex Harlow, *Successful Oklahomans* (Oklahoma City, 1927) and Lyle H. Boren, *Who Is Who In Oklahoma* (Guthrie, 1935). Also see Gordon Hines, *Alfalfa Bill* (Oklahoma City, 1932); William H. Murray, *Memoirs of Governor Murray* (Boston, 1945), three volumes and Francis W. Schruben, "The Return of Alfalfa Bill Murray," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLI (June, 1963), pp. 38–65.

Reaction and Klan activities during the 1920s are described in Ernest T. Bynum, *Personal Recollections of Ex-Governor Walton* (Oklahoma City, 1924); Marion Monteval, *The Klan Inside Out* (Claremore, 1924) and Howard A. Tucker, *History of Governor Walton's War on the Ku Klux Klan, the Invisible Empire* (Oklahoma City, 1923).

Additional sources on Oklahoma government and politics for this period are Brookings Institution, *Report on a Survey of the Organization and Administration of Oklahoma* (Oklahoma City, 1935); Robert K. Carr, *State Control of Local Finance in Oklahoma* (Norman, 1937); *The Oklahoma Almanac* (Oklahoma City, 1930); *Harlow's Weekly* (Oklahoma City); *The Directory of the State of Oklahoma, 1925–1941* (Oklahoma City); Horace C. Peterson and Gilbert C. Fite, *Opponents of War, 1917–1918* (Madison, 1957); Gilbert C. Fite, "The Nonpartisan League in Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXIV (July, 1946), pp. 146–157;

Rudia Halliburton, Jr., "Statewide Legislation Banning Teaching of Evolution," *Proceedings of the Oklahoma Academy of Science*, Vol. XLIII (1962), pp. 190–198 and by the same author, "The Nation's First Anti-Darwin Law: Passage and Repeal," *Southwestern Social Science Quarterly*, Vol. XLI (1960), pp. 125–129. Also see Garin Burbank, *When Farmers Voted Red: The Gospel of Socialism in the Oklahoma Countryside, 1910–1924* (New York, 1976); Edda Bilger, "The 'Oklahoma Vorwörts': The Voice of German Americans in Oklahoma During World War I," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. LIV (Summer, 1976), pp. 245–260 and Ed Gill, *Oklahoma in the 1920's* (Muskogee, 1974).

One of the most candid and provocative studies on Oklahoma politics during the 1930s and 1940s is Walter M. Harrison's autobiography, *Me and My Big Mouth* (Oklahoma City, 1954). Additional sources include W. Eugene Hollon, *The Southwest: Old and New* (New York, 1961); H. O. Waldby, *The Patronage System in Oklahoma* (Norman, 1950); Kent Ruth (ed.), *Oklahoma: A Guide to the Sooner State* (Norman, 1954); Ross D. Pugmire, *Oklahoma's Children and Their Schools* (Oklahoma City, 1950); H. V. Thornton, *Oklahoma Constitutional Studies* (Guthrie, 1950); *Directory of the State of Oklahoma, 1961* (Oklahoma City); Walter J. Stein, *California and the Dust Bowl Migration* (Westport, Connecticut, 1973); Jacqueline G. Sherman, "The Oklahomans in California During the Depression Decade, 1931–1941" (Master of Arts thesis, University of California, 1970, Photocopy, University Microfilms, 1975) and James Ware, "The Sooner NRA: New Deal Recovery in Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. LIV (Fall, 1976), pp. 339–351.

Besides the files of the *Oklahoma Journal*, *Daily Oklahoman*, Oklahoma City *Times*, Tulsa *Tribune* and Tulsa *World*, articles on Oklahoma politics during the Middle Period occur as follows: "Open House in Oklahoma," *Life*, Vol. XXXVI (March 26, 1954), pp. 181; Johnston Murray, "Oklahoma Is in a Mess," *Saturday Evening Post*, Vol. CCXXVIII (April 30, 1955), pp. 20–21; Irving Dillard, "Oklahoma Makes Ready for 1944," *New Republic*, Vol. CIX (August 9, 1943), p. 194; Robert T. Elson, "If not Truman, Who?" *Life*, Vol. XXXII (March 24, 1952), pp. 118–133; and Marquis W. Childs, "The Big Boom from Oklahoma," *Saturday Evening Post*, Vol. CCXXI (April 9, 1949) pp. 118–120.

Sources are scarce for the Modern Period in Oklahoma politics. Racial relations occupied center stage for several years, and material on ethnic ferment in the Sooner State is found in Albert Blaustein and Clyde Ferguson, *Desegregation and the Law* (New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1957); Dan Wakefield, *Revolt in the South* (New York, 1960); Robert P. Warren,

Segregation: The Inner Conflict in the South (New York, 1956); Arrell M. Gibson, *The West In The Life of the Nation* (Lexington, Massachusetts, 1976); Gerald D. Nash, *The American West in the Twentieth Century: A Short History of an Urban Oasis* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1973); Cheryl H. Morris, *The Cutting Edge: The Life of John Rogers* (Norman, 1977); Anne Hodges Morgan, *Robert S. Kerr: The Senate Years* (Norman, 1977); Samuel Kirkpatrick, David R. Morgan and Thomas G. Kielhorn, *The Oklahoma Voter, Politics, Elections, and Political Parties in the Sooner State* (Norman, 1977); David R. Morgan and Samuel Kirkpatrick (eds.), *Constitutional Revision; Cases and Commentary* (Norman, 1970); Stephen Jones, *Oklahoma Politics in State and Nation* (Enid, 1974); David R. Morgan, *Suburban Political Leadership: Profile and Recruitment* (Oklahoma City, 1968); George Lynn Cross, *Blacks in White Colleges: Oklahoma's Landmark Cases* (Norman, 1975); J. T. Hubbell, "Desegregation of the University of Oklahoma, 1946–1950," *Journal of Negro History*, Vol. LVII (October, 1972), pp. 370–384 and J. T. Hubbell, "Some Reactions to the Desegregation of the University of Oklahoma, 1946–1950," *Phylon*, Vol. XXXIV (June, 1973), pp. 187–196.

Primary reliance for information on Oklahoma politics during the 1960s and 1970s must be placed on newspaper and periodical files, especially the *Oklahoma Journal*, *Daily Oklahoman*, Oklahoma City *Times*, Tulsa *World* and Tulsa *Tribune*. Also see the Bureau of Government Research, University of Oklahoma, *Oklahoma Votes, 1907–1962* (Norman, 1964) and by the same agency, the quarterly *Government Department Newsletter. The Directory of the State of Oklahoma, 1961–1978* (Oklahoma City) contains election data. National magazine articles concerning Oklahoma politics include Milton MacKaye, "The Oklahoma Kid," *Saturday Evening Post*, Vol. CCXXXI (May 16, 1959), pp. 36–37; Raymond Gary, "I Say Oklahoma's O.K.!", *Saturday Evening Post*, Vol. CCXXVIII (July 9, 1955), p. 27 and Raymond Gary, "The South Can Integrate Its Schools," *Look Magazine*, Vol. XXIII (March 31, 1959), pp. 19–21; "Oklahoma: How Wet Is Wet?" *Newsweek*, Vol. LII (September 8, 1958), pp. 31–32; "Oklahoma's Nugget Head," *Time*, Vol. LXXII (August 4, 1958), p. 16 and "Oklahoma: Life Begins at Thirty-Seven," *Time*, Vol. LXXXI (January 18, 1963), p. 20.

The most productive sources for information on the Sooner State economy are the business and financial sections of the *Oklahoma Journal*, *Daily Oklahoman*, Tulsa *World* and Tulsa *Tribune*. The writings of Gilbert Hill, business analyst for the *Daily Oklahoman*, are especially instructive. Additional sources include publications of the Bureau of Business Research,

University of Oklahoma, *Statistical Abstract of Oklahoma* (Norman, 1957) and *The Oklahoma Business Bulletin*, published monthly.

The bulletins and special reports issued by Oklahoma State University contain information on the role of farming and ranching in the Oklahoma economy. On this subject also see Paul B. Sears, *Deserts on the March* (Norman, 1935). Also see Don Green, *Rural Oklahoma* (Oklahoma City, 1977). For works on business and professional leadership see Clifford Earl Trafzer, *The Judge: The Life of Robert A. Hefner* (Norman, 1975); Mathew P. Bonnifield, *Oklahoma Innovator: The Life of Virgil Browne* (Norman, 1976); Dave R. McKown, *The Dean; The Life of Julien C. Monnet* (Norman, 1973) and Mark Reuben Everett, *Medical Education in Oklahoma*; *The University of Oklahoma School of Medicine and Medical Center, 1900–1931* (Norman, 1972).

Oklahoma's oil industry has attracted more literary attention than any other enterprise. The leading works are: Max W. Ball, *This Fascinating Oil Business* (Indianapolis, 1940); W. L. Connelly, *The Oil Business as I Saw It* (Norman, 1954); Gerald Forbes, *Flush Production: The Epic of Oil in the Gulf-Southwest* (Norman, 1942); C. B. Glasscock, *Then Came Oil* (Indianapolis, 1938) and Carl C. Rister, *Oil! Titan of the Southwest* (Norman, 1949). On mining see Arrell M. Gibson, *Wilderness Bonanza* (Norman, 1972).

Interpretative works on the Southwest and Oklahoma include Angie Debo, *Oklahoma: Footloose and Fancy-Free* (Norman, 1949); Green Peyton, *America's Heartland: The Southwest* (Norman, 1948); W. Eugene Hollon, *The Southwest: Old and New* (New York, 1961); Steve Wilson, *Oklahoma Treasures and Treasure Tales* (Norman, 1976); James M. Smallwood (ed.), *And Gladly Teach: Reminiscences of Teachers*; *Frontier Dugout to Modern Module* (Norman, 1976); Mike McCarville, *OKIE* (Oklahoma City, 1970); Richard Ketcham, *Will Rogers: His Life and Times* (New York, 1973); Kent Ruth, *Oklahoma Travel Handbook*, (Norman, 1977) and Ballard M. Barker and William Carl Jameson, *Platt National Park, Environment and Ecology* (Norman, 1975).

On the fine arts in Oklahoma see Oscar B. Jacobson, *Kiowa Indian Art: Watercolor Paintings by Indians of Oklahoma* (Nice, France, 1929); *The American Scene*, a quarterly published by Gilcrease Museum, Tulsa and *Oklahoma Today*, published quarterly by the Oklahoma State Government.

Literature sources include Walter Campbell, *The Book Lover's Southwest: A Guide to Good Reading* (Norman, 1955); Carolyn Foreman, *Oklahoma Imprints* (Norman, 1936); Mary Hayes Marable and Elaine Boylan, *A Handbook of Oklahoma Writers* (Norman, 1939); Scott Momaday,

"Way to Rainy Mountain," *Reporter*, Vol. XXXVI (January 26, 1967), pp. 151–210 and W. Terry, "Four Moons; Oklahoma Indian Ballerina Festival," *Saturday Review*, Vol. L (November 18, 1967).

HORSETHIEF CANYON: LANDMARK ON THE CIMARRON RIVER

*By LeRoy H. Fischer and Thomas D. Isern**

In the northeastern corner of Logan County, Oklahoma, midway between the towns of Perkins and Coyle, lofty, forested bluffs of red shale and clay loom above the southern bank of the Cimarron River. The heights afford extensive vistas of patchworks of fields and pastures to the north, east and west. Below, a raised embankment, the remains of a railway with tracks removed, threads its way between the edge of the river and the base of the escarpment.

At one point where tributary waters have cut a broad, V-shaped opening through the bluffs, a deep canyon extends for 400 feet to the south and east. The canyon narrows as the distance from the river increases, while its walls, covered with cedars and with white, black and chinkapin oaks, become steeper. The upper extremity is a natural amphitheater: three distinct crescents of russet shale are stacked one above another, each a partial circle encompassing the end of the canyon at its own level. The uppermost shelf forms an arc of 200 feet; it overhangs the lower outcroppings and the floor of the canyon fifty feet below. Water has undercut each shelf and created caves in which a person can stand. From the midpoint of the top shelf falls a trickle of water that originates in a seeping spring forty feet away. Precariously perched cedars threaten to follow the water over the edge.

Since the earliest settlement of the region, this landmark has been known as Horsethief Canyon. Such a spot invariably becomes the focus of much local folklore. The story of Horsethief Canyon illustrates how popular legend and historical fact may intertwine.

Horsethief Canyon lay on the northern edge of the Iowa Indian Reservation, established in 1883, but the area north of the river was part of the Unassigned Lands. Prior to the coming of the homesteaders, line camps for cowboys attending nearby herds dotted the valley. Settlers quickly filled the prairie north of the river after the opening of the Unassigned Lands in 1889. The Iowa Reservation was opened by a land run in 1891. In 1900, the Eastern Oklahoma Branch of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway built along the Cimarron River past the mouth of Horsethief Canyon. This sparked the founding of the village of Goodnight about a mile east of the canyon. Goodnight once possessed several businesses, a

* LeRoy H. Fischer is Oppenheim Regents Professor of History at Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma. Thomas D. Isern is on the faculty at Sam Houston State University, Huntsville, Texas.

Almond T. Greene, a former freighter who cut cedar lumber in Horsethief Canyon, is seated on the bottom shelf of the canyon in this photograph taken in about 1900

depot, a post office and a school, but the only present remnant of the town is the shell of its schoolhouse.

Early settlers from north of the river who visited Horsethief Canyon found a dugout on the western wall and a rail fence across the canyon's entrance, together with feed boxes of split logs. This gave rise to speculation that the place was a haven for horsethieves, but the facts were unclear. There was no evidence that notorious desperadoes such as the Doolins used the canyon. Tales of outlaws there related by Frank "Pistol Pete" Eaton of Perkins were vague as to the persons involved. Probably the dugout belonged to line-riding cowboys. After the settlement of the area some line riders remained as drifters of uncertain means of support called "long

Almond T. Greene halts his buggy on the north bank of the Cimarron River just downstream from Horsethief Canyon—to the right is the eastern end of the escarpment through which the canyon cuts

riders." Some of these suspicious long riders may have frequented the canyon. Apparently vagrants often camped there, and no doubt some of them were horsethieves. However, the place was by no means a hideout, for not only was it too well known for security, but also the surrounding terrain and vegetation made it more of a trap than a bastion.[1]

Tales of outlaws persisted, reaching a peak in a yarn that originated with a former railway station agent at Goodnight. According to this account, on a snowy morning in 1905, a stranger wearing dark glasses and a beard got off the train in Goodnight and inquired about the way to Horsethief Canyon. He proceeded there alone carrying a canvas bag; he returned in the evening to board another train. A few days later the railway agent went to the canyon, where he found recent excavations and empty cans. Three

[1] Interview, Leonard Parks, June 23, 1976 (Parks provided the photographs of Almond T. Greene); Interview, Ethel (Eaton) Case, January 3, 1977; Fleet Mercer, "Horse Thief Canyon," *Guthrie Leader* (Guthrie). April 16, 1939 (Golden Anniversary Souvenir Edition).

oak trees surrounding the holes showed scars where they had been blazed years earlier. The stranger, so the story said, was Emmett Dalton, who was returning to recover riches buried prior to the Dalton gang's disastrous raid on Coffeyville, Kansas, in 1892. Unfortunately for a good tale, Emmett Dalton was not released from the Kansas State Penitentiary in Lansing until 1907.[2]

An equally lurid part of the folklore of Horsethief Canyon was Goodnight's chapter of the Anti-Horse Thief Association. This organization originated in Missouri and spread into Oklahoma Territory and Indian Territory during the 1890s. Its purpose was to conduct independent investigations of thefts from its members, who wore an identifying pin marked "AHTA." Most of the men in the area attended the association's biweekly meetings in the schoolhouse at Goodnight. Although seldom effective against criminals, the organization flourished as a fraternal society. However, some oldtimers insisted that the Anti-Horse Thief Association met in Horsethief Canyon. Accused thieves, it was said, received midnight trials from horseback juries, then were hanged from a great oak. Names and dates of such incidents never surfaced.[3]

Whatever the legends surrounding it, Horsethief Canyon also had a real role in the lives of early homesteaders in the area. The canyon's walls and the adjacent bluffs were a source of cedar timber for buildings and fence posts. Cedar was scarce north of the Cimarron River, so settlers crossed the stream and cut timber illegally on the Iowa Reservation. Almond T. Greene, a freighter who formerly had hauled supplies to line camps in the Cherokee Outlet, built a one-and-one-half-story home of cedar on his claim near the river. He also sold cedar posts in Arkansas City for ten dollars per hundred. Such poaching was no matter of conscience, for Greene was a religious man who often set up the tents for revival meetings. E. T. Edmunson of Coyle cut cedar from the canyon for sale and for personal use as late as the 1920s.[4]

Horsethief Canyon also was a popular place for recreation. Numerous children of local pioneers came there to play during the 1890s and 1900s; after crossing the river, they often dried their clothes before a fire built beneath a hole which formed a natural chimney in the canyon's second

---

[2] Harland Wells, "Horsethief Canyon Holds Exciting Memories," *Stillwater Star* (Stillwater), January 28, 1960; Harold Preece, *The Dalton Gang: End of an Outlaw Era* (New York: Hastings House Publishers, 1963), p. 281.

[3] Kent Ruth, "AntiHorse Thief Group's Pioneer Members Sought," *Sunday Oklahoman* (Oklahoma City), December 30, 1973; Interview, Leonard Parks; Interview, E. T. Edmunson, May 20, 1976; Robert Cunningham, "The Bad Nights at Goodnight Recalled," *Guthrie Daily Leader* (Guthrie), April 15, 1973.

[4] Interview, Parks; Interview, Edmunson.

shelf. Sometimes entire families, such as that of former Texas Ranger Charles B. Cruse, came there for picnics or for overnight campouts.[5]

In 1907, residents of the area began a custom of holding an annual gathering at the canyon on Easter Sunday. The first such affair apparently was organized by the Anti-Horse Thief Association. Roy Hays, president of the association, was the day's master of ceremonies, while Major Gordon W. Lillie, "Pawnee Bill," gave the featured address. Present were Frank Eaton, Rolla Goodnight, Zach Mulhall and other nearby celebrities, as well as a crowd of several hundred. By the 1920s such gatherings had ceased, but a new organization, the Old Settlers' Association of Payne and Adjoining Counties, brought new social life to the canyon. Founded in 1922 and succeeded in 1927 by the Old Settlers' Sons-Daughters Association of Oklahoma, this organization for many years held an annual encampment or pageant on the farm of Bert Frame, adjacent to Horsethief Canyon. The ceremonies featured excursions to the canyon.[6]

Perhaps it was young people, not old settlers, for whom Horsethief Canyon held the greatest fascination. The Old Settlers' Sons-Daughters Association of Oklahoma invited troops of Boy Scouts to their encampments; in 1931, an honor guard of old settlers conducted scouts to the canyon by stagecoach. In succeeding decades the canyon was the scene of numerous campouts by Boy Scouts, who came with the permission of the owners of the property. Students from Oklahoma State University long esteemed the place for picnicing. In 1974, however, a tragic incident brought about the restriction of public access to the property. On an unseasonably warm day in November, six students from Oklahoma State University were playing "Frisbee" near the canyon rim. Gary John Smith of Denver, Colorado, running too close to the edge, slipped and fell to his death on the floor of the canyon.[7]

Despite this tragedy, through the years many people benefited from visits to Horsethief Canyon: to travelers it provided shelter; to homesteaders it supplied lumber; to children and adults alike it offered relaxation in an idyllic setting; most of all, to story-tellers it imparted a focal point for historical anecdote and fictional embroidery. The folklore associated with this

---

[5] Interview, Parks; Interview, Paul Cruse, May 15, 1976; Robert Cunningham, "Happy Cimarron River Memories Still Echoing," *Stillwater News-Press* (Stillwater), May 29, 1972.

[6] Interview, Ward Hays, January 4, 1977; Robert Cunningham, "Ward Didn't Have 'Pipe' Dream at Goodnight," *Guthrie Daily Leader*, April 15, 1973, Mary Amorette Kelso Buffington, *That We May Not Forget* (Stillwater: Mary Amorette Kelso Buffington, 1972), pp. 58–60; *Tulsa Daily World* (Tulsa), May 27, 1928; Interview, Sybil Wall, April 10, 1976.

[7] Undated newspaper clipping in possession of Sybil Wall; *Stillwater News-Press*, November 24, 1974; *Daily O'Collegian* (Stillwater), November 23, 1974.

Visitors on the lower shelf of Horsethief Canyon about 1905

memorable landmark is factually unreliable; nevertheless, it is as much a part of the tradition of the locale as are the truths of history.[8]

---

[8] Present owner of the property embracing Horsethief Canyon is Ben Holder of rural Perkins. The property is not open to the public.

THE E. W. MARLAND MANSION AND ESTATE

*By Denise Browning**

In June, 1928, Ernest Whitworth Marland's new mansion northeast of Ponca City, Oklahoma, was completed. To celebrate the occasion, he sent out ninety-five invitations to children of the members of his polo club. They were met at the west gate by pony drawn hayracks to escort them into the 300 acre game preserve in which his mansion was located. There they enjoyed a picnic, a dog show and swimming in Marland's Olympic-size swimming pool. As they left, Marland presented each child with a silver loving cup memento with his name engraved on it.[1]

On the 300 acre game preserve, in addition to the mansion—known originally as Marland's Lodge—were the gate house, administration building, swimming pool, caretaker's house, stables and a dog kennel. This was only part of the 2,500 acres set aside by Marland as an extensive recreational area for the people of Ponca City. By 1928 the following were already built and maintained by Marland for public use: a landscaped golf course, attractive floral gardens, three polo fields and recreational tracts for his company employees.[2]

Three sides of his game preserve were planted with several varieties of roses which had grown to completely cover the existing wire fence, thus creating two miles of beautiful rose hedges. These were to be part of a six mile entrance to the mansion around two sections of land which was to be called Sunbonnet Drive. Within this area, Marland planned to create an English-type village housing approximately 400 managers and employees of the estate and their families. The village would have all modern conveniences: city water, sewage, electricity, paved roads and every possible comfort. While Marland's game preserve was being planned and developed, he lived in an elaborate house in the heart of Ponca City at 1000 East Grand Avenue, a location presently used as the Ponca City Cultural Center and Indian Museum. His first mansion was to be turned over to a Catholic order for use as a vacation home for a period of three years.[3]

---

* The author, a resident of Ponca City, recently completed the Master of Arts degree in history at Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma. This article was prepared in the research seminar of LeRoy H. Fischer, Oppenheim Regents Professor of History. Special appreciation is extended to Mrs. John Duncan Forsyth of Tulsa for her able assistance and to Mr. Ray Falconer of Ponca City for generously providing the illustrations.

[1] Invitation from Ernest W. Marland to Roy Stephenson, Jr., Ponca City Public Library, Ponca City, Oklahoma; William R. Brown Speech to the Ponca City, Oklahoma, Rotary Club, January 16, 1967, Ponca City Public Library.

[2] *Ponca City News* (Ponca City), June 10, 1928.

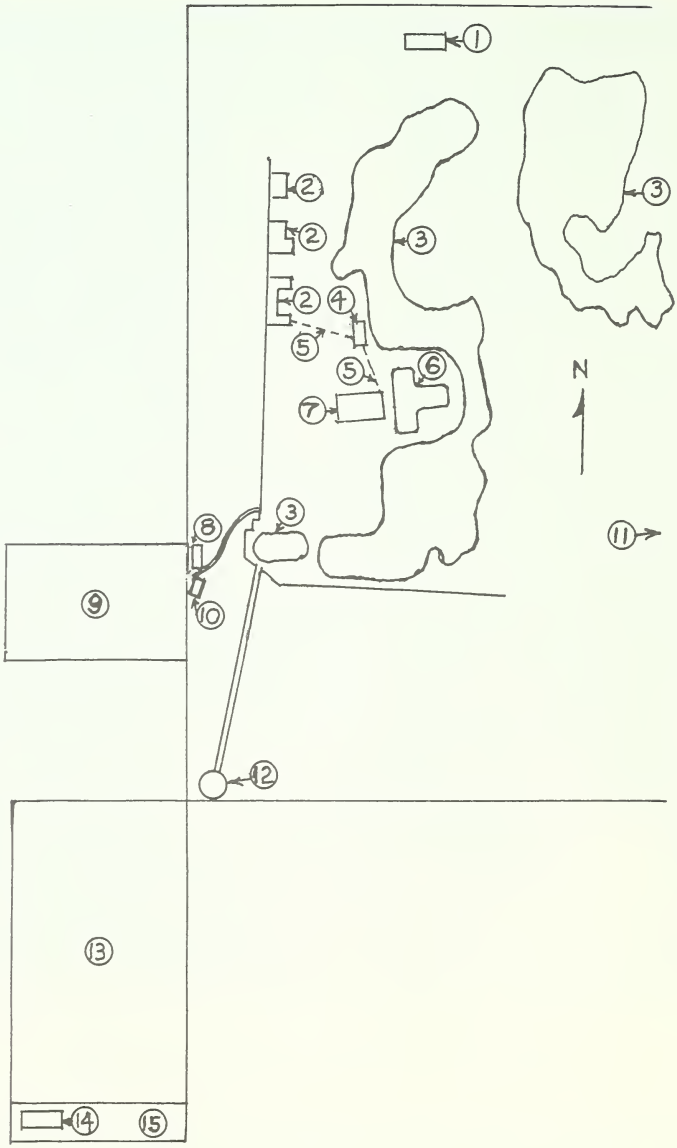
[3] *Ibid.*

E. W. Marland at the height of his financial empire

It is estimated that Marland spent $2,500,000 on his mansion alone. Having assets of $85,000,000 from his self-made Marland Oil Company, money was no object. His only instructions to the architects concerning the building of the new mansion were to buy the best![4]

Marland was just as free with his money with respect to the people of

[4] *Ibid.*, October 3, 1941, p. 1 and October 5, 1941.



The Marland Estate (1) Stables (2) Artist Studio (3) Lake (4) Boat House (5) Underground Tunnel (6) Swimming Pool (7) Mansion (8) Administration Building (9) Polo Field (10) Gatehouse (11) To the American Legion Home and the Remaining Grounds of the Estate (12) Pioneer Woman Statue (13) Nine Hole Golf Course (14) First Mansion (15) Floral Gardens

Ponca City. He employed 10,000 persons—approximately one-third of Ponca City's adult population—and was one of the first employers to provide free dental, hospital and medical care for his employees. He also built a housing development for his workers and often offered them his home for their use. For the city, he donated $150,000 and a parcel of land to the Sisters of St. Joseph for construction of a hospital and $75,000 and a piece of land to the American Legion for construction of an orphanage.[5]

Through his ventures in the oil industry, Marland acquired and lost two fortunes. However, he did not start out to be an oil man. He was born on May 8, 1874, to Alfred and Sarah MacLeod Marland in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. His father, Alfred Marland, was a well-to-do ironmaster, who had been educated in England. He had served in the Crimean War, being wounded in the Charge of the Light Brigade and later was nursed by Florence Nightingale. His son, Ernest, attended the University of Pittsburgh and graduated with a law degree from the University of Michigan in 1893 at the age of nineteen. He practiced law for two years, then studied geology and surveying. With this new training, he started in business as a buyer of oil and coal leases in Pennsylvania, Ohio and West Virginia. In 1905, he opened the Congo District in West Virginia. Here, in Hancock, he drilled an oil well and made his first million dollars, only to lose it in the economic Panic of 1907.[6]

In 1908, almost penniless, Marland came to Oklahoma. He became acquainted with the Miller brothers, owners of the 101 Ranch, south of Ponca City. One day, Marland and George L. Miller rode out to view the Ponca Indian practice of placing their dead in wicker baskets on a platform. Near the platform, Marland saw a perfect geological dome. Negotiations were opened with the Indians, who were reluctant, but finally agreed to let Marland drill for oil near their cemetery. An old Indian, Chief White Eagle, later told Marland in sign language by the first oil derrick: "You are making bad medicine for me and my people, and for you."[7]

This led to the opening of the Ponca Oil Field in 1913 with the Marland offices on First Street in Ponca City. In 1917–1918, a new plant was built by Marland starting with five cracking stills. He later expanded his operations in 1918 and 1919 and doubled its size in 1925. This same year he built a tank farm with a storage capacity of 10,000,000 barrels.[8]

---

[5] Unidentified Newspaper Clipping, *Kansas City Star* (Kansas City, Missouri), 1932, Ponca City Public Library.

[6] *New York Times* (New York, New York), October 4, 1941; Unidentified Newspaper Clipping, *Kansas City Star*, 1932, Ponca City Public Library; *New York Times*, January 6, 1928.

[7] E. W. Marland, *My Experiences with the Money Trust* (Enid: Enid Press, 1932), p. 3.

[8] *Ponca City News*, October 5, 1941.

Marland controlled the richest mid-continent fields: the Burbank, the Thomas, the Hubbard and the Tonkawa in Oklahoma; the Valley Center near Wichita, Kansas and the Reagan County field of Texas. His business enterprises grew to include the Kay County Gas Company, the Marland Oil Refining Company, the Marland Oil Company of Mexico, the Marland Oil Company of Canada and the Marland Oil Company of California. Marland was a leader in using the science of geology in locating and drilling test wells.[9]

Through success, Marland thus controlled one-tenth of the world's oil supply. Therefore, his business interests took him all over the world, even to Russia. It was while on a business trip to New York City that he commissioned John Duncan Forsyth as the chief architect for the mansion to be located in the middle of his game preserve. Forsyth was born on July 23, 1887, in Florence, Italy. He was actually Scottish, but his mother had been sick, so his father sent her to the warm climate of Italy. They quickly returned to Edinburgh, Scotland. Young Forsyth studied engineering at the University of Edinburgh, but ran away to Paris, France, to study architecture at the Sorbonne. It was here that he met and roomed with Jo Davidson, a sculptor, who later did a limestone statue of Marland, which presently stands on the lawn of the Ponca City Civil Center, located at 500 East Grand Avenue. A New York architect named Pope saw Forsyth's work in Paris and convinced him to come to the United States. In 1917, during World War I, he enlisted in the Royal Canadian Air Corps but was soon discharged due to a flight injury. He returned to work for Henry Killam Murphy and Henry Dana III, who soon sent him to Shanghai, China, to head their operations there. Forsyth built the Fah Tan University at Shanghai and the National City Bank in Hong Kong, China. He returned to the United States in 1921 to work for Dana building New England colonial residences. In 1925, Forsyth set up his own offices in Ponca City, with a Commission from Marland to develop his large estate and design his mansion.[10]

Marland had purchased the 300 acre game preserve in 1922. He bought all of the northwest one-fourth, 160 acres, of Section Twenty-three for $1,800 from George and Mable A. Fields on May 22, 1922. From Ellis Owen, he bought most of the southwest one-half of Section Twenty-three for $34,000 on September 23, 1922. On the extreme west side of this land he built a wall of limestone with an entrance gate and a gatehouse. This was to be the main entrance to the game preserve. From this gate, a road led

[9] *Ibid.*

[10] *Tulsa World* (Tulsa), August 10, 1975; *Ponca City News*, August 22, 1975; Personal Papers of Mrs. John Duncan Forsyth, 2740 Woodward Boulevard, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

eastward to the western wall of the private grounds of Marland. On the extreme north side of Section Twenty-three the stables were erected by Marland for his well-bred horses used on the polo fields and on the fox hunts. An abandoned stone quarry within the inner walls of the estate was originally used by the Santa Fe Railroad as a crusher depot. This was utilized in building the swimming pool and the mansion.[11]

Marland wanted the mansion for entertaining large numbers of people and for the display of his art objects. Therefore, Forsyth explained that "the European Gallery type of plan was adopted, calling for unusually large room areas, high ceilings, blank wall space being of utmost importance."[12] This formal style of the Mediterranean Sea area was adopted. Forsyth then went to Florence, Italy, for six months to study the Davanzati Palace. It was built early in the fifteenth century in the Italian Renaissance style. Many features of the Davanzati Palace were incorporated in Marland's mansion. Such characteristics were the stone carved corbels, wooden entrance door with silver handles, lead and bottle glass windows, designs of the molded plaster and painted wooden ceilings, vaulted ceilings and the tile floors.[13]

Even though these fifteenth century features were used, the mansion had the utmost in modern conveniences. It was built with electricity, steam heat and even air conditioning, not very common in 1926 when the cooling unit was purchased in New York City. A trained engineer was employed full time to run the unit. Each room had separate heating and air conditioning vents, electrical outlets and telephone connections. Other interesting modern conveniences included a dishwasher, an electric sauna in Marland's bathroom and an elevator.

The mansion was built on a bed of limestone directly west of the swimming pool and in line with its east-west axis. The three story rectangular structure was built entirely of limestone and cement, without one piece of structure supporting wood. The exterior of the mansion measures 126′ by 78′, and is built of finely finished layered limestone. Its windows and doors are covered with wrought iron grille work designed mostly by Forsyth and made on the estate.[14]

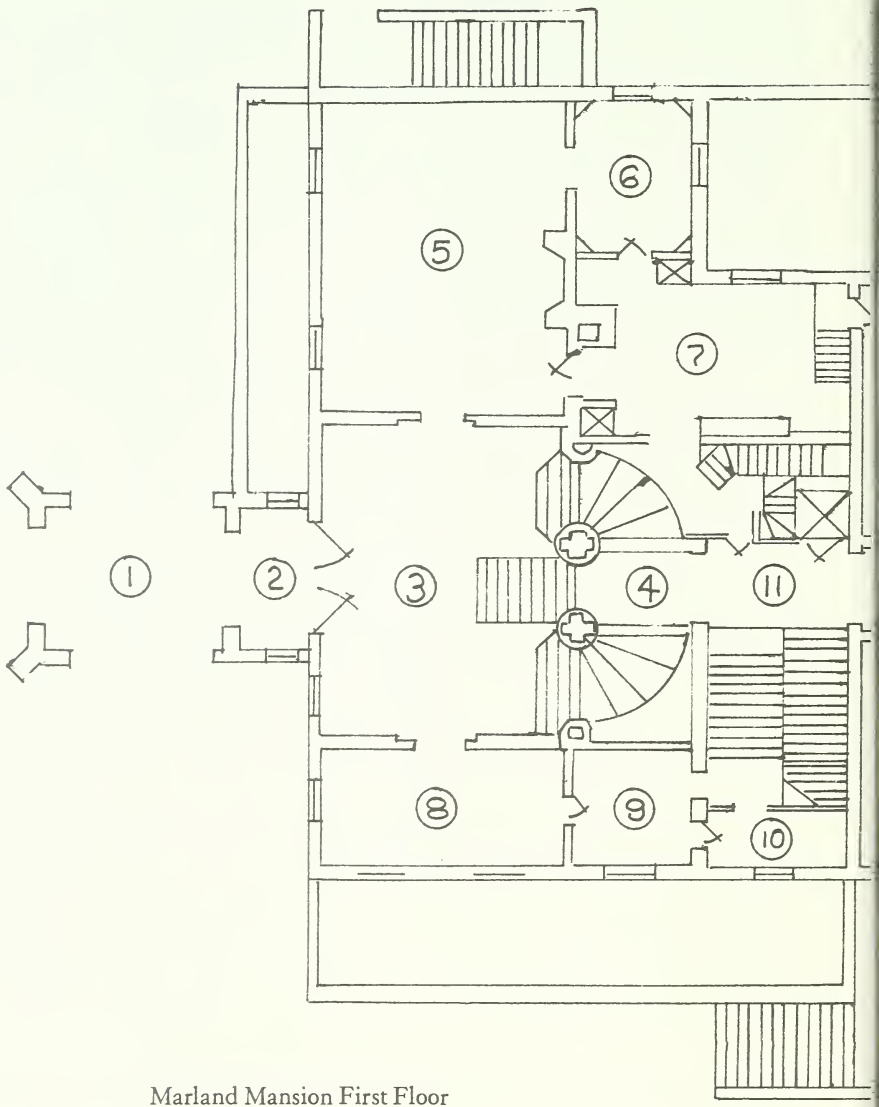
---

[11] Warranty Deed, *Deed Record*, Vol. LXVIII, No. 555, Kay County Court House, Newkirk, Oklahoma; *ibid.* Vol. LXIX, No. 370; John Duncan Forsyth, "Notes on the Residence of the Late E. W. Marland, Ponca City, Oklahoma," pp. 1–2; Personal Papers of Mrs. John Duncan Forsyth.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 2.

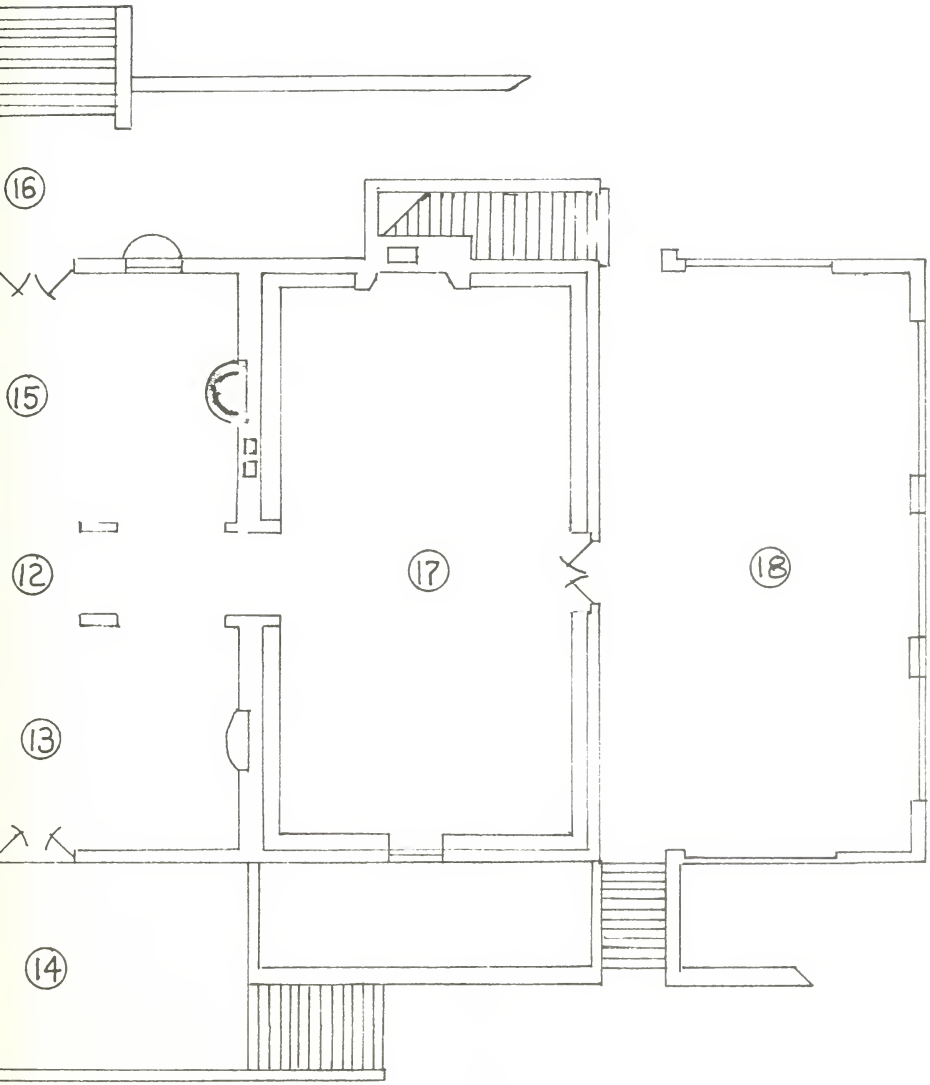
[13] Louis Conrad Rosenberg, *The Davanzati Palace, Florence, Italy; A Restored Palace of the Fourteenth Century* (New York: Architectural Book Publishing Company, 1922), pp. 3, 13, 34, 47, 60.

[14] Forsyth, "Notes on the Residence of the Late E. W. Marland, Ponca City, Oklahoma," p. 1; Interview, Mrs. John Duncan Forsyth, June 19, 1976.



Marland Mansion First Floor

(1) Porte Cochere
(2) Vestibule
(3) Entrance Hall
(4) Entrance Hall Landing
(5) Dining Room
(6) Breakfast Room
(7) Pantry
(8) Reception Room
(9) Ladies' Dressing Room



(10) Ladies' Lavatory
(11) Stair Hall
(12) Logia
(13) Living Room
(14) South Terrace
(15) Salon
(16) North Terrace
(17) Main Gallery
(18) East Terrace

The main road from the west entrance led through the west gate in the inner wall to the Porte Cochere, which was attached to the west side of the mansion. This enabled cars to drive through and let passengers out at the west entrance, where the Porte Cochere protected them from the weather. It was built of coursed limestone walls and a heavy wooden ceiling. On the east side of the Porte Cochere, adjoining the mansion, are two carved stone corbels supporting the wooden beams as well as two on the west. These were carved by the internationally known Italian sculptor named Pellegrini, in the likeness of Marland's four dogs, without the use of clay models or drawings. The wooden entrance door is set in the semi-circular arched limestone doorway. The ironworks on the door are, according to Forsyth, "particularly fine examples of the Florentine wrought ironwork (executed by William H. Jackson of New York)."[15]

Just inside the doors is the vestibule which leads to the first floor of the mansion, containing eight rooms, a ladies' lavatory and a pantry. The vestibule is a small room measuring 10′6″ by 7′0″, with finished stone walls, painted wooden ceiling, walnut trim and two narrow bottle glass windows, one on the north and one on the south.[16]

On the east side of the vestibule is a beautiful glass and iron grille work door that opens into the entrance hall, measuring 33′0″ by 30′0″. The walls are very high and built of finely finished layered limestone, the floor is hand laid tile, and the ceiling is of painted wood. Vincent Mangliotti painted this ceiling as well as the decorations above the north and south doors. The only windows are two of leaded bottle glass of various colors on the west. In the east part of the entrance hall are three flights of stairs, one straight and two circular; the two circular ones lead to the same landing, five feet above the entrance hall floor. The arches and supporting columns that separate the landing from the entrance hall were carved by a Norwegian sculptor, Gustav Berglumd. Pellegrini added two carved stone night owls with electric eyes that serve as night lights for the landing. The vaulted ceiling was painted by Mangliotti to resemble a gold mosaic.[17]

To the north of the entrance hall is the dining room, measuring 23′0″ by 29′11″, exhibiting an Elizabethan style. The walls are completely paneled in English Pollard Oak by Irving and Casson of Boston. Forsyth describes the ceiling as made of "decorative plaster, cast at bench level, then

[15] John Duncan Forsyth, "Sheet No. 3: First Floor Plan," October 24, 1926, Plans of the Lodge, City Engineer's Office, Ponca City, Oklahoma; Forsyth, "Notes on the Residence of the Late E. W. Marland, Ponca City, Oklahoma," pp. 2–3.

[16] Forsyth, "Sheet No. 3: First Floor Plan," October 24, 1926, Plans of the Lodge, City Engineer's Office.

[17] *Ibid.*; Forsyth, "Notes on the Residence of the Late E. W. Marland, Ponca City, Oklahoma," pp. 3–4.

hoisted to its ceiling position and wired in place."[18] The floor is a slab of cement with slate placed around the edges, making a border for the recessed handloomed carpet. There are three windows, two on the west and one on the north, each bearing a circle of stained glass at the top that depicts English hunting scenes. Of particular interest is the handcarved wood that decorates the fireplace on the east wall and the top of the paneling around the entire room.[19]

Marland also employed Forsyth as an interior decorator for the house, making him responsible for the furnishings and the drapes. One example of this was Forsyth's choice of Charles II furniture for the dining room. William R. Brown, the associate architect of the Marland mansion, describes this furniture as consisting of twenty-four chairs costing $550 each, a host chair costing $675 and the table costing $3,000. This added up to a total of $16,875 for the furniture in the dining room.[20]

The northeast door of the dining room leads to the breakfast room, the smallest room in the house, measuring only 14′0″ by 10′6″. The corners of the room are angled, giving the entire room the shape of an octagon. The ceiling is plaster, and the walls are of molded plaster. The floor is a concrete slab covered with inlaid gray slate. There are two sets of wrought iron and glass doors, one opening to the gardens on the north and the other opening to the east onto the north terrace.[21]

South of the breakfast room is the pantry, which has exits to the dining room, to the salon and to the breakfast room. This is actually a warming kitchen, with the main kitchen being directly below. There is a dumbwaiter that brought the hot food from the main kitchen, and it was kept in the warming tray on the south wall. All of the cabinets in the room are of stainless steel and glass, with green velvet lining to display the china. Marland's more expensive service ware was kept in a large safe. On the north wall is the dishwasher and the sink, while on the east wall is the refrigerator and more cabinets. The walls and the ceiling of the pantry are of plaster and the floor is linotile. The approximate measurements of the room, since it is not a perfect square, are 20′0″ by 4′6″.[22]

To the south of the entrance hall is the reception room, measuring 23′0″ by 11′11″. This room as designed by Forsyth displays the styling of Chris-

---

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 3.

[19] *Ibid.*, pp. 3–4; Forsyth, "Sheet No. 12: Dining Room," September 1, 1926, Plans of the Lodge, Marland Mansion and Estate Museum, Ponca City, Oklahoma.

[20] William R. Brown Speech to the Ponca City, Oklahoma, Rotary Club, January 16, 1967, Ponca City Public Library.

[21] Forsyth, "Sheet No. 3: First Floor Plan," October 24, 1926, Plans of the Lodge, City Engineer's Office.

[22] *Ibid.*

topher Wren in the late Georgian period. There are American walnut panels covering the walls from floor to ceiling, which is ornate plaster. The floor is terrazzo tile, made by pouring a mixture of cement and crushed marble into square brass dividers. Opening to the west and to the south are three lead and bottle glass windows.[23]

The west door of the reception room leads into the ladies' dressing room, measuring 11′3″ by 11′1″. The walls are of plaster with walnut trim, the ceiling was designed originally to be of painted canvas, and the floor is of black and white terrazzo tile. There is only one iron casement window which opens to the south. There are two doors in the east wall: the northern one leads to the stone staircase, which in turn leads to the stair hall just east of the landing in the entrance hall. The southern door in the ladies' dressing room leads to the ladies' lavatory, which measures 14′0″ by 5′5″. It contains one lavatory and one commode with a marble partition between them. The walls and ceiling are plaster, and the floor is tile.[24]

Even the stair hall has lavish flourishes, for it boasts a walnut ceiling painted by Mangliotti in subdued colors and gold leaf. The walls are Italian stucco and the floor is terrazzo tile. In the northeast corner is the elevator which serviced all three floors and in the northwest corner is the entrance to the service stairs and the pantry. On the west is the entrance hall landing, to the south are the stairs leading down to the ladies' lounge and up to the second floor, and the logia—open gallery—opens to the east separating the salon from the living room.[25]

The logia is a long hall, measuring 42′0″ by 9′3″, separated from the living room to the south by three open arches supported by carved stone pillars and separated from the salon to the north by a second set of three open archways. The ceiling is beautifully painted in the Chinese Chippendale style. The floor, like the living room and salon, is black and white terrazzo tile.[26]

The living room, south of the logia has walls of finely finished layered limestone, with a marble base around the bottom. The ceiling is paneled with gold-leaf paint and in the style of the later Italian Renaissance. The large wrought iron and glass doorway opens onto the south terrace, designed to give a view of the botanical garden and the planned Pioneer

---

[23] *Ibid.*; Forsyth, "Notes on the Residence of the Late E. W. Marland, Ponca City, Oklahoma," p. 4.

[24] Forsyth, "Sheet No. 3: First Floor Plan," October 24, 1926, Plans of the Lodge, City Engineer's Office.

[25] *Ibid.*

[26] *Ibid.*; Forsyth, "Notes on the Residence of the Late E. W. Marland, Ponca City, Oklahoma," p. 4.

Woman memorial. This is a large room, measuring 36′10″ by 22′2¾″, with copious blank wall space for the purpose of displaying Marland's tapestries, paintings and objects of art. The salon, very similar to the living room in size, has layered limestone walls, terrazzo floor and paneled ceiling. The few differences are the plain paneled ceiling and three arched iron and glass openings to the north; the original plans called for a fountain on the east wall.[27]

To the east of these rooms lies the main gallery or ballroom. It is one of the largest and most elegant rooms designed by Forsyth, measuring 30′0″ by 56′0″. The ceiling is coffered-plaster—recessed panels—and gold leafed in the later Italian Renaissance style. From the ceiling hangs two large sterling silver and Waterford crystal chandeliers estimated to have cost $15,000 each in 1926. The original plans called for plaster walls from the ceiling down to walnut bookcases that were to line the room. Now the walls are layered limestone and there is no evidence of the bookcases. The floor is terrazzo tile like the other galleries. On the north is a carved stone fireplace, originally to be surrounded by carved walnut. On this same wall hang three large oil paintings of the family. Directly over the fireplace is an oil painting of Marland, to the east is a full-length portrait of his wife Lyde and to the west was a portrait of his adopted son George Marland. On the east is a beautiful glass and wrought iron door that leads to the east terrace, which is as large as the ballroom. This terrace overlooked the swimming pool and is built of limestone. On the exterior wall above the east terrace of the mansion are two triple-arched niches with planter boxes under the niches decorated by small octagonal sculptures of domestic and farm animals.[28]

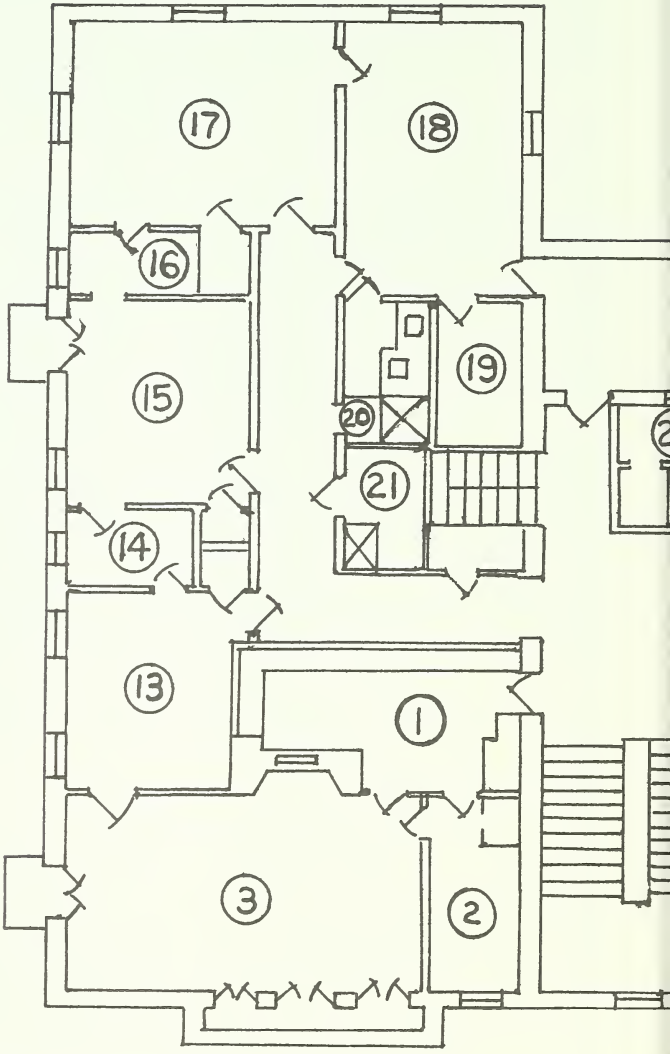
Access to the second floor is by the elevator or the stone stairs, both located in the stair hall. The second floor was the private floor of the mansion and was not open to the public. It contains the bedroom suites of Marland, Mrs. Marland, George and rooms for their guests. In all, there are nine bedrooms, eight bathrooms, three dressing rooms, a library and a small pantry. The stair hall on the second floor is also decorated with an ornate plaster barrel ceiling, stucco walls and terrazzo floor. West of the stair hall is George Marland's bedroom suite, to the east is Mrs. Marland's bedroom suite, and to the east of hers is Marland's library and bedroom suite, occupying the entire

---

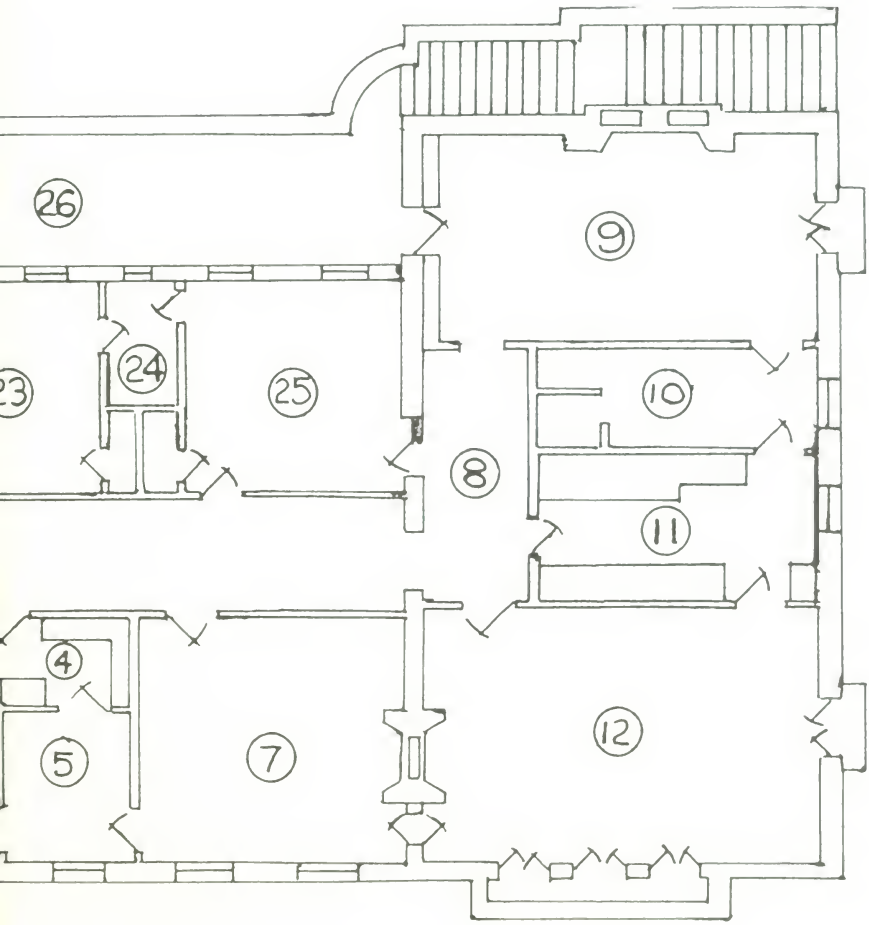
[27] Forsyth, "Sheet No. 14: Living Room," November 26, 1926, Plans of the Lodge, Marland Mansion and Estate Museum; Forsyth, "Sheet No. 17: Salon," revised September 23, 1926, Plans of the Lodge, Marland Mansion and Estate Museum; Forsyth, "Notes on the Residence of the Late E. W. Marland, Ponca City, Oklahoma," p. 5.

[28] Forsyth, "Sheet No. 13: Picture Gallery," December 4, 1926, Plans for the Lodge, Marland Mansion and Estate Museum; Forsyth, "Notes on the Residence of the Late E. W. Marland, Ponca City, Oklahoma," pp. 5–6.

Marland Mansion Second Floor



(1) George Marland's Dressing Room
(2) George Marland's Bathroom
(3) George Marland's Bedroom
(4) Mrs. Marland's Closet
(5) Mrs. Marland's Dressing Room
(6) Mrs. Marland's Bathroom
(7) Mrs. Marland's Bedroom
(8) E. W. Marland's Entrance Hall
(9) E. W. Marland's Library
(10) E. W. Marland's Bathroom
(11) E. W. Marland's Dressing Room
(12) E. W. Marland's Bedroom



(13) Guest Bedroom Number One
(14) Lavatory
(15) Guest Bedroom Number Two
(16) Lavatory
(17) Guest Bedroom Number Three
(18) Guest Bedroom Number Four
(19) Lavatory
(20) Pantry
(21) Linen Closet
(22) Lavatory
(23) Guest Bedroom Number Five
(24) Lavatory
(25) Guest Bedroom Number Six
(26) North Terrace

east wing of the mansion. The six guest rooms are on the north section of the west wing, and the north half of the center section.[29]

George Marland's rooms have an entrance in the stairhall leading into his dressing room. This room is entirely paneled from floor to ceiling with walnut. The closets are all cedar lined, and the dressing table is a solid slab of black marble. Inside one of the closets is a separate compartment for shoes and above that is a wall safe. The floor is a cement slab covered with carpet, the ceiling is plaster and the dimensions are 10′7″ by 11′0″. There are two doors in the south wall, one leading to George Marland's private bath and the other leading to his private bedroom. His bathroom measures 8′8″ by 15′0″, has a plaster ceiling, tile floor and wainscoting. The fixtures include a lavatory with medicine cabinet, towel cabinet, commode, bathtub and a separate shower with a glass door. There is only one window, which opens to the south.[30]

George Marland's bedroom measures 25′11″ by 15′0″, has a cement floor covered with carpet, stucco walls and a plaster ceiling that was originally intended to be covered with painted canvas. There is a beautiful carved stone fireplace on the north. On the south, three wrought iron and glass doors, with carved stone pilasters between them, open onto a long narrow stone balcony which has hand carved corbels by Pellegrini supporting it. There is also a window on the west which opens onto a small balcony with stone floor and wrought iron railing. There is a door on the north which leads into the first guest room.[31]

East of the stair hall is a corridor that gives access to Mrs. Marland's closet and her bedroom, guest bedrooms five and six and to Marland's separate hall. This corridor is also decorated; it has a terrazzo floor, plaster walls and a plaster ceiling, with walnut doors into each room.[32]

Mrs. Marland's suite is smaller than Marland's or George's, but it is the most elegant. Her walk-in closet is separated from her dressing room by a door. Her closet is cedar lined and contains a safe. The floor is cement covered with carpet, and the ceiling is of plaster. Her dressing room is comparatively small, measuring only 10′7″ by 9′3″. It has carpeted cement floors, plaster walls and a plaster ceiling that was originally to be covered with painted canvas. It has one window which opens to the south, an east door leading to her private bedroom and a west door leading to her private

---

[29] Forsyth, "Sheet No. 4: Second Floor Plan," October 25, 1926, Plans of the Lodge, City Engineer's Office.

[30] *Ibid.*

[31] *Ibid.*

[32] *Ibid.*

Marland Mansion Dining Room Fireplace as it looked during the 1920s

bathroom. Her bathroom is rather small, measuring 7′1″ by 12′8″. It does not have a shower but it contains a bathtub, commode and a lavatory with a medicine cabinet. It has one window which opens to the south, a green

Marland Mansion Entrance Hall showing the stone carving by Berglumd

Marland Mansion Entrance Hall Landing which shows gold painted Mosaic by Mangliotti

Marland Mansion Reception Room during the 1920s

tile floor, a green tile wainscot, plaster walls and a plaster ceiling planned to be covered with a painted canvas.[33]

Mrs. Marland's bedroom, though small, being only 21′1″ by 17′6″, is one of the most elegant, being designed in the Louis XV style. The entire walls are covered with limewood hand-carved paneling, the floor is also wooden and the ceiling is plaster, originally to have been covered with painted canvas. On the east wall is an ornately carved pink marble fireplace. There are two windows that open to the south, and an east door that enters Marland's private bedroom.[34]

Marland's suite consists of an entrance hall, library, private bedroom, bathroom and dressing room. The entrance hall is 21′10″ long, runs east and west, the walls are entirely wood paneled, and the ceiling is of barrel-cast plaster.[35]

The library, located on the north end of the east wing, is a large room measuring 30′0″ by 17′0″. Like all of Marland's rooms, this is also in English Tudor style. It has a carpet covered cement floor, walnut paneled walls with a hand-carved cornice around the plaster ceiling. On the east and west walls are inlaid bookcases, with a secret door underneath. On the north wall is a carved marble fireplace with an iron back. The metal casement windows also have carved wood above them, and the east window leads to a small stone balcony. A door on the west opens onto the second story north terrace, which on the east is part of Marland's private cantilevered staircase leading to the swimming pool. The corbels which support the staircase are carved with grotesque mythological animals and birds. Around the top of the staircase is inscribed in Latin "a man's home is his Palace."[36]

Marland's bathroom is south of his library, measuring 21′6″ by 8′6″. The floor is green tile, the walls are green wainscoted tile and plaster, and the ceilings are plaster. It has only one window which opens to the south. The fixtures include a lavatory and medicine cabinet, commode, bathtub and heated cabinet designed to sit in. Next to this is a large shower cabinet—four feet square—which has numerous shower nozzles placed at different levels so that the body would be completely covered by spray.[37]

---

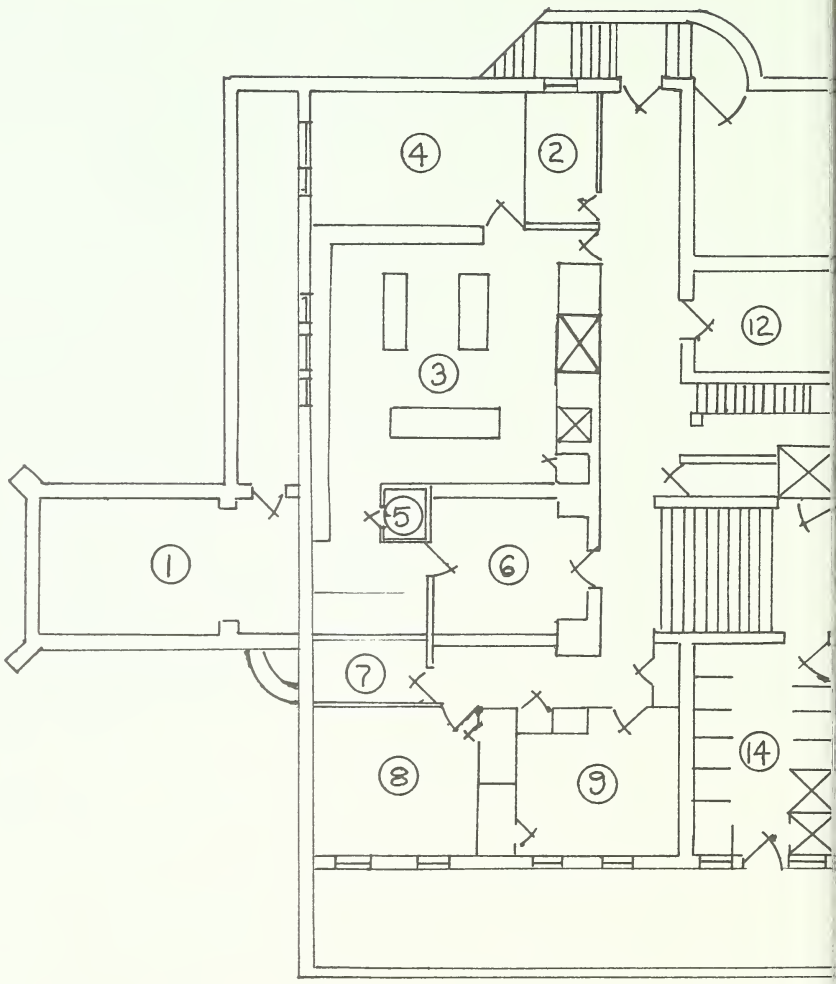
[33] *Ibid.*

[34] *Ibid.*; Forsyth, "Notes on the Residence of the Late E. W. Marland, Ponca City, Oklahoma," p. 7.

[35] Forsyth, "Sheet No. 4: Second Floor Plan," October 25, 1926, Plans of the Lodge, City Engineer's Office.

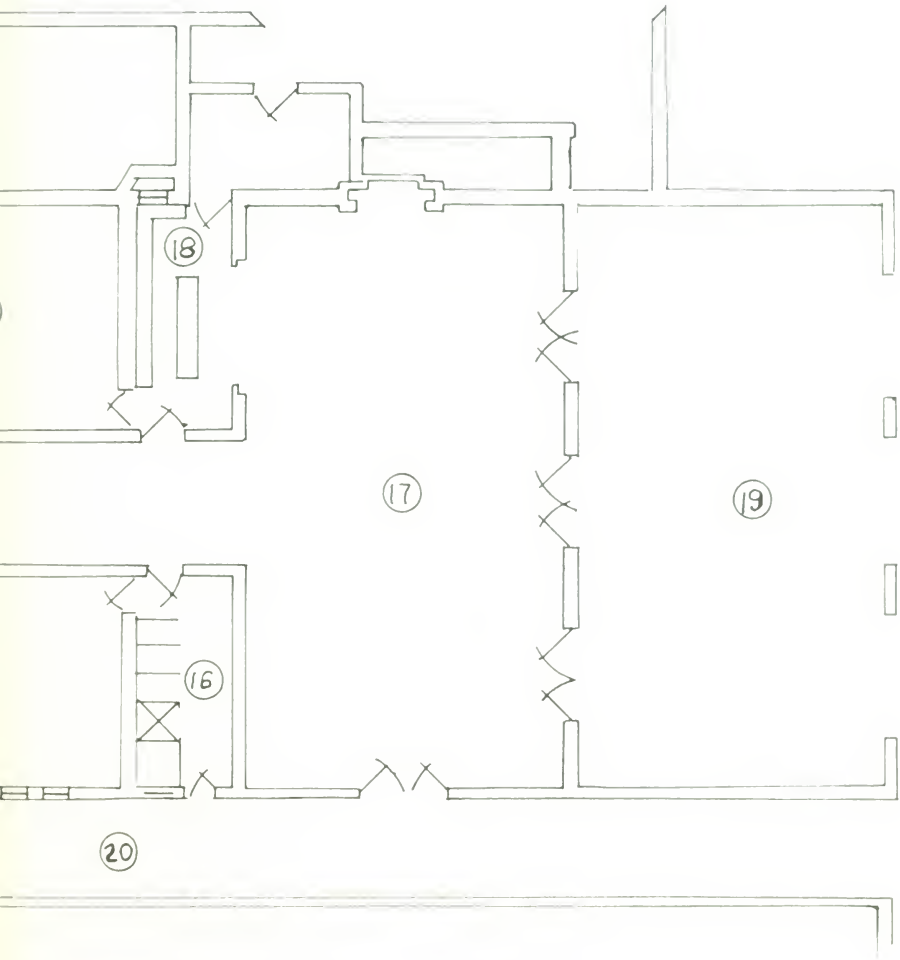
[36] Forsyth, "Notes on the Residence of the Late E. W. Marland, Ponca City, Oklahoma," pp. 6–7; Forsyth, "Sheet No. 20: Mr. Marland's Library," revised, September 29, 1926, Plans of the Lodge, Marland Mansion and Estate Museum.

[37] Forsyth, "Sheet No. 4: Second Floor Plan," October 25, 1926, Plans of the Lodge, City Engineer's Office.



Marland Mansion Basement

(1) Transformer Rooms
(2) Servant's Lavatory
(3) Main Kitchen
(4) Servant's Dining Room
(5) Broom Closet
(6) Storage Room
(7) Servant's Bathroom
(8) Servant's Bedroom
(9) Servant's Bedroom
(10) Machine Room



(11) Boiler Room
(12) Mechanical Equipment Room
(13) Gallery
(14) Men's Shower and Dressing Room
(15) Exercise Room
(16) Ladies' Shower and Dressing Room
(17) Lounge Room
(18) Lounge Room Kitchen
(19) Outer Lounge
(20) South Areaway

South of the bathroom is Marland's dressing room, measuring 21′6″ by 13′0″. It is completely paneled in walnut, with a solid slate of black marble for the top of the dressing table. The floors are carpeted cement, and the ceiling is plaster. All of the closets are cedar lined, and contain a separate compartment for shoes, but there is no personal safe hidden within these closets. On lead and bottle glass window opens to the south.[38]

Marland's bedroom is large, measuring 30′4″ by 17′0″. The floor is carpeted cement and the walls are wainscoted with oak. The ceiling was originally plaster, but was later covered by a painted canvas. On the west wall is a stone fireplace with three carved wood panels above it depicting Marland's two favorite polo mounts. On the south wall are three metal casement doors designed by a sculptor named Critall, which open out onto a long narrow stone balcony, with carved stone corbels underneath to support it. There are carved stone pilasters between the doors and a carved wood cornice around the top of the wall. On the east is a smaller door opening onto a small balcony with a stone base and wrought iron grille. Also, in one of the walls is a large five tumbler safe.[39]

The hall in the west wing has carpeted cement floors, plaster walls and, according to the original plans, was to have a painted canvas ceiling. It opens into guest bedrooms one, two, three and four, containing a total of three bathrooms. Also on the east is a small pantry containing a dumb waiter that brought up food from the main kitchen. There is access also into a large walk-in linen closet, back of which are the service stairs going up to the attic and down to the second floor. Guest bedrooms five and six and their two adjoining bathrooms open off the central corridor. These guest rooms are not nearly as elaborate or as large as the three main suites. They all had carpeted floors, plaster walls and plaster ceilings, but none of them have fireplaces. They vary in size, but the average would be 15′ by 20′. Each room has its own closet and most have access to a balcony. The bathrooms are comparatively small and even though there are enough bathrooms for each room to have access to one, most open into two bedrooms. All bathrooms were originally to have canvased ceilings.[40]

The north balcony extends the entire length of the center wing of the mansion. It has an entrance from the hall, two guest rooms and Marland's library. It has a tile floor and stone borders. It offers a view of the gardens as well as of the Arkansas River.[41]

---

[38] *Ibid.*

[39] Forsyth, "Sheet No. 20: Mr. Marland's Library," revised, September 29, 1926, Plans of the Lodge, Marland Mansion and Estate Museum.

[40] Forsyth, "Sheet No. 4: Second Floor Plan," October 25, 1926, Plans of the Lodge, City Engineer's Office.

[41] *Ibid.*

The basement or lounge floor has a wide assortment of rooms. On the west end are all of the servants' quarters, the main kitchen and the transformer rooms. In the center are the mechanical room, boiler room, handball court and large men's and ladies' restrooms. On the east are the inner lounge, with a small kitchen, and an outer lounge near the swimming pool.[42]

Directly under the porte cochere on the west end of the basement are the two transformer rooms. Their accumulative measurements are 26′ by 12′8″, and they are surrounded by cement and steel walls 1′8″ thick. The only entrance is by the north through an outside areaway that is accessible by an iron rung ladder.[43]

The servants' access to the building is by an outside flight of stairs on the north side leading to the basement. Upon entering, immediately to the right, is a bath area which contains a commode, lavatory, showers, dressing room and bench. The floor is tile, and the walls and ceiling are finished cement.[44]

The next entrance along the north-south corridor leads to the main kitchen, with the servants' dining room attached to the north. This dining room has a linotile floor, plaster walls and a plaster ceiling, measuring 20′0″ by 15′10″. It has one window on the west that opens into the areaway.[45]

The main kitchen is very large and well equipped. It had a linotile floor, and plaster walls and ceiling, with overall dimensions, including the storage room, measuring 14′9″ by 12′0″. There are three work tables in the center of the room: one has a plain surface and shelves underneath, another contains the mixing machine and has shelves underneath, and still another is the chef's table. This table had a utensil rack over it, plain top, and a warmer and shelves underneath. Along the north wall, moving west, are a dresser with cupboards underneath, servants' dishwashing sink, a hand basin and more cabinets. Along the west wall, moving south, are a drainboard and cupboards, two vegetable sinks, another drainboard and more cupboards, a pot sink, another dresser, a cutting bench and an ice cream freezer. The south wall is covered with three huge refrigerators. At this end of the room is also a broom closet with a mop sink. On the closer south wall is a combination gas and electric range, gas and electric broiler and a pan rack. On the east wall are a closet, the dumb waiter and the incinerator.[46]

---

[42] Forsyth, "Sheet No. 2: Lounge Floor," May 26, 1926, Plans of the Lodge, City Engineer's Office.

[43] *Ibid.*

[44] *Ibid.*

[45] *Ibid.*

[46] *Ibid.*

South of the kitchen is a bathroom and two bedrooms for the servants, the slightly larger one measuring 15′10″ by 12′6″. They both have wood floors, with plaster walls and ceilings, and two windows that open to the south areaway, which runs the entire length of the mansion. The bathroom is small, but it contains a commode, a bathtub, lavatory and medicine cabinet.[47]

On the extreme north in the center of the north wall is the machine room, which is completely surrounded by a 1′6″ cement and steel wall. The only entrance is by the servants' stairway. The room measures 46′10″ by 6′6″, has a cement floor, and plaster walls and ceiling.[48]

South of the machine room is the boiler room and the mechanical equipment room. The boiler room has a composition floor and cement walls and ceiling, measuring 28′9″ by 21′3″. Its walls are over one foot thick and it has an entrance on all four sides. The mechanical equipment room is also surrounded by thick walls, even though it is smaller, measuring only 13′8″ by 8′11″. South of it is the servants' stairs, the elevator and the main stairs from the stair hall on the first floor.[49]

The main stairs lead to a long corridor that also serves as a gallery. The floor is tile over a slate base, and the walls are finely layered limestone. The ceiling has wooden beams with a little fat nymph carved in each corner; each of the nymphs characterize a portion of the phraseology of eat, drink and be merry, with a fourth depicted as snorting snuff. North of this corridor is the boiler room, while south of it is a large men's shower and dressing room.[50]

The men's shower and dressing room has an entrance from the corridor and from the south areaway which lead to the swimming pool. The floors are tile, the walls are tile wainscoted and Keene's plastered—a highly finished plaster. The measurements are 14′0″ by 21′1″. It has eight dressing rooms separated by marble partitions, two showers, one commode and lavatory. There are two windows that open onto the south areaway.[51]

The exercise room is large, approximately 29′2″ by 21′3″, and contains a handball court. It has an entrance both into the men's and ladies' dressing rooms. The floor is maple and the walls and ceiling are plaster, with birch trim. There are five small windows that open onto the south areaway.[52]

The ladies' shower and dressing room is smaller than the men's, measuring 9′3″ by 21′1″. There are only three dressing compartments with marble

[47] *Ibid.*
[48] *Ibid.*
[49] *Ibid.*
[50] *Ibid.*
[51] *Ibid.*
[52] *Ibid.*

Marland's Stables, located north of the Mansion

partitions, one large shower, one commode, one lavatory and one window opening onto the south areaway. The floor is tile, the walls are tile wainscoted with Keene's plaster and the ceilings are of Keene's plaster.[53]

The main corridor or gallery leads to the lounge room. This is a very large room and has a small kitchen in the northwest corner. The floor is tile over slate, the walls are layered limestone and the ceiling consists of painted cement beams supporting the gallery above. Mangliotti and three helpers spent six months in Washington, D. C., at the Smithsonian Institution studying the history of the early Indians in Kay County, Oklahoma, before painting this ceiling. On the ceiling in succession from the southeast corner to the northeast corner is painted the history of Kay County from the earliest known days to 1928. On the last beam is a picture of the Marland Oil symbol, the red triangle. Also on the last beam is a picture of Harry

[53] *Ibid.*

Cragin on a bicycle, the only Oklahoman to make the Run of 1893 which opened Kay County.[54]

The kitchen is very ornate and cheery; it is separated from the lounge by folding carved wood doors. The floor is tile, and the walls and ceiling are of highly finished cement. The measurements are 9′0″ by 21′3″. A table in the center of the room has a cutting block in the center and a warming compartment and shelves underneath. It has plenty of cabinet space, and the counters are covered with colorful hand-painted ceramic tile. It has a broiler, four electric hotplates and a spit. Over these is a hand hammered copper exhaust vent. In the north wall of the kitchen is a door that leads to a vault, probably intended for wine. It also has an entrance into an underground passageway, which has very thick walls, a composition floor and cement walls and ceiling.[55]

On the east wall of the lounge are three iron and glass doors designed by Critall. They open up into the outer lounge or porch looking out over the swimming pool. The south outer lounge is a large room almost surrounded by glass. The floor is terrazzo, the walls are roughly finished random layered limestone and the ceiling consists of cement beams which support the east terrace on the first floor. The original plans were for these ceilings to be left bare, but Mangliotti volunteered to paint them. In his design, he tried to capture the feeling of the late 1920s when the mansion was constructed. He used many brilliant colors. There are three large sets of iron and glass doors that open to the east towards the swimming pool, and another large set opens to the areaway on the south.[56]

An underground tunnel leads from northeast of the mansion to the boat house, then west to the artist's studios. The boat house is north of the mansion. It is built of limestone and has a huge safe in its inner wall.

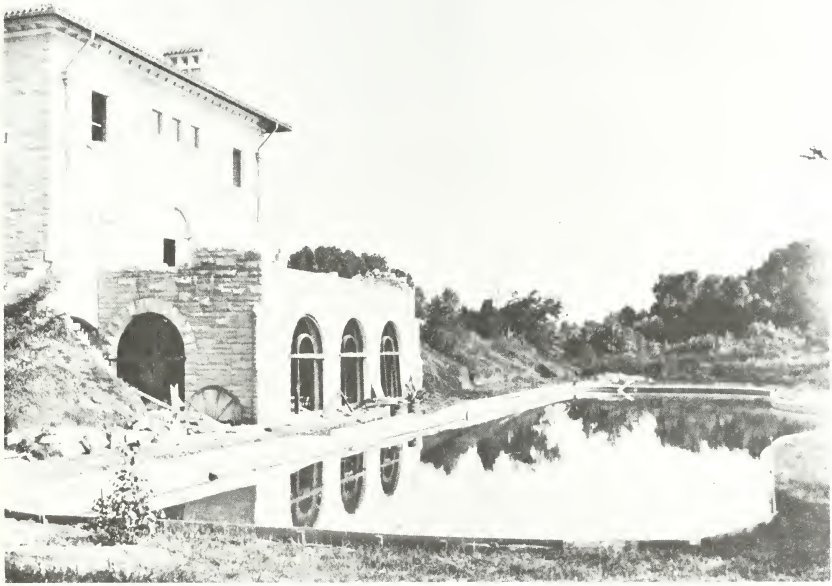
Another interesting feature of the mansion is its drainage system. The gutters and drain pipes are of lead and bear the initial "M" at intervals, as well as the date 1927. The drainage of the east terrace ends in carved stone gargoyles spewing water from their mouths. The drainage of the south terrace comes through a carved head of Pan, a Greek god, emptying the runoff from his mouth into the well under the front terrace.

---

[54] Forsyth, "Sheet No. 9: Lounge," November 12, 1926, Plans of the Lodge, Marland Mansion and Estate Museum; Forsyth, "Notes on the Residence of the Late E. W. Marland, Ponca City, Oklahoma," pp. 6–7.

[55] Forsyth, "Sheet No. 9: Lounge," November 12, 1926, Plans of the Lodge, Marland Mansion and Estate Museum.

[56] Forsyth, "Sheet No. 2: Lounge Floor," May 26, 1926, Plans of the Lodge, City Engineer's Office; Forsyth, "Notes on the Residence of the Late E. W. Marland, Ponca City, Oklahoma," p. 7.



East side of Marland Mansion during construction, showing the already completed Swiming Pool

Marland had all of the land surrounding the mansion landscaped into what he called a botanical garden. He tried to use every tree and shrub known to man. From the south gate of the inner wall he constructed a grass aisle lined with trees and statues leading to the southwest, towards the city. This distance was to be traveled on foot only and was to be open at all times for public use. This view was later terminated by his donation to Ponca City of the Pioneer Woman statue in April, 1930. This grass aisle was lined with small bronze statues of a cowboy, a cowbirl, an American Indianman, an Indian girl and a pioneer man. There was also an open view to the north and to the west.[57]

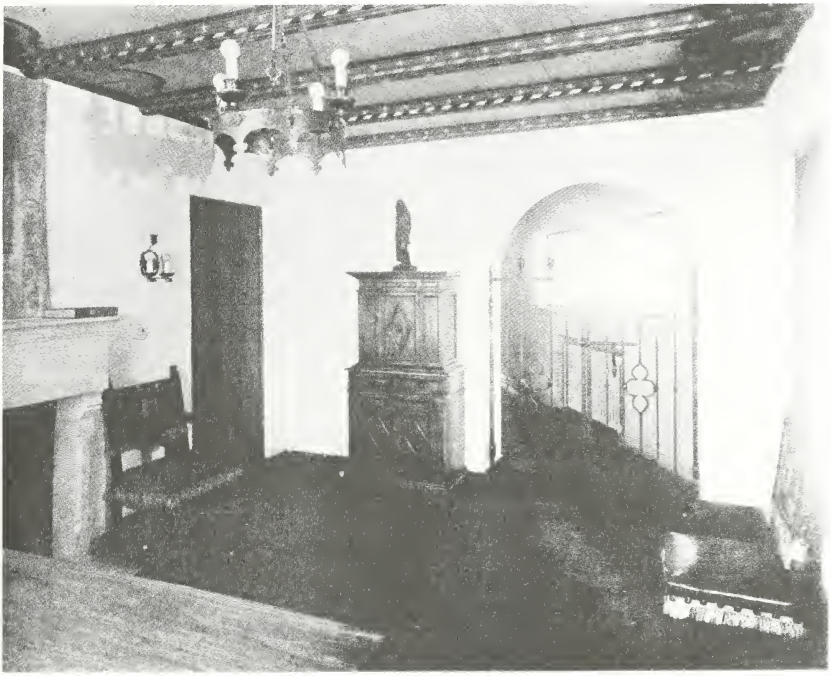
The small bronze statues that lined the grass isle vista to the south of the mansion are no longer in their original location. They have been transferred to the Woolaroc Museum, fourteen miles southwest of Bartlesville, Oklahoma. The stables, polo fields and nine hole golf course are no longer

[57] *Ibid.*, p. 5; Unidentified Newspaper Clipping, *Kansas City Star*, 1932, Ponca City Public Library.

Marland Mansion Boat House and Artist's Studio during the 1920s

in existence, having been removed to make way for housing developments needed for the expansion of Ponca City. Except for the stables, the other buildings of the estate remain in almost the exact condition as when constructed.

Marland and Forsyth became close friends during the three years Forsyth developed the mansion and estate. Forsyth was Marland's campaign manager once and finally a pall bearer at his funeral. On April 2, 1929, Forsyth became a naturalized citizen. During World War II, he was employed by the federal government as a designing engineer for the Ardmore Air Force Base, Ardmore, Oklahoma; the United States Naval Installation at Inyokern, California; the United States Marine Corps camp at Pendleton, California and the Douglas Aircraft Plant at Long Beach, California. In 1948, Forsyth set up a private practice in San Clemente, California, but soon returned to Oklahoma to establish his architectural office in Tulsa. Some of his most notable works in Oklahoma are the Will Rogers Memorial at Claremore, the Oakridge Country Club in Tulsa, the Southern Hills Country Club in Tulsa and the Oklahoma Military Academy at Claremore,



Interior view of the Marland Mansion Administration Building during the 1920s

as well as many private homes in Tulsa. Forsyth died on October 5, 1963, at the age of seventy-six.[58]

After Marland completed his mansion in June, 1928, he could afford to live in it for only eighteen months. In 1927, he had encouraged the board of his oil company to borrow $30,000,000 from the J. P. Morgan Company of New York City to expand his oil company and to pay off its debts. The board was not able to repay the money, and the J. P. Morgan Company gained more and more representation on the board until it practically voted Marland out. Marland resigned as board chairman in October, 1928. The J. P. Morgan Company took possession of his home on Grand Avenue in Ponca City and used it as a residence for the new president. Shortly after Marland resigned, the Marland Oil Company merged with the Continental Oil Company. "I'm in the position of the man," Marland explained, "who was asked what he'd do with all the money in the world, and he replied, 'I'd pay it on my debts as far as it would go.' "[59]

[58] Personal Papers of Mrs. John Duncan Forsyth.

[59] John Kobler, "Where is Lydie Marland?" *Saturday Evening Post*, Vol. CCXXXI, No. 21 (November 22, 1958) p. 16; *Ponca City News*, October 5, 1941.

North side of the Marland Mansion during a party given shortly after its opening in 1928

This did not stop Marland, however. He felt that he had more knowledge than almost anyone when it came to finding oil. In 1932, he organized the Marland Oil Company of Oklahoma, which lay dormant while he served as governor of Oklahoma from 1935 to 1939. Then he moved the offices of his company to his mansion, then finally to Arkansas City, Kansas, where it existed until his death. In addition to serving as governor of Oklahoma, he ran for the United States House of Representatives in 1932. Even while governor, he used his talent for finding oil. With the help of the Oklahoma National Guard, he had oil wells drilled on the Oklahoma State Capitol lawn. These wells netted the state $2,866,376, which was used to construct state buildings.[60]

Marland believed that given a little time and good health, he could make a third fortune. But his health failed, so he decided to sell most of his property. On May 22, 1941, he sold all of his mansion estate property, except for approximately three acres and a few buildings in the northeast corner

[60] *Ibid.*, *New York Times*, October 4, 1941.

of the estate, to the Discalced Carmelite Fathers of Oklahoma. Marland died only a few months later on October 3, 1941. His body laid in state at the East Junior High School Auditorium of Ponca City and was buried in a mausoleum in Odd Fellows Cemetery.[61]

The Discalced Carmelite Fathers purchased the mansion estate property for a mere $66,000. It was to be used as a college of philosophy, starting with twelve students. The fathers are alleged to have whitewashed the ceiling depicting the history of Kay County in the lounge of the mansion. They added no buildings and later sold the mansion estate property to the Fellician Sisters of the United States of America on September 9, 1948, for $1,500,000.[62]

In 1949, the sisters completely renovated the mansion and replaced the wiring. They filled in the deteriorating swimming pool and all of the lakes except for the one in the northwest corner which Mrs. Lyde Marland still owned. In 1952, they built Angela Hall, located between the mansion and the artists' studios. It was built as a combination classroom facility, laboratory and dormitory. It is built of limestone, is two stories high and contains 11,153 square feet. In 1962, another combination structure was constructed consisting of the Novitiate House and the Administration House. An enclosed hallway connects them with the southeast corner of the mansion. The building is of limestone, is three stories high and contains 25,318 square feet. Assumption Chapel was also built in 1962. It is south of the Novitiate House complex, is built of limestone, has four floors and contains 6,191 square feet.[63]

By 1973, the Fellician Sisters decided to sell the Marland estate, which they called Assumption Villa. On September 16, 1975, the people of Ponca City voted to buy it. It was to be paid for with a one cent sales tax, making up one-half of the cost. The other half was to be donated by the Continental Oil Company, which had merged with the Marland Oil Company in 1928. The property was sold on November 24, 1975, to the City of Ponca City for $1,435,000. The Continental Oil Company paid $717,500 and Ponca City paid $717,500. The city has opened the mansion for tours and one of the studios has been turned into a petroleum hall of fame. Future plans include a possible art college and museums.[64]

---

[61] Warranty Deed, *Deed Record*, Vol. CIXX, No. 380, Kay County Court House, Newkirk; *Daily Oklahoman*, October 4, 1941.

[62] Warranty Deed, *Deed Record*, Vol. CLXX, No. 142, Kay County Court House, Newkirk.

[63] *Ponca City News*, September 5, 1975 and September 11, 1975.

[64] *Ibid.*, September 17, 1975, p. 1; Warranty Deed, *Deed Record*, Vol. LXXXII, No. 44, Kay County Court House, Newkirk; *Now*, Vol. VII, No. 2, (March-April 1976), p. 6, newsletter published by Continental Oil Company, Ponca City, Oklahoma.

Through the purchase of this property, the public has the opportunity to view the indulgences of an Oklahoma oil baron. It shows the ideals of the era in which it was created, a time when great quantities of oil wealth were quickly made and as quickly lost. Marland's style of living was far above average even among the wealthy. He lived a life that few people of his time could afford. Besides providing a view of Marland and his lifestyle, his mansion also gives the public the opportunity to view its art treasures of design and decoration. Marland brought some of the ablest craftsmen and designers to be found anywhere to a little hill on the Oklahoma prairie to display their skills and talents.

SPECIAL COLLECTIONS DEPARTMENT AT NORTHEASTERN OKLAHOMA STATE UNIVERSITY

*Helen Wheat and Brad Agnew**

The Special Collections Department of the John Vaughan Library at Northeastern Oklahoma State University houses a small but unique assortment of original documents relating to the history of the Cherokee Nation, Indian Territory and Eastern Oklahoma. These letters, reports, business accounts and public records form the nucleus of the larger collection which includes primary and secondary works in print and microform pertaining to the history of what is now the state of Oklahoma and its inhabitants.

Located in Tahlequah, the capital of the Cherokee Nation, on the site of the campus of the Cherokee Female Seminary, Northeastern Oklahoma State University was purchased by the State of Oklahoma in 1909 and converted into a normal school and later a state college. Throughout those years, the institution maintained close relations with the Cherokees and consequently became the custodian of a number of documents recording the history of the tribe.

Unfortunately, few persons associated with Northeastern in its early years demonstrated much interest in the history of the region or its inhabitants. There were few systematic attempts to gather documents or to conduct interviews with individuals who had first-hand knowledge of the Cherokee removal or relocation. Emmet Starr, librarian of the normal school from 1913 to 1916, was a notable exception. The scion of a distinguished Cherokee family, Starr had assigned himself the task of recording the history of the tribe and its illustrious members. "Working night and day," the librarian collected material which was eventually incorporated in his *History of the Cherokee Indians and Their Legends and Folk Lore*, a book that remained the standard work on the tribe for almost half a century. Although the documents he collected were not deposited in the Northeastern library, they eventually were obtained by the State Historical Society.[1]

The purchase of a number of bound volumes of the *Cherokee Advocate* in the spring of 1921 seems to have stimulated student and faculty interest in local history, for in October of that year an historical society was formed

---

* Brad Agnew is an Associate Professor of History and Helen Wheat is Curator of the Special Collection Division and an Assistant Professor of Library Science at Northeastern Oklahoma State University, Tahlequah, Oklahoma.

[1] Interview, T. L. Ballenger, April 23, 1977. Muriel H. Wright, "Memorial Plaque Honoring Dr. Emmett [*sic*] Starr, Cherokee Historian," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXVII, No. 2 (Summer, 1952), pp. 246–247.

Emmet Star, Librarian at Northeastern, 1913–1916

at Northeastern. The preamble to the organization's constitution explained its purpose. "In view of the fact that Northeastern State Teachers College is situated in the midst of a section of our country rich in historic lore, especially of that pertaining to the original home of the great nation of Cherokee Indians, we propose to perpetuate the memory of the original people of this territory by organizing an historical society for the purpose of collecting and preserving relics and documents of historic value."[2]

Apparently, a vigorous appeal was made throughout the area for documents and artifacts. During the 1920s the student newspaper and acquisitions records of the library indicate a number of gifts to the library from area residents. These included a book of treaties between the United States and the Cherokees dating from 1785, an 1941 Cherokee roll book and correspondence between John Howard Payne and John Ross. It was also during the 1920s that Northeastern acquired several registers from the National Hotel of Tahlequah, a landmark dating from the city's early years. Just

---

[2] *Northeastern News* (Tahlequah), March, 1921, p. 4; *Tsa La Gi*, yearbook of Northeastern State Teachers College, 1924, p. 98.

across the street from the national capitol building, the hotel provided accommodations for the numerous dignitaries who visited the Cherokee seat of government.[3]

The purchase of half a dozen old Cherokee documents by the library in 1929 reflected the increasing interest in the study of tribal history at Northeastern. An article in the student newspaper noted, "There are, at present, five people here gathering material on the Cherokee Indians." For the first time the annual library report contained a subdivision entitled *Cherokee Collection*, which noted, "The Library has acquired a special collection of 175 pieces, including government publications, state publications, books and pamphlets, on the Cherokee Indians." The librarian recommended that the collection be catalogued separately and stored in a safe.[4]

The interest of the librarian in preserving and safeguarding the records of the Cherokees and other early pioneers of the region predated the involvement of the history department. Dr. T. L. Ballenger, emeritus professor of history who accepted a teaching position at Northeastern in 1914, said he did not become interested in the history of the region until the mid-1920s. Once interested, however, he and his colleague in the history department, Miss Eula Fullerton, devoted much of their effort to preserving documents recording the local history. Over the next few decades Ballenger, Miss Fullerton and the librarian, Miss Sue Thornton, intensified their efforts to persuade area residents to donate documents and artifacts to the college.[5]

Throughout the depression, progress was necessarily slow, but the Cherokee Collection began attracting researchers to the college's campus. Miss Thornton, who served as librarian from 1933 to 1964, recalled that a number of researchers travelled to Tahlequah to consult the documents in the 1930s. The collection's Cherokee language law books were also frequently borrowed by members of the tribe when they became involved in legal disputes. The annual report of the librarian for 1930–1931 credited the "efforts of Miss Fullerton and Mr. Ballenger of the History Department and of the librarian, [for the acquisition of] several important additions to the Oklahoma and Cherokee Indian history" collection. After noting several significant published works, the report continued, "Most valuable of all

---

[3] Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Aunt Eliza of Tahlequah," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. IX, No. 1 (March, 1931), pp. 51–52; *Northeastern News* (Tahlequah), February, 1922; *The Northeastern* (magazine section), July 5, 1927.

[4] *The Northeastern*, April 29, 1929; Annual Report of the Northeastern State Teachers College Library, 1928–1929, pp. 4, 14, Special Collections Department, John Vaughan Library, Northeastern Oklahoma State University, Tahlequah, Oklahoma.

[5] Interview, T. L. Ballenger, April 11, 1977.

perhaps are the loans of original John Ross and other letters relating to the Cherokee Nation."[6]

By 1934, Miss Fullerton estimated that the Cherokee Collection contained "one thousand separate communications and gives a complete, though one-sided history of the Cherokee nation from 1836 down to the present century." Among the important recent acquisitions she listed correspondence between the United States and the Cherokee government, the enactments of the tribe's National Council and other Indian laws, correspondence relating to Indian participation in the Civil War and reports concerning education in the Indian Territory. One member of the library staff in 1934 in reporting the purchase of an out-of-print book on the constitution, treaties and laws of the Chickasaw Nation, said the purpose of the Cherokee Indian Historical Collection was "to collect material for future reference and research on Oklahoma history." By 1941, Northeastern's holdings were significant enough for the Works Progress Administration's *Oklahoma: A Guide to the Sooner State* to note that the college's museum contained a large number of "Indian relics and documents."[7]

During the 1920s and 1930s, Northeastern was not the only institution of higher learning gathering documents on the early years of the region. Dr. Edward E. Dale of the University of Oklahoma, was scouring the area for material for his library's Phillips Collection. On several occasions Northeastern and the university became interested in the same documents.

In 1919, over 2,000 letters written to and from Stand Watie, his family and acquaintances, were found in an old farmhouse not far from one of Watie's homes near Bernice in northeastern Oklahoma. Professors Ballenger and Dale were both interested and neither came away completely empty handed. Ballenger, acting for Northeastern, purchased a small portion of the correspondence including a letter from Andrew Jackson to Stand Watie and John A. Bell dated October 5, 1839. Dale eventually managed to purchase the bulk of the collection for the University of Oklahoma.[8]

Another episode had a similar conclusion. With the dissolution of tribal government at Oklahoma statehood, a safe full of Cherokee documents

[6] Interview, Sue Thornton, April 11, 1977; Annual Report of the Northeastern State Teachers College Library, 1930–1931, p. 5, Special Collections Department, John Vaughan Library.

[7] *The Northeastern*, May 10, 1934 and September 20, 1934; Workers of the Writers' Program of the Works Projects Administration in the State of Oklahoma, comp., *Oklahoma: A Guide to the Sooner State* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1941), p. 259.

[8] Interview, T. L. Ballenger, April 11, 1977; *The Northeastern* (Tahlequah), May 10, 1834; Edward Everett Dale and Gaston Litton, *Cherokee Cavaliers: Forty Years of Cherokee History as Told in the Correspondence of the Ridge-Watie-Boudinot Family* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1939), p. ix.

Dr. T. L. Ballenger helped build the Cherokee Collection from the 1920s to the present

was transferred to the Carnegite Public Library in Tahlequah where it remained largely unnoticed for two decades. In 1929, the energetic Dr. Dale negotiated a contract with the Tahlequah library whereby the documents were transferred to the University of Oklahoma for ten years. By 1940, the Tahlequah library board had inquired as to the status of the documents and had been asked by Dr. Dale to allow them to remain in Norman a little longer because they were being used by graduate students. The board

granted Dale an extension until September 15, 1942, when the Cherokee documents were to be returned to Tahlequah and housed in fireproof quarters at Northeastern State College. They were never returned, and the only item Northeastern ever received from the Cherokee documents was a letter from Albert Pike to John Ross dated 1861 in which Pike urged the Cherokee chief to join the Confederacy. This letter had been "borrowed" from the safe by a Northeastern student before Dr. Dale "borrowed" the collection from the Carnegie Library. The student eventually gave the letter to the Northeastern library.[9]

Occasionally, Northeastern beat Dr. Dale to a stash of documents. In the late 1930s or early 1940s, a trunk full of letters, account books and business records was given by the Nave family of Park Hill to Northeastern State College. The correspondence and records belonged to John Ross' son-in-law and business partner, Andrew Nave, who operated stores at Tahlequah and Park Hill before the Civil War. The Nave letters "throw considerable light on Cherokee affairs from the time of the general removal of the Cherokees to this country in 1839 to the close of the War between the States."[10]

The year before he retired from Northeastern, Dr. Ballenger devoted much of his time to cataloging and preparing typescripts of the Nave Papers. The material was organized into twelve volumes including Business Accounts, Business Letters, Accounts from Van Buren, Mrs. Jane Nave Accounts, Orders and Requests, Social Correspondence, Civil War Letters, John Ross Letters, Indian Affairs and others on miscellaneous topics. In an article describing the Nave Papers published in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* Ballenger wrote, "They [the records] reveal many interesting things about the economic life of the people, their poverty, their standards of living, their dependability and their methods of transacting business. Some hundred or more personal and social letters portray much concerning the intellectual capacity, as well as the home and social life, of the Naves, the Meigs and the Rosses."[11]

During World War II, efforts to enlarge the Cherokee Collection were held in abeyance, and after the war the collection's prime movers turned to other pursuits. Dr. Ballenger devoted himself to his writing, Miss Thornton's time was increasingly turned to plans for a new library which was

---

[9] Interview, T. L. Ballenger, April 11 and April 23, 1977; Resolution adopted by the Carnegie Library Board of Tahlequah, February 16, 1940, Special Collections Department, John Vaughan Library.

[10] T. L. Ballenger, "The Andrew Nave Letters: New Cherokee Source Material at Northeastern State College," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXX, No. 1 (Spring, 1952), p. 3.

[11] *Ibid.*

completed in 1949 and Miss Fullerton retired and left the Tahlequah area. After Dr. Ballenger's retirement in 1951, "there was little emphasis on the collection of research materials on Indian and regional history for a number of years," according to Dr. Maxwell O. White, emeritus professor of history who came to Northeastern in 1948 and served as librarian from 1971 to 1975.[12]

While the collection was not growing rapidly in those years, it did find more adequate accommodations. With the completion of the new library in 1949, Miss Thornton announced the relocation of the collection to a "treasure room containing rare volumes, principally dealing with American Indians, . . . known as the Cherokee Room." Although she did not mention it, the move came none too soon, for roaches and silverfish, which thrived in the dank atmosphere of the library wing of the old administration building, now called Seminary Hall, were literally consuming the collection.[13]

Shortly after the construction of the new library, Miss Ahnawake Hastings, daughter of William W. Hastings, Congressman from northeastern Oklahoma for eighteen years, presented Northeastern her father's personal library and three linear feet of documents including his speeches, correspondence and Congressional papers as well as some "rare letters, dealing with Cherokee history." Subsequent contributions from state and national political figures include the papers of Ed Edmondson, Oklahoma Congressman for twenty years, Bill Willis, Speaker of the Oklahoma House of Representatives and the late Ray Fine, a long time member of the state legislature. Collectively, these papers provide an abundant source of material for research in the development of Oklahoma politics.[14]

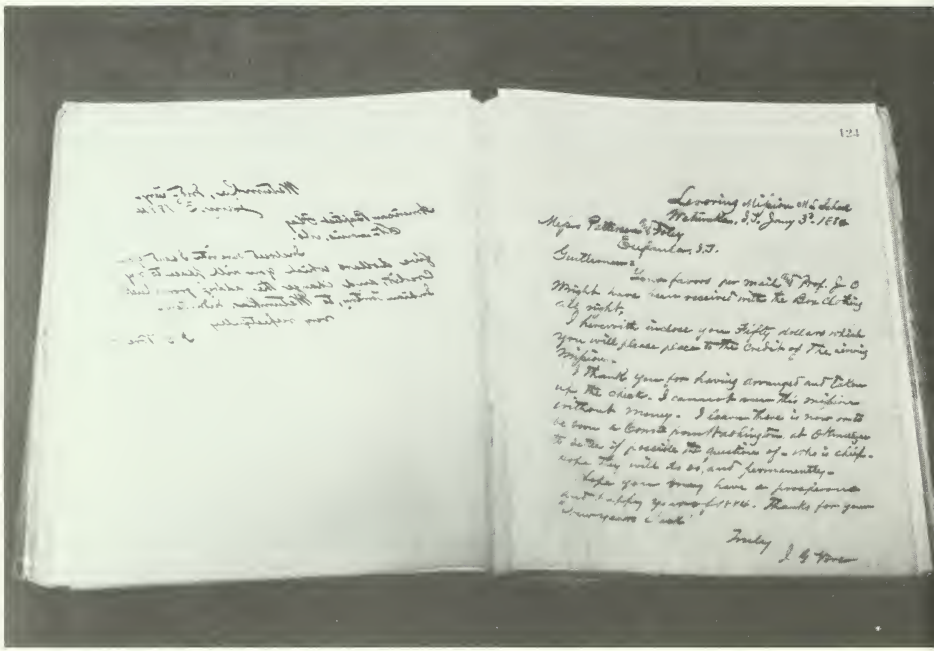
During the 1950s and 1960s, the Cherokee Collection, locked behind a menacing wire mesh in a poorly illuminated corner of the library's closed stacks, attracted few students, faculty members or off campus researchers. The collection continued to grow slowly as printed material was purchased, but little correspondence or other original documents chronicling the region's past were added. The "rediscovery" of the Native American in the late 1960s and early 1970s focused national attention on Indian history and spurred scholarship in that area. Nationally, this interest produced a deluge of books and articles on the Indian. Locally, the Cherokee Collection entered a new period of rapid expansion and quickly outgrew its prison-like

---

12 Interview, Maxwell O. White, April 27, 1977.

13 *The Northeastern*, January 21, 1949.

14 Annual Report of the Northeastern State College Library, 1949–1950, p. 5, Special Collections Department, John Vaughan Library.



A letterbook from Levering Mission in the Special Collections Department at Northeastern Oklahoma State University

"treasure room." In 1973, Mrs. Helen Wheat became the collection's first full-time curator, and in 1975, the collection was moved to spacious, well illuminated quarters in which all but the oldest and most fragile of the documents were placed on open stacks. Typescripts of most of these documents were made available for the use of students and casual researchers.[15]

A number of gifts and purchases further enlarged the collection's holdings of old correspondence, business accounts and manuscript records. In 1970, special permission was obtained from the Board of Regents to purchase from Mrs. Jewel Jones the collection of her father, A. L. Beckett, first judge of Haskell County and author of a textbook on Oklahoma government. His library "representing 279 separate items" described "Indian history in the northeast section of Oklahoma and early settlement activities." Among the items in this collection is a manuscript letterbook maintained from 1879 to 1886 by Israel Vore, the superintendent of Lever-

---

15 Interview, Maxwell O. White.

ing Mission near Wetumka. There is also a notebook of J. G. Vore, a pre-Civil War resident of Webbers Falls, which listed Cherokees registering for reservations under the 1817 treaty, quartermaster records of Indian units in the Civil War and other personal notes. Other items include 1852, 1875 and 1892 editions of the *Laws of the Cherokee Nation* and an 1830 edition of *Speeches on the Bill for Removal of the Indians.*[16]

One of the most significant recent additions to the library was an extensive collection of records of the city of Tahlequah dating from the late nineteenth century to the 1940s. Minutes of city council meetings, tax rolls, municipal court records and similar documents provide an in depth view of municipal government from the two decades before statehood to World War II, a period of transition and adjustment for both Indian and white residents of the area. Discovered in the attic of the city hall after years of gathering dust, these documents were presented to the library through the efforts of Dr. Ballenger in 1973, almost sixty years after he joined the faculty of Northeastern Normal School.[17]

In 1975, Northeastern received the library and personal papers of Miss Eva Horner, a long-time Tahlequah resident who spent much of her life studying and recording the folk tales of the American Indians. Her personal library contained a wide assortment of Indian material including a manuscript of over 500 typewritten pages entitled "Shawnee Stories." These folk tales and recollections related to her in the 1930s by old Shawnees through an interpreter represented a tribal literature heard by few whites.[18]

Another collection of letters was presented to the college in 1976 by Mrs. Louise Peake, granddaughter of John T. Drew, Jr. Drew served the Cherokee Nation in a number of capacities including attorney general and supreme court judge from the 1870s until statehood. His correspondence includes fifty-eight items relating to legal affairs and personal matters dating from 1877 to 1910.[19]

The renewed interest in Indian history on the part of the students and faculty was reflected in the establishment in 1973 of an Indian studies major and an annual Symposium on the American Indian. Both stimulated the growth of the Cherokee Collection. Dr. White made acquisition of Indian related material top priority in the library's Title II fund requests and committed a significant portion of the library's resources to building

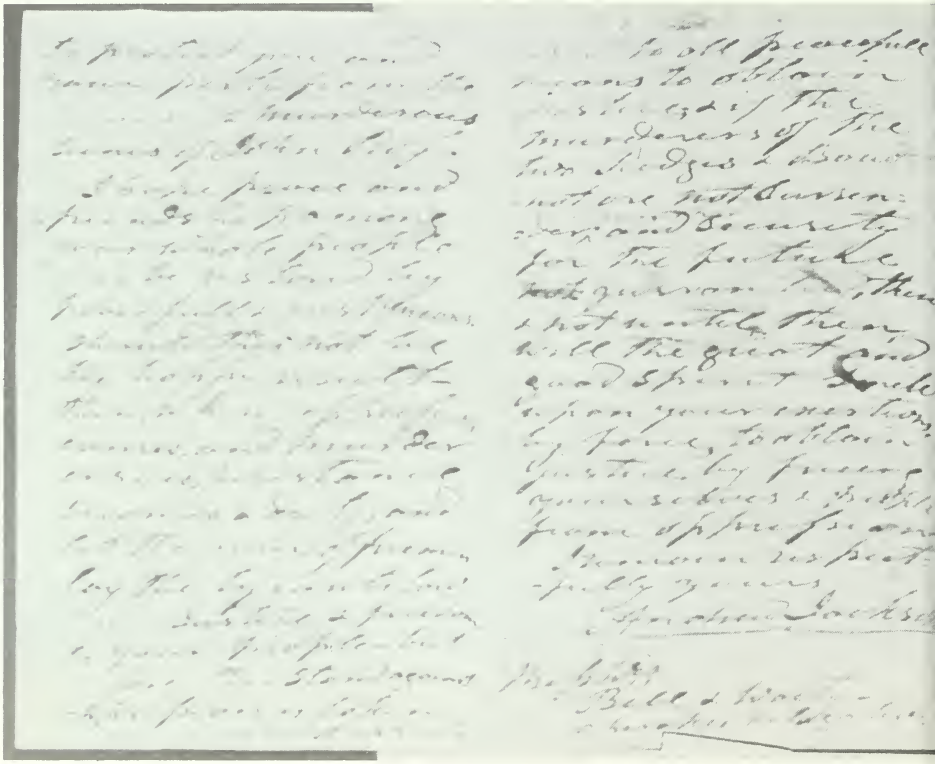
---

[16] Gilbert Fites, W. C. Evans and Calvin Turnbow to President Garrison, December 18, 1969, Jones Collection File, Special Collections Department, John Vaughan Library.

[17] Records, City of Tahlequah File, *ibid.*

[18] Eva Horner File, *ibid.*

[19] John T. Drew File, *ibid.*



Among the correspondence in the Special Collections Department is this letter from Albert Pike to John Ross urging the Cherokee Chief to ally his tribe with the Confederacy

the collection. Individual faculty members in several academic areas also began ordering material related to the American Indian.[20]

In 1976, the library acquired over 200 rolls of National Archives' Microcopy 234, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824–1881. The material relates to many of the tribes native to or relocated in Indian Territory and contains official reports and correspondence of the

[20] Interview, Maxwell O. White.

A few of the municipal records of the City of Tahlequah given to the Special Collections Department in 1973

agents, letters from army officers, claims against the government and other documents pertaining to Indian affairs. These documents provide a first-hand account of the American Indian in the critical years of removal and the settlement of the West. The library has also purchased a portion of National Archives' Microcopy 21, Letters Sent by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824–1882. This correspondence, sent to tribal agents, post commanders and others, reveals the attitudes and decisions of Washington policy makers in the nineteenth century. The papers of Isaac McCoy, a Baptist missionary among the Indians and an ardent advocate of the establishment of a separate Indian Territory, have also been acquired on microfilm.

Other collections of reports and correspondence include the annual *Reports* of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs from 1824 to 1949, *The American State Papers*, Kappler's *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, selected Congressional documents and reports, the testimony and decisions of the Indian Claims Commission and the *Territorial Papers of the United States*. The Cherokee Collection also contains newspapers and periodicals published in the region or providing news of the area and its inhabitants. These

include *The Cherokee Phoenix and Indians' Advocate*, 1828–1834; *The Niles Weekly Register*, 1811–1849; *The Cherokee Advocate*, 1844–1906; *The Army and Navy Chronicle*, 1835–1842; *The Missionary Herald*, 1805–1906; *The Arkansas Intelligencer*, 1843–1858; *Indian Journal*, 1876–1898; *Indian Chieftain*, 1882–1902 and many others.

Other valuable material on the Native American includes complete holdings of the annual *Reports* and *Bulletins* of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Henry Rowe Schoolcraft's *History and Conditions of the Indian Tribes of the United States* (with index) and *The New American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, 1789–1860. The library has also recently acquired the *Library of American Civilization*, an ultrafische collection of approximately 20,000 volumes, most of which were published in the nineteenth century or earlier. Many of these works describe various aspects of the history and culture of the of the American Indian.

The Cherokee Collection also contains a number of bibliographies and indexes useful in the location of information on the American Indian. These include the Department of Interior's *Biographical and Historical Index of American Indians and Persons Involved in Indian Affairs*, Frederick J. Dockstader's *The American Indian in Graduate Study*, George P. Murdock's *Ethnographic Bibliography of North America* and the American Indian Historical Society's *Index to Literature on the American Indian*. A file of over 700 photographs of people and places in the Cherokee Nation and Indian Territory is also housed in the collection.

The continued growth of the Special Collections seems assured. The department has its own acquisitions budget and a full-time curator. The current librarian, Dr. David Eyman, is planning to convert an adjacent hall into a reading room and to increase the security of the collection. Student and faculty interest in the study of the Native American also remains high. Financing, housing and interest are essential but not sufficient to build a unique collection. What makes the Cherokee Collection different are the letters, reports and other records that exist nowhere else. Most of these documents were given to Northeastern by the descendants of those who traveled the Trail of Tears or helped build Indian Territory. In the future as in the past, the growth of the Special Collections will depend on the generosity of individuals who possess letters, diaries and other accounts recording the history of the region.

THE OPENING OF OKLAHOMA: A BUSINESSMAN'S FRONTIER

*By Norman L. Crockett**

Mention of the opening of portions of Oklahoma to settlers immediately invokes visions of a horde of small farmers assembled along a starting line impatiently awaiting the opening gun, runaway teams and overturned buckboards, land boomers mounted on spirited thoroughbreds, violent quarrels over claim boundaries and, of course, the very stereotype of the land run—the sooner—who saw fit to arrive slightly in advance of his more honest, or at least slower, brethren. To be sure, such an image in part portrays an accurate picture of the opening of the Unassigned Lands and other territory. But editor and historian alike have placed too much emphasis upon the excitement and glamour of the land rush in terms of an agricultural movement while neglecting the urban aspects of the opening.[1] More important, the role of a host of businessmen in both the promotion and settlement of the area has been hidden somewhere in the cloud of dust stirred up by yeomen farmers seeking homesteads. In their concentration on the opening of Oklahoma as a haven for landless or disgruntled farmers seeking a new frontier in the early 1890s, scholars have glossed over the efforts of the southwestern railroads, business leaders in Kansas City and St. Louis, Missouri, and in the Kansas border towns in attempting to force the federal government to dislodge the Indians from their holdings.[2]

Such an oversight offers no surprise and seems consistent with some of the past scholarship in western history. A previous generation of Western historians and their graduate students expended copious amounts of time and energy debating the truisms and fallacies of the frontier experience as outlined by Frederick Jackson Turner, minutely describing dusty trail drives from Texas to Abilene or shoot-outs in the streets of Dodge City. Consequently, much of importance in the economic and business history of the American West went begging. In regard to the area west of the

---

* The author is currently Chairman of the History Department at the University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma. Portions of this were read at the 1970 meeting of the Business History Society.

[1] John Alley, *City Beginnings in Oklahoma Territory* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1939), represents the only major attempt to deal with urban development in the land rush period. Alley, however, focuses on city government, failing to make a comparison with town formation in other regions.

[2] Although the articles, biographies and monographs concerned with the opening of Oklahoma in part deal with the railroads, most give only passing reference to other business groups. Western historians have tended to emphasize the conflict in Oklahoma among cattlemen, Indians, homesteaders and the railroads.

Atlantic seaboard, however, older students of business history might well hesitate before congratulating themselves on their own perception. Until the 1960s most scholars interested in the history of American business concentrated their efforts upon successful eastern business leaders—or at least those with extensive eastern connections—who built or operated large-scale enterprises during the period of rapid industrialization. The attitudes and activities of the successful eastern giants of the American business system are well known, but not so familiar are the actions and attitudes of the small banker, merchant and manufacturer, especially those who operated in the American West.[3]

One scholar has suggested a very practical reason for the failure or slowness of historians interested in the land rush and lottery movements to quickly recognize the active role of businessmen in the drive to open Oklahoma.[4] As early as the Civil War, a number of business leaders in the Middle West and Southwest recognized the trade potential that might develop from opening the area to settlers, but they also perceived that an appeal based on business profits might meet with widespread public opposition and the charge of favoritism to special interests. Thus, while businessmen at times preferred to work behind the scenes to open the territory, the central theme of the articles and speeches which appeared during the 1870s and 1880s focused on the area as an agricultural paradise capable of providing millions of citizens with the great American dream of a homestead.

A cursory examination of the opening of Oklahoma might suggest a pattern of settlement unique to other regions of the United States. Typically, the settlement process evolved over an approximate ten to twenty year period. The arrival of a merchant armed with a stock of goods purchased in the East and possessing sufficient capital to construct and open a small store normally marked the birth of a town. Blacksmiths, cobblers, tailors and other artisans joined the merchant usually offering their services to local residents on a custom-order basis. The inadequacies of intra- and inter-regional transportation leading to high freight charges, the availability of raw materials locally and a sufficient demand for manufactured goods low in value yet high in bulk often lured the pioneer manufacturer to the new community as well. In a short time, the small town provided its residents and the surrounding countryside with a full range of goods and services in addition to offering an intermediate market for non-perishable

---

[3] Studies by W. T. Jackson, Gene Gressley, Robert Swierenga, Robert Dykstra, Charles Glabb, William Savage, Jr. and Lawrence Larsen constitute important contributions to both business and western history and have done much to correct the oversight.

[4] Arrell M. Gibson, "The Homesteaders Last Frontier," *American Scene*, Vol. IV (1962), p. 28.

Such small stores as this normally marked the birth of a town on the frontier

agricultural commodities and some local resources. The community and its immediate market area normally changed little until the advent of the railroad, the interurban railway and the automobile, bringing in their wake lower freight charges to and from the larger market outside, increased mobility, the mailorder catalog and the eventual urbanization and industrialization of the entire region. This process, with some modification, was repeated over and over as each new wave of population spread westward.

Disregarding the eastern one-half of the present state, the settlement of Oklahoma proceeded either through five land runs, beginning with the opening of the Unassigned Lands in April, 1889, and concluding with the rush of settlers into the Kickapoo Reservation in May, 1895, or with the land lottery, the most prominent of the latter being the opening of the Apache, Comanche and Kiowa Reservation as late as 1901. In either case, whether by run or lottery, settled territory, some of which boasted well-established towns and cities such as Wichita in Kansas, enjoyed a close proximity to the lands to be opened. In a number of instances the railroad preceded rather than followed the settler. This situation was especially true with the opening of the Unassigned Lands and the founding of El Reno, Guthrie, Kingfisher, Norman and Oklahoma City. Those problems closely associated with urban life, the maintenance of law and order, sanitation, street construction and repair and the water supply, for which solutions would be sought in other areas as a community grew, were com-

The large gatherings of people attracted by the various land openings in Oklahoma were ready made customers for early businessmen

pounded in Oklahoma by the accelerated pace of settlement. The growth of Oklahoma City from a few crude shacks by a rail siding to a tent town of approximately ten thousand people in twenty-four hours represents a case in point. In the process, nearly all segments of the business community arrived on the scene at the same time, rather than migrating to the area over a period of several months or years.

Extant records failed to yield an exact enumeration of the total number of settlers who poured into Oklahoma during the land rush and lottery periods. Thus, the number of businessmen who joined in the movement also remains hidden. Except for a few isolated cases, those interested in establishing or re-establishing a business enterprise flocked to the new townsites, most of which were staked out by promoters during the first few days of each opening. Certainly, not all those who moved to or purchased lots in a town were businessmen, but the number of such townsites and the extent of commercial activity in each strongly suggest a heavy influx of businessmen into the territory.[5] Hamilton Wicks, a visitor to Guthrie, reported that within one hundred days after the formation of that town it

[5] The townsites provided an attraction for many settlers. In 1891, the Governor of Oklahoma reported that approximately twenty-five percent of the territorial population resided in one of the six largest towns. This did not include a host of smaller communities formed during the first land run. United States Department of Interior, *Report of the Governor of Oklahoma, 1891* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1891) p. 3.

contained forty-seven lumber yards, forty dry goods concerns, seventeen hardware stores, fourteen grocers, five banks and a multitude of other firms.[6] With the opening of a new town business leaders quickly organized groups to boost the community, thereby promoting their own interests. Although most of its business establishments were still housed in tents, one month after the opening of the Unassigned Lands commercial interests in Oklahoma City announced the creation of a board of trade with permanent committees on advertising, education, finance, immigration and railroads.[7]

While total figures are lacking, material on individual businessmen is abundant yet widely scattered in newspaper accounts, biographical directories, county histories and personal reminiscences. Drawing upon an analysis of a sample of one hundred such individuals, however, permits a few generalizations concerning their backgrounds and movements.[8] Of those businessmen composing the sample, a substantial majority were born some time in the 1850s, placing them in their late forties at the time they entered the territory. Their place of birth ranged from Canada to the Deep South, but more than one-half of the group had migrated to one of the states adjoining Oklahoma while they were young men—usually in their late twenties or early thirties.

An overwhelming majority had previously engaged in some form of business enterprise before their entrance into the territory and indeed the movements of many suggest a peripatetic nature equal to the western land speculator. Cassius Cade, a banker in Kingfisher, and Hiram Diehl, a hardware merchant in Lawton, represent typical examples of the wanderlust of a number of early Oklahoma businessmen. Cade, born in Ohio in 1856, moved to Kansas in 1879, to Colorado in 1881, back to Kansas in 1884, before taking part in the rush into the Unassigned Lands five years later.[9] Diehl, a Canadian by birth, operated a lumber yard in Clark, South Dakota, in 1888 before turning to hardware merchandising. In that line he located in Oklahoma City during the run of eighty-nine and joined others in the founding of Enid during the opening of the Cherokee Outlet in 1893. Diehl temporarily relocated in Comanche in 1900, finally establishing a hardware store in Lawton the following year.[10]

---

[6] Hamilton Wicks, "The Opening of Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. IV, No. 2 (June, 1926), p. 140.

[7] Irving Geffs, *The First Eight Months of Oklahoma City* (Oklahoma City: McMaster Printing Company, 1890), pp. 48–49.

[8] The sample of one hundred businessmen was drawn from biographical directories, county histories, personal reminiscences and newspaper accounts.

[9] *Portrait and Biographical Record of Oklahoma* (Chicago: Chapman Publishing Company, 1901), pp. 617–618.

[10] *'Neath August Sun, 1901* [A collection of reminiscences of the founding of Lawton, Oklahoma] (Lawton: Business and Professional Woman's Club, n. d.), p. 41.

Of the businessmen comprising the sample, most had entered Oklahoma following a previous residence in either Kansas or Texas, the majority migrating southward from the small towns close to the Kansas border. Because the small towns of southern Kansas represented agricultural service centers, and, therefore, farmers constituted the bulk of customers, it seems plausible to speculate that the exodus of the artisan, banker and merchant from the area stemmed directly from the fluctuations in agricultural prosperity during the 1880s and 1890s. Several excellent studies have expanded our knowledge of small businessmen in the West and their political attitudes concerning the Populist party, but definitive statements on their demographic movements and the economic reasons underlying them must await further research.[11]

Both their geographic movements and their shifts from one type of business activity to another indicate a quest for opportunity and profit rather than a strong commitment to one particular line of business. Typical of developing regions, a number of the sample had engaged in business pursuits ranging from banking and mercantile establishments to furniture stores, hardware retailing, and undertaking. Second, the instant partnership, or the pooling of capital and expertise by individuals who only a few minutes or hours earlier had been complete strangers, seemed common to both the land rush and lottery openings. As only one of many examples, Brent Mitchell, a druggist from Indiana, arrived at the Lawton lottery in August, 1901, desirous of opening a business there. Mitchell at first lacked the capital for such a venture, but found three others, all strangers, and a one-week partnership was quickly formed to fill out registration papers and to locate claims and lots for settlers. Possessing no particular talent for such work, Mitchell became the hawker for the company, shouting the merits of the enterprise up and down the dusty streets running between rows of shacks and tents. In five days the partnership was dissolved and its members divided the $125 profit equally. Combining his share with a loan from a friend, Mitchell opened a drug store and joined the Lawton business community on a more permanent basis.[12]

Established companies in the towns and cities outside an area to be opened sent their salesmen to take part in the land runs or to display their wares to the crowds that formed at the lottery sites. John Seamans, a salesman for a Midwestern dry goods company who lived in Humphreys, Mis-

---

[11] Frederick C. Luebke, "Main Street and Countryside: Patterns of Voting in Nebraska During the Populist Era," *Nebraska History*, Vol. L, No. 3 (Fall, 1969), pp. 257–277, represents one of several studies of small-town businessmen and their attitudes concerning the Populist party.

[12] *'Neath August Sun, 1901*, pp. 109–110.

The coming of the railroads were also responsible for business booms on the frontier

souri, joined others in the opening of Lawton and mentioned traveling there with other sales representatives.[13] George D. Cross, a salesman for a Chicago, Illinois, lumber concern who resided in Wichita, Kansas, moved to Guthrie the first day of the opening of the Unassigned Lands in order to handle the receipt and sale of several carloads of lumber shipped to him by his employer.[14]

In addition to dispatching salesmen, some businessmen outside the territory saw the openings as an excellent opportunity to create branches. Edward Cones, who had taken part in the rush into the Cherokee Outlet, settling in Enid, was instructed by an Enid feed and flour store to proceed to the Lawton lottery to establish a branch outlet in the new town. Arriving with several thousand dollars in cash, which he deposited in a well-guarded tent labeled the First National Bank, Cones purchased a town lot, erected his own tent and stocked it with the twelve wagon loads of flour shipped to him.[15]

A number of businessmen appear to have moved their entire operation to Oklahoma with an opening, cutting all previous ties in older communities. Their preparations from the move varied, ranging all the way from one resident of Wichita who brought his personal belongings and a large

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 152.
[14] *Wichita Eagle* (Wichita, Kansas), April 23, 1889.
[15] *'Neath August Sun, 1901*, p. 63.

Generally, shortly after the land openings most towns could boast a business section

shipment of bananas with him to Guthrie, hoping to find a partner with sufficient capital to open a fruit and vegetable business, to Marvin Iralson who spent several weeks preparing to open a mercantile firm in Lawton.[16] Iralson traveled from Dallas, Texas, to Washington, D.C., to check on the exact date of the opening, journeyed west to Marlow, Oklahoma, where he ordered the construction of a frame building to be shipped in sections to Lawton, and finally to Chicago and New York City to select a line of dry goods and notions.[17]

The paucity of reliable records on the number of individuals taking part in the openings and lotteries prohibits an estimate of the capital flow into the territory.[18] In reminiscing, some settlers maintained that they arrived in Oklahoma with little or no cash among their possessions. Others, such as Fred L. Boling, a merchant, made the run to Kingfisher with $1,100 in cash concealed in a money belt.[19] One businessman who entered the Apache, Comanche and Kiowa Reservation in 1901 claimed that the party of four

[16] *The Daily Oklahoman* (Oklahoma City), April 23, 1939.

[17] *'Neath August Sun, 1901*, p. 43.

[18] Estimates of the exact number of people entering Oklahoma with each land run and lottery vary widely. The Governor of Oklahoma placed the population of the Unassigned Lands at approximately 60,000 in 1890, but that figure did not include those individuals who took part in the land rush and then left the territory during the first few months.

[19] *Echoes of Eighty-Nine* [A collection of reminiscences of the founding of Kingfisher, Oklahoma] (Kingfisher: *Kingfisher Times and Free Press*, 1939), p. 108.

Banks were a necessity for the development of the businessman's frontier

with which he traveled brought a total of $3,500 in cash hidden under the clothing of the women in the group.[20] Although on the average no one settler appears to have carried a large sum of money, the very number of individuals joining in each opening no doubt created a substantial capital flow into the territory.

More important, bankers outside and immediately adjacent to newly opened lands cooperated closely in establishing banking facilities in the new townsites thus contributing to the movement of funds. A few months prior to the Lawton lottery, bankers in Guthrie, Hennessey, Kingfisher, Okarche and Marlow, Oklahoma, met and pooled their resources in an effort to organize a bank in the new town. After receiving a charter to form a national bank, the group purchased a large wall tent, a sign reading "First National Bank," a time-safe and made arrangements for the advance shipment of the fixtures and a large amount of cash to Lawton. Representatives from the five banks met in the townsite to personally supervise establishment of the enterprise.[21] A. P. Kimble, a hardware merchant in Lawton, later described the interior of the new bank as a "large safe sitting on the ground . . . encircled with willow poles about eight feet high covered with chicken wire."[22] The firm's major competitor at the time was

[20] *'Neath August Sun, 1901*, p. 63.
[21] *Ibid.*, 19–21.
[22] *Ibid.*, 38–39.

the City National Bank housed in an elegant fourteen by twenty foot shack which had been shipped overland and reassembled on the townsite. With the opening of the Unassigned Lands, executives of the Newton Bank of Newton, Kansas, founded the Commercial Bank of Guthrie, whose directors in turn formed a branch at Stillwater. Unfortunately, the entire operation folded within one year when the Newton Bank became insolvent.[23]

In addition to capital, lumber also flowed into the territory. The absence of trees in most areas prompted lumber dealers in a number of towns in Texas and Kansas to ship carloads of lumber to the rail sidings at Guthrie, Kingfisher and Oklahoma City several days in advance of the land run.[24] Despite such efforts, lumber continued to command a high price in the open market, and according to a newspaper account one enterprising businessman quickly disposed of a wagon load of lumber at Guthrie for $1.00 per board.[25] The high demand for lumber encouraged some businessmen to purchase and ship partially assembled structures to the townsites. A number of commercial buildings and private residences abandoned in Wichita following the collapse of a land boom there in 1887 were town down and reshipped to Oklahoma City in 1889. Later, old buildings from Wichita were also moved to Newkirk and Ponca City for the run into the Cherokee Outlet.[26]

Given the rapidity of settlement and the number of individuals who moved into the territory, the business district of some towns took on a carnival atmosphere for the first few weeks of each opening. Most businesses were housed in tents, always susceptible to high winds and rain, and for some businessmen improvising became a necessity. Such was the case with H. C. Morgan, the owner of a wagon yard in Lawton, who later claimed that he was forced to live in a four-room house made of baled hay for two months until a permanent structure could be built.[27] The use of spielers and hawkers seemed a commonly employed form of advertising. Such individuals walked the streets loudly proclaiming the advantages of patronizing a particular concern. In such a situation, business specialization quickly broke down. Common to other developing areas in the American West, lawyers speculated in land and published newspapers, cabinet

---

[23] Berlin B. Chapman, *The Founding of Stillwater: A Case Study in Oklahoma History* (Oklahoma City: *Times Journal* Publishing Company, 1948), pp. 178, 182.

[24] *The Daily Oklahoman*, April 23, 1939.

[25] *Wichita Eagle*, April 23, 1889.

[26] Charles Francis Colcord, *The Autobiography of Charles Francis Colcord, 1859–1934* (Tulsa: C. C. Helmerich, 1970), p. 135.

[27] *'Neath August Sun*, 1901, p. 64.

makers sold furniture, furniture dealers doubled as undertakers and doctors operated drugstores. David Martin, a settler in Oklahoma City described one druggist there as "apothecary, doctor, chiropodist, gynecologist, obstetrician, and speak-easy bartender."[28] Such an environment also attracted the drifter, the curious and many who lacked capital, but hoped to find an opportunity for quick profit. Speaking of Guthrie after the opening, the Territorial Governor of Oklahoma reported to the Secretary of the Interior that "lawyers without claims abound, bankers without banks or capital are there, [and] real estate speculators without customers . . . , [all] are there to ply their vocations."[29] Thus, in the opening of Oklahoma as elsewhere, the businessman constituted as much a part of the opening of the West as the fur trapper, miner, cowboy and homesteader.

The extent to which the land rush and lottery altered the process of settlement, town formation and business organization requires further study. With one exception, present research would suggest that the rapidity of settlement in Oklahoma altered town development and business structures very little. A description of a community of any size in Oklahoma a few years after each land run or lottery bears a marked resemblance to towns in Illinois in the 1850s and Iowa in the 1870s. The fact that the railroad preceded the settler into many portions of Oklahoma, however, may have prevented the rise of residentiary manufacturing so common to other regions.

---

[28] As Quoted by *Daily Oklahoman*, April 23, 1939.

[29] United States Department of Interior, *Report of the Governor of Oklahoma*, 1891, p. 7.

CHARLES THOMSON PRIZE COMPETITION IN HISTORY

The National Archives and Records Service, in cooperation with the Western History Association, is proud to announce the third Charles Thomson prize competition in history. The award will be made in the fall of 1978. The $250 award honors the first secretary of the Continental Congress, whose meticulous recordkeeping established the basis of the Federal government's archives.

The prize will be awarded to the scholar whose work utilizes the holdings of the National Archives or Presidential Libraries to explore any significant aspect of Western history. Selection of the winning essay will be made by an independent panel of historians chosen by the Western History Association. In addition, the winning essay will be published in *Prologue: The Journal of the National Archives.*

Entries should not exceed 7,500 words and should be submitted to the editor of *Prologue*, National Archives Building, Washington, D.C. 20408.

SOUTHWESTERN STUDIES PROGRAM CENTRAL STATE UNIVERSITY

The Oklahoma State Regents for Higher Education have tentatively approved a Master of Arts Degree in History—Southwestern Studies, to be offered by the Central State University Department of History. The new program will be interdisciplinary allowing students to take courses in various subjects relating to the American Southwest as a region, but the core courses will be in history.

THE DAWNING: A NEW DAY FOR THE SOUTHWEST; A HISTORY OF THE TULSA DISTRICT, CORPS OF ENGINEERS, 1939–1971. By William A. Settle, Jr. (Tulsa: Tulsa District, U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, 1975. Pp. ix, 179.)

In anticipation of the bicentennial of its founding, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers commissioned a series of district histories. This volume about the Tulsa district was authored by William A. Settle, who deliberately chose "not to construct an encyclopedic compilation of events and names" but rather a narrative history. Created on July 1, 1939, by subdividing the area under the jurisdiction of the Little Rock district office, the Tulsa district has jurisdiction over the Arkansas River and its tributaries from Fort Smith, Arkansas, to Great Bend, Kansas, and the basin of the Red River and its tributaries above Fulton, Arkansas.

The concept of opening the Arkansas to useful navigation already was old when the Tulsa district office was opened. French traders and trappers plied the waters of the river with pirogues and flatboats early in the eighteenth century, while soldiers, missionaries and Indians in eastern Oklahoma in the first years of the nineteenth century used steamboats capable of navigating in three to four feet of water. Because of the importance of this means of transportation, the Corps of Engineers made its first report on the Arkansas in 1870, while engineers worked on the Red River beginning in the 1830s. Because both rivers flooded periodically, the Corps tended to concentrate on flood control measures until immediately after World War II. After 1946 most of the energies of the Tulsa district office have been concentrated on building the McClellan-Kerr Arkansas River Navigation System, including the construction of the dams which simultaneously controlled floods and stored the water necessary to operating the locks that raise barges from 300 feet at Dardenelle, Arkansas, to more than 500 feet at the port of Catoosa near Tulsa. This task was completed on June 5, 1971, and portends a revolution in the transportation network serving Oklahoma.

Settle has used his source judiciously and written in readable style. The result is a sound, scholarly history of an important piece of Oklahoma and Southwestern history. Every library in the state should acquire a copy.

Odie B. Faulk
Oklahoma State University

OKLAHOMA TREASURES AND TREASURE TALES. By Steve Wilson. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976. Pp. vii, 325. Illustrations. Maps. Bibliography. Index. $15.95.)

This book on treasures—hidden, lost, mined, buried, unmined and the trail almost lost, is a treasure in its own right. Providing, of course, that a spark of adventure still lives in the reader.

The well known plot of an attack on the gold-laden mule train, the bullion hastily stashed and maps quickly drawn by one or more surviving persons who return years later is present in several instances. But there is much more. Outlaws, farmers, miners and an assortment of their lost or hidden treasure is covered as well.

Most lodes are documented, especially the legendary mining operations where ample proof is found in remaining artifacts at various sites in Oklahoma's mountains and hills. Much more documentation and evidence of hidden gold in bullion, coins and crushed ore are unearthed by the author than seemed possible. Numerous instances where individuals, either by accident or diligent searching, did, in fact, find tangible treasure are recorded with their names and what they found.

However, the real treasure inherent in this book is the story of people who early had connection with Oklahoma. What they did with their land and what they lived, dreamed and worked for shines through in the legends. This adds to the readibility of the work as does the intrigue of the "Iron Door of The Wichitas," occasionally reportedly seen near Treasure Lake in the Fort Sill area. As a matter of fact this Iron Door tradition alone is worth the price of the book.

C. E. Metcalf
Oklahoma Historical Society

DEATH SONG: THE LAST OF THE INDIAN WARS. By John Edward Weems. (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1976. Pp. xxii, 311. Preface. Illustrations. Notes. Index. $10.95.)

Through the latter Indian wars Weems has traced seven principal characters. Each of the four white characters represented a type in the frontier army. Robert G. Carter, a young officer with Colonel Ranald Mackenzie in Texas, was the dutiful soldier—until at Blanco Canyon he suffered an official slight and a disabling injury; he then spent the rest of his life seeking popular and pecuniary recognition for his services. Sensitive John G. Bourke was an aide to General George Crook during his campaigns against the Apache and the Sioux; he came to hold a sympathetic attitude toward the

Indian. George A. Custer was the soldier-politician with one eye on the Indians and the other on the press. Elizabeth Custer was the devoted military wife who loved her husband but hated his work so much that when the first blades of grass in spring announced the beginning of another campaign, she ground them under her heel.

Each of the three Indian characters typified a different response to non-Indian encroachment. White Bear (Satanta) of the Kiowa resisted it deviously, talking peace while waging war; his inability to adjust to the inevitable led to his imprisonment and suicide. The Apache Geronimo also was persistent in resistance, but less two-faced than White Bear; his adjustment after defeat was to become a carnival huckster, a sad relic of his earlier fierceness. Quanah Parker of the Comanche chose a scrupulous third course: as long as he and his Quohadas could live independently, he made no promises of peace, but when white civilization closed in, he surrendered and conformed to it. Weems has related all these lives and the events associated with them as interconnected narratives.

Instead of footnotes the book has bibliographic references for each chapter. This is annoying only when direct quotations are left unidentified in the text. Another problem is occasional distortion of peripheral facts, such as a comment that Chief Black Kettle at the Battle of the Washita would not have rallied his warriors to fight because he was an advocate of peace.

Rather than compiling another survey of the Indian wars, Weems has captured the life-style and the drama of the conflicts by highlighting personalities. He has shunned historiographic controversies, avoided undue moralizing and summarized well-known events. His characters emerge with empathy and believability, and his style is graphic and engaging. The book contains many poignant moments, such as the birth of Carter's second daughter in an army tent while soldiers outside strained at the ropes to keep a norther from sweeping canvas and mother away.

Although the book contains no new facts, it offers humanizing perspective and tells the story well. However, the short epilogue might have been omitted. The philosophic leap from Quanah Parker to Arnold Toynbee strains credulity.

Thomas D. Isern
Sam Houston State University

RANCH LIFE IN THE FAR WEST. By Theodore Roosevelt and Frederick Remington. (Flagstaff, Arizona: Northland Press, 1973. Pp. xii, 89. Illustrations. $6.00.)

Rough and tumble cowboys of Western stock have long fascinated the American mind. The cowpoke on horseback is the American version of the European knight. And this fascination of the American cowboy is not limited to contemporary thought but has been a part of American culture since the emergence of the first cowpuncher in the trans-Mississippi West. Literature surrounding the cowboy originated almost as soon as the first Westerner began rounding up mavericks in southern Texas. During the last half of the nineteenth century, other means of describing the saga of the cowboy developed. Paintings, sketches and sculptures were made which graphically depicted the life of the cowboys. Artists rose who met the challenges of the West, and after studying frontier types, successfully applied their knowledge by creating art forms that related the history of the cowboy.

One such artist was Frederick Remington whose notoriety became world famous even during his own time. Several writers likewise became famous for their literature on the cowboys. Theodore Roosevelt was one such writer. Both men were Westerners in their own right, for both had experienced ranch life on the frontiers of the Great Plains. Their economic ventures in ranching failed, however, but their experiences better enabled them to communicate the life of frontiersmen in the American West. In 1887 *Century Magazine* accepted for publication six detailed articles that Roosevelt had written on ranch life in the West. Roosevelt keenly had observed the drawings of Frederick Remington in magazines like *Outing* and *Harper's Weekly*, and when his articles were accepted by *Century*, he demanded that Remington be assigned the task of illustrating the articles.

The result of this endeavor by Remington and Roosevelt was the production of an excellent combination of writings and illustrations that were unsurpassed during the late nineteenth century. Throughout the year of 1888 the articles and illustrations appeared and were an immediate success. Thus, the essays and drawings were gathered into a book which likewise enjoyed great popularity. Unfortunately, the original articles and the books that followed landed in the hands of collectors and academic repositories. Until now the general public, the buff and the professional have not had easy access to these writings and pictures, and therefore the production of this volume is indeed a contribution to the study of the American West. *Ranch Life in the Far West* is a complete reprint of both the drawings and the narrative. Northland Press has faithfully reproduced an excellent facsimile edition of the original work which will be enjoyed widely once again.

Roosevelt entitled his first article "Ranch Life in the Far West," and it presents a survey of ranching. From the outset the reader is captured by the ex-president's colorful writing style which flows easily from his general discussion of the various ranching regions of the West to the description of the characters and terminology of Western ranch life. "The Home Ranch" is the second chapter and the third is "The Round-Up." Both of these graphically detail the thoughts and feelings of a cowpoke as he performs his daily chores during all seasons of the year. Roosevelt's narrative as he provides a chapter on a sheriff's duties of the ranch and range. And the story of the cowboys would be incomplete without mention of the weaponry of these ranch hands. Roosevelt chooses to detail the importance of the rifle in his chapter on hunting in the Far West. "Frontier Types" is Roosevelt's final chapter which portrays the role of trappers, vaqueros, gunmen, greenhorns, outlaws and cowboys.

This is an exciting book which will intrigue buffs and professionals alike. Throughout the entire volume are the handsome sketches of Frederick Remington. Action stimulates the reader's eyes, for the drawings reflect the forceful movements of the characters pictured in the sketches. Few artists have captured for all times the feeling of the Western frontiersmen; Remington was a master who had the gift to do so. Every phase of Western ranch life is depicted in Remington's work, and each episode that is portrayed by the artist is matched by the skillful writings of Roosevelt. The mergence of both forms of communication yields a fine piece of Western America that will be enjoyed by anyone interested in the fascinating study of America's Far West.

Cliff Trafzer
Washington State University

THE CHEYENNE AND ARAPAHO ORDEAL: RESERVATION AND AGENCY LIFE IN THE INDIAN TERRITORY, 1875–1907. By Donald J. Berthrong. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976. Pp. xv, 384. Maps. Photographs. Notes. Bibliography. Index. $12.50.)

Thirteen years ago the University of Oklahoma Press published *The Southern Cheyennes*, which chronicled the history of the tribe through the beginning of the reservation period. Now, Don Berthrong has continued the story of the Southern Cheyenne and that of the southern branch of the Arapaho, who shared the frustrating and degrading decades of agency life from the 1870s to 1907, the year of Oklahoma statehood.

The last quarter of the nineteenth century marked the Federal government's attempts to completely change the Indian's lifestyle and place him firmly on the white man's road. That these policies ran directly contrary to the desires of Native Americans rarely concerned the officialdom of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Almost without exception, the succession of agents at Darlington Agency, located near present El Reno in Indian Territory, were convinced that destroying the Cheyenne and Arapaho tribal existence in favor of an individualistic, Christian agrarian one would be ultimately beneficial to their Indian wards.

If these unwilling occupants at Darlington Agency, believed themselves harassed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, they were no less displeased with the encroachments of frontier whites. Cattlemen viewed the grassy plains, which composed the greater part of the reservation, as a fair field for pasturing their herds. The reservation's second agent John D. Miles, spent a great deal of energy dealing with these trespasses as well as those committed by thieving whites who preyed on the Indian's pony herds. It was difficult for the agency staff to demonstrate the superiority of a white civilization based on private property through establishing schools and model farms when Texans and Kansans continuously ignored the property rights of the Indians. Agency personnel were further hampered by their own government whose policymakers' knowledge of Indian Territory conditions was only marginal and whose purse strings never opened sufficiently to accomplish its stated goals.

Berthrong's study insists that the security of the Cheyenne and Arapaho was vested in the retention of their land base, the reservation. He devotes a goodly portion of his narrative and analysis to a discussion of three pieces of federal legislation and their effects on the two tribes' well being. The Dawes Severalty Act of 1887, the product of humanitarian reform zeal and frontier land greed, gave each tribesman an individual land allotment, citizenship and divested him of three quarters of the four million plus acreage that composed the original reservation. The 1902 Indian Appropriation Act contained a section, which became known popularly as the Dead Indian Land Act, which allowed adult heirs of deceased Indians who held allotments to sell them. The legislation also stated that guardians of minor allottees could be sold. Four years later the Burke Act modified the earlier Dawes Act, outlining a method by which Cheyennes and Arapahoes could receive patents in fee simple to their allotments thus ending the federal government's trusteeship over Indian land. By the beginning of the second decade of the twentieth century the two tribes' patrimony was largely alienated from them along with any chance of economic independence.

The Indian ordeal in western Oklahoma continued long after statehood;

however, the milieu of "hunger, disease, despair, and lethargy" was formed during the time spanned in Berthrong's richly detailed study. Those interested in state history will be delighted with the narrative while students and scholars of Indian affairs will heartily welcome this meticulous analysis of the effects of reservation existence on Native American lifestyles. Although numerous studies of nineteenth century Indian policy exist, this is the first to conclusively explore its effects on a single reservation. Indian readers will appreciate the author's respect for enduring tribal ways and his consultation of existing Indian sources in preparation of his manuscript. The excellent maps and lengthy photographic sections add much to the book's text. The bibliography reveals that Berthrong based his work on archival collections chiefly located at the Oklahoma Historical Society, the University of Oklahoma and in Washington, D.C. One cannot conceive of any future scholar even attempting to equal the breadth of his research and penetration of his analysis in regard to the Southern Cheyenne and Arapaho. Berthrong has, indeed, written the definitive study.

T. Paul Wilson
University of California, Berkeley

FRONTIER REGULARS: THE UNITED STATES ARMY AND THE INDIAN, 1866–1890. By Robert M. Utley. (New York, New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc., 1973. Pp. xv, 462. Illustrations. Maps. Bibliography. Index. $12.95.)

Robert M. Utley, prominent historian of the American West, director of the Office of Archeology and Historical Preservation of the National Park Service and former president of the Western History Association combines true scholarship and high drama in *Frontier Regulars: The United States Army and the Indian, 1866–1890*, a vivid account of the role played by the American Army in settling the West. The book could possibly be the definitive work on this subject.

In the introduction the author states the purpose of the book is to, "strike a truthful balance between two stereotypes of the frontier army"—the bold hero of the westward movement or the villainous murderer of the American Indian. Mr. Utley skillfully describes the postwar conditions of an army grossly unprepared for guerrilla warfare, badly in need of doctrinal reform and urgently requiring reorganization. The army is given a large measure of responsibility for these deficiencies, but, says the author, blame can also be placed at the doorsteps of elected governmental officials who continuously blocked proposed solutions by military leaders.

The heart of the book is the incisive accounts of the military campaigns waged against the Indian—from the first skirmishes with the Sioux in 1866 to the final defeat of the Northern Plains Indians in 1890. Military blundering which led to calamities, such as the Battle of the Little Big Horn and the untimely demise of Colonel George Armstrong Custer, are studied and the author goes so far as to offer alternative strategy which might have changed the course of events. But there were also intelligent tactical innovators like General George Crook who devised and carried out the only military techniques that ever seriously challenged the Apaches in warfare. These battles were given banner headlines in the Eastern newspapers and provided fuel for critics of military policy. However, no one was more vocal than distinguished officers General Oliver O. Howard and General George Creek who repeatedly spoke out against injustices done to the Indian. In the final analysis the American people deprived the Indian of his livelihood and left him no alternative but to submit.

Mr. Utley's prose is straightforward and pleasurable to read. He has enhanced the work by including photographs of the frontier and the principal figures of the Indian Wars. Most enjoyable are the paintings of world renowned artists Frederic Remington, Charles M. Russell, Charles Schreyvogel and Henry Raschen. Maps give a welcomed added explanation of the military campaigns.

This book is a must for the historian of the American West.

Glen Roberson
Seminole Junior College

RANCH SCHOOLTEACHER. By Eulalia "Sister" Bourne. (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1974. Pp. vii, 312. $4.95 paper, $8.50 cloth.)

In *Ranch Schoolteacher* Eulalia "Sister" Bourne chronicles her career of over four decades as a teacher in the country schools of Arizona. Her story, laced with laughter and tears, began during the World War I era. At the age of sixteen Mrs. Bourne became the teacher in a small school on Beaver Creek. Although she had a winning way with the children and stimulated their interest in learning, she was dismissed from her position for dancing the "rag" in public. Her next assignment took her to a community near the Mexican border, and because most of the children understood little English, she had to learn Spanish. Contrary to the common practice, Mrs. Bourne did not punish pupils who sometimes forgot to speak only English at school and encouraged pride in their Latin American heritage. Dressed

in boots and levis and driving a Model A or pickup truck over almost non-existent roads, she commuted from the ranch she homesteaded to her little country schools.

Throughout the book Mrs. Bourne presents her philosophy of education and her teaching methods. She believes that to be a successful teacher one must interject his own personality into the work and come to like the students. She had a definite dislike for rigid teaching outlines and always strived to adapt lessons to fit the students. Group activities, such as singing and recitation, were among her favorite teaching techniques. One of her greatest successes was the publication of a school magazine, the *Little Cowpuncher*. The publication became her trademark, and the students in each of her schools enjoyed contributing stories and drawings. One of her theories was that, because learning is work, the students should be paid for their efforts. She practiced this by giving quarters as achievement awards, and whether rich or poor, the students seemed to work harder to receive the reward. A large portion of the book is dedicated to her memories of the children she taught, and these memories were often humorous.

Eulalia Bourne's writing style makes reading *Ranch Schoolteacher* an enjoyable experience. The spirit of a pioneer and the romance of the American West are found in this work. This volume of the Southwest Chronicle Series will be an interesting addition to a personal library.

Melvena Kay Thurman
Oklahoma Historical Society

SOLVING "THE INDIAN PROBLEM": THE WHITE MAN'S BURDENSOME BUSINESS. Ed. by Murray L. Wax and Robert W. Buchanan. (New York: New Viewpoints, a Division of Franklin Watts, Inc., 1975. Pp. 237. Selected Readings. Index. $4.95 paper.)

Many books attempting to illustrate and explain the plight of the American Indian have been churned out in the last five to ten years to take advantage of public interest in and government concern about the "Indian Problem." *Solving the Indian Problem* is yet another of those books, but one which takes an unusual twist. Robert W. Buchanan and Murray L. Wax have put together a collection of news stories and essays which have appeared over the last hundred years in the *New York Times* on this topic. Wax renders his expertise from the field of sociology while Buchanan is a specialist in Indian ethnohistory. Wax is currently professor and chairman of the Department of Sociology at Washington University in St. Louis, and Buchanan serves as Assistant Dean of Non-Traditional Studies at Ottawa University.

The emphasis of the editors in making their selections has been to stress the concept that the "Indian Problem" was really a white man's problem as indicated in the subtitle. They divide the book into three segments that deal with the three approaches which the white man has taken to solve the problem.

The first solution was anglo-conformity or that of assimilation. Two time periods are used to illustrate this solution—the Modoc War in the early 1870s and termination in the 1950s. Both show the greed and interest which white men had in making the Indian conform. The speech by Captain Jack is an excellent condemnation of this policy. Oliver LaFarge's article entitled "A Plea for a Square Deal for the Indians" adds that the Indian will ultimately fit into society and cease being a problem, but he should not be forced—but encouraged.

The second solution dealt with in the text is pluralism. The idea that the United States is composed of a mixture of ethnic and religious groups which are able to keep their distinctive cultures. News stories and editorials concerning the New Deal and Community Action Programs are used to point out this solution. For awhile after the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 was passed, it appeared that the Indian would be able to keep his culture. John Collier's editorial in December, 1939, gave hope that the Indian could make a comeback. Seven essays written by white observers since the 1950s give a look at how pluralism is working. They examine a variety of modern Indian communities, their governments, their schools and their public image. The essay by Stanley Walker entitled "Let the Indian Be the Hero" is especially provocative.

Finally the editors deal with the solution known as pan-Indianism or letting the Indian tribes have a common identity as Indians. Vine Deloria in two essays traces recent Indian history and outlines the major problems of Indian rights, government procedures and relocation which keep the pan-Indianism from materializing. The title of his second work summarizes his slant on the question, "This country was a lot better off when the Indians were running it." An additional chapter on "Religious Pan-Indianism" deals with only one aspect of this solution.

Perhaps the weakest aspect of the book is the epilogue by Deloria. Although informative and entertaining, it is weak and does nothing which a conclusion should do. The bibliography is also limited with only a hodgepodge of selections. The book's greatest value is the bringing together of a collection of articles which present the reader with a background on the various ways in which the "Indian Problem" has been attempted to be solved.

Bill Pennington
Tulsa, Oklahoma

FIREARMS, TRAPS, & TOOLS OF THE MOUNTAIN MEN. By Carl P. Russell. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1977. Pp. xv, 448. Illustrations. Bibliography. Index. Appendix. $6.50.)

The trader-trapper "tended to think like an Indian, look like an Indian and behave like one" in his strategy for survival on the American Frontier. His iron work, in turn, provided a major contribution to the Indian in this process of cultural exchange. Russell's study provides not only a scholarly description of these trade materials but also places them in context through enjoyable yet detailed descriptions of the trading practices and activities of the period, 1806–1840.

Drawing from over 200 museum and private collections, Russell reviews the various forms and styles of the tools and weapons at his disposal, how they came to be and how much they cost at the time—examples from the Oklahoma Historical Society Collections can be found on pages 173 and 188. Frequently the histories of these individual artifacts yield insights into the activities of such notables as Jim Bridger, Jim Bowie, Jedediah Smith, Auguste Chouteau, John Jacob Astor and others.

As a resource for identification purposes, this work is invaluable. It is well indexed and has an extensive bibliography. More than 400 well executed illustrations will facilitate comparisons. Russell also includes a list of "Smithies" and their marks, a roster of the United States Indian Office blacksmiths of the 1830s, and John Jacob Astor's inventory of tools and equipment used on the Columbia River during the expedition of 1812–1813. This wealth of information addresses the needs of both professional historian and hobbyist alike.

Carl P. Russell, a leading figure in the National Park Service Museum Division since the 1930s, has always been aware of the need for works dealing with the interpretation and identification of cultural objects, especially in the case of the small museum—see *Guns of the Early Frontier*, University of California Press, 1957. His latest work successfully demonstrates the use of the object itself as a source of historical information. Also included is a provocative discussion of the origin and development of Historical Archaeology. The present decade has seen many of his hopes come to pass, a trend supported by the current popularity of our material heritage.

We are indebted to Russell for this scholarly synthesis of largely unpublished material, and I believe that this work's current popularity will increase with its second printing. This encyclopedic study is a must for those who have long read Western history with little knowledge of those tools and weapons around which frontier life revolved.

Donald W. Reeves
Oklahoma Historical Society

THE RHETORIC OF HISTORY. By Savoie Lottinville. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976. Pp. xiv, 258. Bibliography. Index. Appendix. $9.95).

Savoie Lottinville's *The Rhetoric of History* is an invaluable manual for writers in the discipline. Convinced that historical "research . . . is only half the game," the author has drawn on his experience as a writer, editor, teacher and Director of the University of Oklahoma Press to present authoritative suggestions to improve writing skills and facilitate publication.

Disheartened by the ineffectiveness of writing skills exhibited by many historians, Lottinville discusses alternative techniques and styles, and he offers cogent advice intended to refine historical composition. Rather than expounding his theories on writing excellence, the author cites practical recommendations, examining structure, conceptualization and various methods of developing effective "opening scenes," transitions between paragraphs and chapters and flashbacks. To avoid stilted prose and enliven historical works, he also advocates clear, concise writing and the humanization of history through the development of characters and "situational elements." These suggestions are ably illustrated by segments from works of prominent historians who also excel as writers. Yet Lottinville warns that there is no easy way to perfect an effective writing style; it is the culmination of hard work and practice.

Lottinville's major contribution is in his chapter on publishing—"The Mote in the Publisher's Eye." Historians who are unfamiliar with publishing procedures will find this section particularly informative. Based on his experience in the field, the author provides numerous insights on preparing manuscripts for submission to a publishing company or university press. Discussing such topics as manuscript form, maps and illustrations, he provides hints on how the prospective author can refine his work and thereby increase the chances of acceptance and eventual publication. Lottinville notes, for example, that "a physically well-prepared" text will have a positive effect on the publisher. He also discusses other facts which affect publishers' decisions and the procedure used to determine the merit and potential market of submitted manuscripts. Both graduate students and their mentors will find *The Rhetoric of History* a valuable aid and a worthy addition to their collection of guides on research and style.

Richard C. Rohrs
Oklahoma State University

THE COWBOY: SIX-SHOOTERS, SONGS, AND SEX. Edited by Charles W. Harris and Buck Rainey. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976. pp. vii, 167. Illustrations. Photographs. Footnotes. Index. $9.95.)

Myths, legends and symbols are important to the establishment of any nation's cultural and social patterns. Usually many centuries of oral and written history are necessary for a civilization to amass a sufficient body of folklore which explains their heritage—Americans have been fortunate. After the Civil War the cowboy, Phoenix-like, rose from the dusty, long horn cattle drives to provide a basis for such literature. Even though the cattle trailing days were limited to a few decades, the cowboy image was born, and Americans were provided with a mythical hero from which their unique western traits were developed and cultural limits were defined.

Not until the turn of the century did the importance of the West in general and the cowboy in particular receive much scholarly attention. The westerner was popularized by such writers as James Fenimore Cooper, such hunters as Davy Crockett and such showmen as Buffalo Bill Cody. Each helped create myths which are now attached to the cowboy, but the bulk of modern day folklore and legend surrounding the cowboy was disseminated by the mass media. Pulp accounts, dime novels, radio programs, grade "B" movies, television shows and Italian westerns all in turn produced myths, legends and symbols which a mere handful of scholars, digging through dusty archives, will never be able to destroy.

In recent years a new breed of scholar, intent not on debunking myths, but inquiring into the cowboy's impact on American culture have chronicled the range hand's everyday life. One notable addition to this growing collection of works is *The Cowboy: Six-Shooters, Songs, and Sex*. The editors did not intend to compile a definitive work on the cowboy but rather to select eight interesting aspects of cowboy lore to help the reader understand this American phenomenon. The bulk of the articles are historical, but frequently cross interdisciplinary lines. Each of the articles could stand on its own merit; as a collection, the work is well above average.

James H. Thomas
Wichita State University

THE BLACK HILLS: OR, THE LAST HUNTING GROUND OF THE DAKOTAHS. By Annie D. Tallent. (Sioux Falls, South Dakota: Brevet Press, 1974. Pp. xxix, 563. Illustrations. Index. $11.95.)

Annie Tallent illegally entered the Black Hills as a member of the "Gordon Party" shortly after George A. Custer's 1874 expedition publicized the discovery of gold there. Tallent's personal narrative of her journey and the

party's removal by the army is detailed and important. It is followed by a chronicle of Black Hills events from 1875 to 1899, which at times is very dull reading because the author listed names of "firsts" and all members of groups from fire hose companies to secret lodges. Much is told from personal experience since Tallent returned and lived in the Black Hills through the era covered by her book. The importance of this volume for any study of nineteenth century Black Hills history is established, and serious students of the region consider it a classic. However, on some topics the book is undependable, and it contains unfortunate biases—for example, the massacre at Wounded Knee is inaccurately recounted as the complete fault of hostile and superstitious Indians.

For the historian, Annie Tallent's attitudes as revealed in the book seem as important as her record of events. Beyond the fact that she omits any real mention of her husband—a rather unique matter when one of her contemporaries states that the "Gordon Party" was led by Colonel D. G. Tallent —Annie probably typifies then current attitudes toward the Indian. Popularly considered a heroine in South Dakota history, Annie was proud that she broke the law when moving into Sioux lands because she considered it a part of the progress of civilization against the savages. In the new introduction, Virginia Driving Hawk Sneve correctly condemns Tallent's "malicious, bigoted treatment of the Dakota or Sioux Indians," although overstating the case when she writes that the book "would best serve mankind if it were burned rather than reprinted in this edition to continue to perpetrate a distorted, untrue portrait of the American Indian."

While Sneve's introductory comments are valuable, they are limited to an attack on Tallent's nineteenth century values. The editor, Donald Mackintosh, wrote an introduction to Sneve's introduction, but the standard information expected in a new edition is not provided. Additional material concerning the accuracy of the book, its significance and impact on later histories and a biographical sketch of Annie Tallent would seem logical inclusions.

Editorially, certain questions arise about this "second edition." It might seem commendatory to reset the type and rid the book of typographical errors, but this "reprint" unfortunately will cause scholars a few problems. The pagination is completely altered, pictures have been reduced in size and placed in new locations, illustrations concluding each chapter usually are different from the original edition and capitalization and punctuation of titles and captions have been changed with no evident systematic approach. Sometimes errors appear carefully reproduced for authenticity, in a few cases *sic* is added and at other times corrections are made; unfor-

tunately, many new errors are introduced. In addition to a line on page 360 and words in several places, pages 324–325 of the original edition are missing completely. These probably can be attributed to careless proof-reading. The added index is valuable, although it contains several omissions and errors in location.

Despite these shortcomings, a new edition of this scarce book is welcome. It seems ironic that Virginia Driving Hawk Sneve's introductory comment that Tallent's book should be burned is being used as a major advertising inducement to sell that very item to a wider audience.

James McLaird
Dakota Wesleyan University

BEYOND THE CIVIL WAR SYNTHESIS: POLITICAL ESSAYS OF THE CIVIL WAR ERA. Edited by Robert P. Swierenga. (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1975. Pp. xx, 348. Index. $13.50.)

Interpretations of the past are continually changing as each new generation reexamines those events. The current trend in historical writing is to make use of quantitative, statistical data. This volume is a collection of twenty recent essays, compiled from the pages of *Civil War History*, which deal with reinterpretation of the Civil War, Reconstruction and the years immediately preceding these occurrences.

The work is divided into five main sections. They deal with historiography; local politics; party voting in the Congress; the factors of patronage, religion and race in political voting; and what the political leaders and people did, through an analysis of their voting patterns, instead of said. These five sections are skillfully woven into a cohesive whole through Professor Swierenga's editorship.

The Civil War Synthesis is the name applied to the process by which the years immediately prior to the war are viewed in the light of what came after. In this theory these years are viewed as ones of increasing sectional bitterness which finally erupted into war. The new interpretation attempts to go beyond this point by analyzing the voting patterns to determine if there actually was a sectional rivalry. Use of this method clearly demonstrates that while the rhetoric indicated growing sectional bitterness, the people still voted in accordance with other factors; nativism and religion were more important to voters than abolition.

The first section, on historiography, opens with John H. Silbey's "The Civil War Synthesis in American Political Tradition." It is a work that

masterfully gives the history of the Civil War Synthesis and points out its weaknesses. The other articles in this part build upon this essay and attempt to combine the quantitative method Silbey introduced with the older qualitative form.

Parts two, three and four use the statistical method to examine the areas of local politics, national politics and ethnic voting patterns. Their conclusions argue against the ideas previously advanced and which were drawn from the political speeches. Throughout these sections the theory is forcefully conveyed that during and after the war, politics continued much the same as it had been before the war.

The final area deals with the superficial commitment of the political leaders to the issue of racial equality and the subsequent failure to establish it after the fighting was over. The entire work gradually builds to this final section, and the conclusions flow naturally.

Professor Swierenga has deftly used the powers of an editor to form twenty individual essays into a cohesive whole which presents an interesting theory: the racial problems of today stem from the superficial commitment of the people of earlier times to the idea of racial equality. The editor's introduction is a sign post of what he is attempting to do, and it is well carried through by the rest of the book. Instead of just being a collection of essays, this volume tells a story. It is a tale of of political life as usual in spite of the growing apparition of war. And this was a war that came from political rhetoric, words that seems to have had little real power to sway people in their voting. The individual tracts of this work are stimulation, but the entire volume is masterful.

James F. Morgan
Oklahoma State University

LAST OF THE REAL BADMEN: HENRY STARR. By Glenn Shirley. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1976. Pp. xi, 208. Illustrations. End notes. Index. $9.95 Cloth. $2.95 paper.)

Originally published in 1965 under the reversed title *Henry Starr: Last of the Real Badmen*, this reprint edition in the Bison Book series is an exact reproduction of the original; there are no corrections or additions (reviewed by Arthur Shoemaker, *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Volume 44, pp. 106–107). The first printing by the David McKay Company has been out of print for many years; this printing makes available once again the only biography to be written about the legendary Oklahoma–Cherokee Indian badman. Starr was a blooded Indian born in 1873 near Fort Gibson; he ulti-

mately blamed society, a stepfather and graft in the courts for his life of crime. He robbed two banks in one town, got in and out of prison with relative ease, was wounded by a seventeen year old youth in Stroud, produced a movie, only killed one man during his career and "robbed more banks than any man in America." Henry Starr was a unique, colorful outlaw.

Glenn Shirley has provided the only scholarly and readable story about Starr. For those who were unable to obtain a copy of the first printing and for the collectors of Glenn Shirley's books, this is a welcomed reprint.

Guy Logsdon
University of Tulsa

THE PLAINS APACHE. By John Upton Terrell. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1975. Pp. xi, 244. Maps, Notes, Bibliography, Index. $7.95.)

This new book by John Upton Terrell, one of more than two dozen books by this author, purports to be the "story of 300 years of pageantry and violence of the 'notorious' Plains Apache." By relying entirely on previously published materials, particularly George Hyde's *Indians of the High Plains* and some of the works of Alfred B. Thomas, Terrell has written a popular history, which is primarily a narrative of Spanish-Plains Apache relations, rather than a history of Plains Apaches. Indeed, if the material relating to Spanish objectives and activity were removed, the book would be considerably smaller.

The book suffers from a number of problems that should encourage those interested in this topic to look at other publications. Little is really known about Apachean peoples living in the great plains region in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Scholars still disagree on the identity of tribal or band names that appear in Spanish documents. Whether all the bands or groups mentioned by Terrell were Apaches is still open to question, and a recent attempt to sort out some of these groups and describe something of their history, *The Jicarilla Apaches* by Dolores Gunnerson, was unfortunately not used by Terrell.

The Plains Apaches lacks balance and is marred by factual errors. Too much of the book is devoted to Spanish exploration and too little to Indian history. The author failed to use important published material on the topic, and he fails, also, to effectively indicate what happened to the various groups identified as Plains Apaches.

Richard N. Ellis
University of New Mexico

☆ OKLAHOMA BOOKS

By Vicki Sullivan and Mac R. Harris

ADVENTURES IN WESTERN ART. By Dean Krakel. (Kansas City, Missouri: Lowell Press. 1977. $11.95.)

BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF THE CONFEDERACY. By Jon L. Wakelyn. (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press. 1977. Pp. 603. $29.95.)

THE CHEROKEE CROWN OF TANNASSY. By William O. Steele. (Winston-Salem, North Carolina: John F. Blair, Publishers. 1977. $7.95.)

CHEROKEE EMIGRATION ROLLS 1817–1835. By Jack D. Baker. (Oklahoma City: Baker Publishing Company. 1977. Pp. iii, 67. No price given.)

FAIRVIEW CEMETERY. VOLUME II. Including Halsell-Malone Section, Vinita, Craig County, Oklahoma. Compiled by Wanda Norton and Dorothy Nix. (Vinita, Oklahoma: Northeast Oklahoma Genealogical Society. 1977. Pp. iv, 84. $6.00.)

HISTORY OF PONTOTOC COUNTY, OKLAHOMA. VOLUME II. Compiled by Pontotoc County Historical and Genealogical Society. (Ada, Oklahoma: Pontotoc County Historical and Genealogical Society. 1977. Pp. vii, 419. $21.00.)

JOURNEY TO SUNRISE; MYTHS AND LEGENDS OF THE CHEROKEES. By Ugvwiyuhi. (Claremore, Oklahoma: EGI Press. 1977. Pp. 181. $6.50.)

KATY NORTHWEST: THE STORY OF A BRANCH LINE RAILROAD. By Donovan L. Hofsommer. (Boulder, Colorado: Pruett Publishing Company. 1976. Pp. xiii, 305. $27.95.)

THE LOST UNIVERSE; PAWNEE LIFE AND CULTURE. By Gene Weltfish. (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press. 1977. Pp. xx, 506. $16.95.)

NATIVE AMERICAN HISTORICAL DEMOGRAPHY; A CRITICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY. By Henry F. Dobyns. (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press. 1976. Pp. 104. $3.95. Paperback reprint.)

OKLAHOMA. By H. Wayne Morgan and Anne H. Morgan. (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc. 1977. $8.95.)

OKLAHOMA RECORDS AND ARCHIVES. By Patrick J. Blessing. (Tulsa, Oklahoma: Oklahoma Book Society. 1977. $16.75.)

OKLAHOMA TRAVEL HANDBOOK. By Kent Ruth. (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press. 1977. Pp. x, 259. $8.95.)

OKLAHOMA VOTER: POLITICS, ELECTIONS AND POLITICAL

PARTIES IN THE SOONER STATE. By Samuel A. Kirkpatrick. (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press. 1977. $12.95.)

THE PLAINS INDIANS; A CRITICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY. By E. Adamson Hoebel. (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press. 1977. Pp. 88. $3.95. Paperback reprint.)

PRESIDENTS CAN'T PUNT: THE OU FOOTBALL TRADITION. By George L. Cross. (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press. 1977. $9.95.)

☆ FOR THE RECORD

MINUTES OF THE QUARTERLY MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS, THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
October 27, 1977

The regular meeting for the third quarter of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society was called to order at 2:00 p.m. in the Board Room of the Historical Building. Presiding was President Pro Tempore W. D. Finney. Executive Director Jack Wettengel said the meeting had been announced, an agenda posted and was a public meeting.

Those present were Mrs. George L. Bowman; Q. B. Boydstun; O. B. Campbell; Jack T. Conn; Harry L. Deupree, M.D.; Mrs. Mark R. Everett; Dr. Odie B. Faulk; W. D. Finney; Dr. LeRoy H. Fischer; Bob Foresman; General E. Moses Frye; Senator Denzil Garrison; Dr. Arrell M. Gibson; Colonel C. Forest Himes; Mrs. Charles R. Nesbitt; H. Milt Phillips; Earl Boyd Pierce; Jordan B. Reaves; Genevieve Seger; and H. Merle Woods. Those asked to be excused were Joe W. Curtis, Nolen J. Fuqua, John E. Kirkpatrick, Dr. James Morrison and Britton D. Tabor. Miss Seger moved to excuse the absent members; Mrs. Bowman seconded the motion. Motion passed.

Mr. Wettengel reported that forty persons had requested annual membership in the Society and that Brad Agnew of Tahlequah had asked that his annual membership be changed to life membership. Miss Seger moved, Mrs. Bowman seconded, to approve the new memberships. Motion passed.

Mr. Wettengel presented the gift lists from the library and museum and a motion to accept the gifts by General Frye, seconded by Mrs. Bowman, was passed.

Treasurer Mrs. Bowman advised the Board members that Marvin Henshall was the new accountant for the Oklahoma Historical Society, replacing Mrs. LaJeanne McIntyre who took early retirement in August, and that William Wilkinson was the new assistant accountant.

Mrs. Bowman reviewed the Cash Revolving Fund 200 receipts and disbursements for the quarter. Dr. Faulk made a motion to approve the treasurer's report; Dr. Deupree seconded, and the motion passed.*

Mr. Phillips, Newspaper and Microfilm Committee chairman, reported on the microfilming of state newspapers project. He stated that three new

* Roll call votes of the members of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society have been eliminated from the published minutes of the Society in the interest of conserving space. However, in compliance with the Open Meeting Law of the State of Oklahoma, they are available as a portion of the Official Minutes kept on file at the Administrative Office of the Society, and are available for public inspection during normal working hours.

readers had been installed and that the department is still involved in an exchange agreement with Roger Nelson of Tulsa, which frees the Society from the task of filming four major files.

The Historic Sites Committee report was given by Dr. Deupree who reviewed the development in progress at the Murray-Lindsay Mansion, the Teamsters' Cabin at Fort Supply and other sites around the state. He said that more staff members would be requested in the budget for 1979, both for the Oklahoma City office and field sites. Three Sites personnel will be retired in 1977 and efforts are being made to fill these positions. Dr. Deupree also expressed the need for additional positions in the Society's financial office to keep up with the growing demand for reports at the state and federal level, as well as the necessary bookkeeping for all the Society's programs.

Dr. Faulk, giving the Publications Committee report, expressed Dr. Franks' appreciation to Mr. Wettengel for his help in maintaining the publication schedules for *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*. He said that the seventh in the *Oklahoma Series*, "Railroads in Oklahoma," by Donovan Hofsommer, in nine days had already generated orders for issues amounting to $1,009.35, even though the work has not yet been released for mailing.

Dr. Faulk presented the concept of an editorial Board of Reference for the Publication Division. He stated such a board is standard practice for most state journals and that the board's function would be to judge the merit, authenticity and worth of articles contributed for publication in *The Chronicles*. Those recommended for appointment to the Board were Dr. A. M. Gibson, University of Oklahoma; Dr. LeRoy H. Fischer, Oklahoma State University; Dr. Thomas H. Buckley, University of Tulsa; Dr. Donald Green, Central State University; Dr. John Morris, Professor Emeritus of Geography, University of Oklahoma; Dr. Charles D. Van Tuyl, Bacone College; and Steve Wilson, Museum of the Great Plains.

Dr. Faulk's committee also requested that Dr. Franks' position of Oklahoma Historical Society Editor be upgraded to Director of Publications and that of Ms. Martha L. Mobley to Associate Editor. These requests were being made because of the increase of publications emanating from the Publications Division.

Mr. Pierce moved that the Board accept the recommendation of Dr. Faulk to create a Publications Division Board of Reference. Mrs. Everett seconded, and the motion passed.

Dr. Faulk announced that the Historic Preservation Division of the Oklahoma Historical Society is interested in publishing a historical preservation newsletter, and he circulated a copy of the State Historical Society of Colorado's *History Notes*. Dr. Faulk said that Dr. Franks has researched the

cost of such a publication on a six-issues-a-year basis with half federal matching funds and half private contributions. The Southwest Regional Office of the National Trust for Historic Preservation supports this concept, as does the Oklahoma Heritage Association. Various guest writers would be encouraged to contribute, and there would be no postage costs to the Society, for the newsletter would be delivered to organizations who would mail them to their own memberships.

General Frye moved to approve the publication of a historic preservation newsletter; Mrs. Bowman seconded and the motion was approved.

Mr. Conn moved that Pendleton Woods be retained as editor of *Mistletoe Leaves*, continuing the publication as it is now, but co-ordinating it under the Publications Division. Dr. Deupree and Dr. Faulk seconded the motion; motion passed with one dissension.

Attention was called to a display prepared by Mrs. Elaine Willoughby of the Education Division. A large map of Oklahoma was mounted on an easel and articles from state newspapers for one month, provided by a clipping service, were attached to that section of the map referred to in the articles, thus illustrating the news coverage the Society is receiving throughout the state. Many of the articles were written from information distributed through Mr. Woods' *Historic Trails* newspaper columns, sent to all state newspapers every two weeks.

For the past several years, through oversight, the lists of gifts and books have not been presented specifically at the quarterly meetings, although the lists have been a published feature of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*. The constitution does not state that acceptance of gifts or artifacts and books must be approved by the Board, but traditionally the Board has done so. Therefore, Dr. Fischer moved that the Board retroactively accept all gifts of artifacts and books from the period October 1, 1973 to March 31, 1977. Mrs. Nesbitt seconded the motion, which passed.

Senator Garrison reported that the Indian Archives has been closed to the public since September 15 for extensive remodeling. Although the Archives is not available to researchers, the microfilming project has been proceeding. The committee did not meet but will do so prior to the January 26, 1978 meeting of the Board.

Dr. Fischer conveyed the Museum Committee's recommendation of the loan of certain pieces of art work to the Oklahoma Museum of Art for an exhibition scheduled for March 5 through April 16, 1978. Dr. Faulk moved and Colonel Himes seconded to approve the loan of six pieces of art to the Oklahoma Museum of Art. The motion was passed.

The Museum Committee also requested approval of an addition to the Museum Division's Collection Policy. This addition defines non-acces-

sioned collections maintained by the divisions of Museums and Historic Sites as follows:

A. 2. *Non-Accessioned*

a. Resource Material: These items are of a documentary nature (including some photographs) and have minimal intrinsic value, but rather contain information about persons, events, or types of artifacts within the permanent collections. Such material will be used at Museums/Sites for reference purposes.

b. Supplemental Exhibits Material: These items, of an expendable nature and subject to modification, may be used as background pieces to add atmosphere to an exhibit or historic building. (Examples would be moldings, mannequins, pieces of rug or carpet, curtains or draperies, and other such items.)

Dr. Fischer moved that the addition to the Collections Policy be adopted by the Board; Mrs. Nesbitt seconded and the motion passed.

Mr. Boydstun, chairman of the Honey Springs Commission, reported that the Department of Highways had been asked to improve the road into the Honey Springs Battlefield area. Mr. Reaves announced that the bid for a cannon and carriage for the battlefield has been accepted and the plans have been made for December 1977 delivery. Mr. Boydstun told the Board that an archaeologist, Dr. Annetta Cheek, hired as a consultant by the state, will inspect the Honey Springs site on December 4. Members of the Commission will tour the site with Dr. Cheek.

Mrs. Foresman reported on the projects of the Education Division—resumption of the weekly Opening Doors museum experience for area schools, visits to schools over the state by Education Director Bruce E. Joseph, telling them of the Oklahoma history learning resources of the Society and of the student Heritage Clubs, Heritage Round-up Handbook, Oklahoma Heritage Primer, the Division's Resource Area, State Fair competition for young people, and a writing competition. The Division plans to go ahead with the Oklahoma History teacher and student awards and recommended that a bound volume of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* be presented to the winners each year.

Mrs. Nesbitt reported that new microfilm readers have been delivered to the Library, making a total of fifteen available to researchers. Plans are to add five more. Mrs. Nesbitt moved and Miss Seger and Dr. Gibson seconded to accept books and documents received in the Library during the past quarter. The motion passed.

Mrs. Nesbitt gave a report on the Overholser Mansion security plans. Artifacts worth approximately $7,000 were stolen recently and a security system and outside floodlights will be installed. Mrs. Nesbitt said that fed-

eral matching funds still had not been received for $32,000 raised by residents of the area for renovation of the mansion.

Mr. Boydstun moved that action of the Executive Committee on October 19, 1977 be approved and the time of the Board meeting be changed from 2:00 p.m. to 1:30 p.m. Mrs. Everett and Mrs. Bowman seconded the motion. The motion was approved with one dissension.

Mr. Finney told the Board members that the Executive Committee had discussed the crowded conditions existing in the Historical Building and that tentative plans are being considered for the construction of a new museum building, the present building to house the Indian Archives, the Libraries and the Administrative Office. The Board has received a request from Lieutenant Governor George Nigh to develop a Hall of Governors. With the growing demands for an increased staff to carry out the projects given to the Society, there is no space where a suitable exhibit could be built. Mr. Finney said that a National Endowment for the Humanities grant application was prepared to study the immediate and long-range plans and activities of the Oklahoma Historical Society. Mr. Wettengel advised that the $43,411.45 grant has been approved. Mr. Robert L. Damm, former Executive Director of the Maine Historical Society, has been hired as a consultant for a six-month period to conduct surveys of the Society's needs, to meet with the people of Oklahoma to learn what they would like the Oklahoma Historical Society to be, to bring historical society concepts from other states to the agency and to consider practical ways to improve the services of the Historical Society to the citizens of the state.

Mr. Finney invited the Board members to visit the Confederate Memorial Hall to inspect the plaques installed by Mr. Reaves. He also praised Dr. Faulk's newest book, "Dodge City."

Meeting adjourned.

W. D. Finney
President Pro Tempore

Jack Wettengel
Executive Director

GIFT LIST

The Oklahoma Historical Society wishes to acknowledge the following people who donated gifts during the third quarter of 1977.

MUSEUMS AND HISTORIC SITES:

Albert Dobbs
Mrs. Gladys Beard
Mr. and Mrs. Howard E. Johnson
Gene Brumfield
Mr. and Mrs. Joe Hejduk
Mrs. Doris Feagins
Jimmy Hagar
Mrs. Frank Eby
Paul B. Champlin, M.D.
Mrs. W. H. Shockey, Sr.
Mr. and Mrs. Julian Stetnish
Colonel Robert W. Vincent
Reverend Frank W. Sprague
C. A. Norris
James J. Long
Richard P. Trickey
David Barrett
Elgie E. Cannon
Mrs. Bill Lehmann
Pendleton Woods
Mrs. Katherine E. Ingram and
Mrs. Elizabeth Ingram Hensley
Mrs. Chalene Carter Jones
L. E. LeVick
Mrs. Una Lee Voigt
Mrs. Fern Gildea
Curtis Hawkins
Mr. and Mrs. Homer Ray
H. B. Ross
Mrs. Helen La Gree
Ralph H. Mock
Jerome Byrd

LIBRARY AND PHOTOGRAPH SECTION

Office of the Grand Secretary of Ancient
Free and Accepted Masons
Thebert A. Prussia
G. G. Allen
Mrs. Georgia Drury
Dr. Harold I. Meyer
Ms. Dorothy Milligan
Mr. and Mrs. David Rennie
Mrs. Bernard Boyle
Dr. and Mrs. Edward J. Aud
Harold M. Steelman
Mr. and Mrs. Emerald Dechant
Ms. Dorothy Rabon
Louis Maynard
Duard Leon Ray
Joseph James Klos
Ms. Helen Harrison Wolfe
Mrs. Doris A. Gimpel
Jonathan K. T. Smith
Ralph Stricklin
Britton D. Tabor
Dr. Alvin O'Dell Turner
Mrs. Betty Ben Garvin
Donald J. Wilcox
Lloyd Chester Penner
R. M. Randle
Allie B. Root
Oklahoma State University
Colonel James S. Hollingsworth
Mrs. Zora Scrimshire Laws
Dr. Harris D. Riley, Jr.
Philbrook Art Center
John Womack
Mrs. Betty Brown
Lois Cambern Marsh
R. M. Roush
Mrs. Ruth Cantebury
Mr. and Mrs. Harry Dennis
Montana Historical Society

NEW ANNUAL MEMBERS
July 20, 1977 to October 27, 1977

Badger, Glenda H.	Drumright
Ballard, Ben W.	Apache
Base, Mrs. Harvey	Geary
Bliss, Mrs. C. F., Jr.	Tahlequah
Burkett, Chelsea	Noble
Catlin, Mrs. C. S.	Oklahoma City
Crowe, Norman W.	Tulsa
Duke, Bill	Chandler
Duff, W. D.	Norman
Fanselau, Linda	Yukon
Fleming, A. K.	Wagoner
Goodell, Donna M.	Boston, Massachusetts
Gray, Dr. Ronald N.	Oklahoma City
Hamm, Mrs. Tom	Ardmore
Henrici, William	Shreveport, Louisiana
Hosmer, Richard R.	Muskogee
Hutchison, Sarah H.	Orangevale, California
Johnson, Mrs. Eldria L.	Boley
Johnston, Mrs. L. A. S.	Holdenville
Jones, Maurice Alan	Cocoa Beach, Florida
Looney, Morgan C.	Corpus Christi, Texas
Matthews, Dr. Sanford	Oklahoma City
McGowan, Bill F.	Tulsa
Meek, Mary Lee	Tulsa
Owensby, Mrs. Herbert M.	Montrose, Colorado
Peck, Dwight L.	Wewoka
Reeves, Donald W.	Moore
Riley, Georgia	Upland, California
Roberts, Norman R.	Oklahoma City
Rollins, Dr. Peter C.	Stillwater
Scheerer, Mrs. John	El Cajon, California
Slater, Mrs. Wilma L.	Durant
Shawn, Darlene J.	Norman
Summer, Mrs. Delores	Tahlequah
Taylor, Mrs. Helen L.	Milburn
Vantine, Larry	San Bernardino, California
Webbink, Dr. Douglas	McLean, Virginia
Welge, William D.	Oklahoma City
Wood, James L.	Midwest City
Woodard, Lee C.	Checotah

NEW LIFE MEMBERS

July 29, 1977 to October 27, 1977

Agnew, Brad	Tahlequah

Give Oklahoma As A Gift

A membership in the OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

and

A subscription to *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*

Simply clip the coupon below and return it to: The Oklahoma Historical Society, Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, 73105. In approximately ten days the recipient will receive an engraved card notifying them of your gift.

Please present in my name a membership in the Oklahoma Historical Society and a subscription to *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* to:

Name _____

Street _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

YEARLY ( ) $5.00 or LIFE ( ) $100.00

Please make check or money order payable to the OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Oklahoma Historical Society was organized by a group of Oklahoma Territory newspaper men interested in the history of Oklahoma who assembled in Kingfisher, May 27, 1893.

The major objective of the Society involves the promotion of interest and research in Oklahoma history, the collection and preservation of the State's historical records, pictures, and relics. The Society also seeks the co-operation of all citizens of Oklahoma in gathering these materials.

The Chronicles of Oklahoma, published quarterly by the Society in spring, summer, autumn, and winter, is distributed free to its members. Each issue contains scholarly articles as well as those of popular interest, together with book reviews, historical notes, and bibliographies. Such contributions will be considered for publication by the Editor and the Publications Committee.

Membership in the Oklahoma Historical Society is open to everyone interested. The quarterly is designed for college and university professors, for those engaged in research in Oklahoma and Indian history, for high school history teachers, for others interested in the State's history and for librarians. The annual dues are $5.00 and include a subscription to *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*. Life membership is $100.00. Regular subscription to *The Chronicles* is $6.00 annually; single copies of the magazine $1.50 unless otherwise stipulated by the Historical Society office. All dues and correspondence relating thereto should be sent direct to the Executive Director, Oklahoma Historical Society Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

EDITORIAL POLICY—"The Chronicles of Oklahoma shall . . . pursue an editorial policy of publication of worthy and scholarly manuscripts dealing with all aspects of Oklahoma or regional history. It shall not interest itself in the publication of manuscripts of a political or controversial nature." (Constitution Oklahoma Historical Society) Manuscripts submitted for consideration for publication should be typed on bond paper and double spaced. Footnotes should conform to *A Manual of Style* (The University of Chicago Press, 1975), be double spaced and be placed at the end of the manuscript. Appropriate photographs should be supplied with submitted manuscripts and will be returned upon author's request. The Publication Department reserves the right to make any editorial changes it deems necessary for the sake of clarity and conformity to its adopted style. No responsibility is assumed for unsolicited manuscripts, and such material will be returned to the author only if accompanied by postpaid envelope. All inquiries should be addressed to: Publication Department, Oklahoma Historical Society, Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, 73105. Telephone 405–521–2491 extension 34.

CONSTITUTION OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Article I, Section 2—The purposes for which the Oklahoma Historical Society is organized and conducted are to preserve and to perpetuate the history of Oklahoma and its people; to stimulate popular interest in historical study and research; and to promote and to disseminate historical knowledge. To further these ends and, as the trustee of the State of Oklahoma, it shall maintain a library and museum in which it shall collect, arrange, catalog, index and preserve books, pamphlets, newspapers, magazines, manuscripts, letters, diaries, journals, records, maps, charts, documents, photographs, engravings, etchings, pictures, portraits, busts, statuary and other objects of art and all other appropriate museum material with special regard to the history of Oklahoma. It shall perpetuate knowledge of the lives and deeds of the explorers and pioneers of this region; it shall collect and preserve the arts and crafts of the pioneering period, the legends, traditions, histories and cultural standards of the Indian tribes; it shall maintain a collection of the handiwork of the same, and an archaeological collection illustrating the life, customs and culture of the prehistoric peoples. It shall disseminate the knowledge thus gained by investigation and research through the medium of printed reports, bulletins, lectures, exhibits or other suitable means or methods. It shall discharge all other duties and responsibilities placed upon it by the Legislature of the State of Oklahoma.

VOLUME LVI NUMBER 2 SUMMER 1978

the chronicles

BLISHED QUARTERLY BY THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

OF OKLAHOMA

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

Published quarterly by the Oklahoma Historical Society
Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73105

OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY OFFICERS

W. D. Finney, President
Jack T. Conn, 1st Vice President
Q. B. Boydston, 2nd Vice President
Mrs. George L. Bowman, Treasurer
Jack Wettengel, Executive Director
Historical Building, Oklahoma City

OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY DIRECTORS

Term Expiring in January, 1979

O. B. Campbell, Vinita
E. Moses Frye, Stillwater
Denzil Garrison, Bartlesville
Nolen Fuqua, Duncan
Jack T. Conn, Oklahoma City

Term Expiring in January, 1980

LeRoy H. Fischer, Stillwater
Bob Foresman, Tulsa
Miss Genevieve Seger, Geary
Mrs. Charles R. Nesbitt, Oklahoma City
Britton D. Tabor, Checotah

Term Expiring in January, 1981

Mrs. Mark R. Everett, Oklahoma City
H. Merle Woods, El Reno
Odie B. Faulk, Stillwater
A. M. Gibson, Norman

Term Expiring in January, 1982

Joe W. Curtis, Pauls Valley
Mrs. George L. Bowman, Kingfisher
Harry L. Deupree, Oklahoma City
C. Forest Himes, Del City
Earl Boyd Pierce, Muskogee

Term Expiring in January, 1983

W. D. Finney, Fort Cobb
Jordan Reaves, Oklahoma City
Mrs. L. E. Hodge, Jr., Hammon
John E. Kirkpatrick, Oklahoma City
Q. B. Boydstun, Fort Gibson

Correspondence concerning contributions, books for reveiw, and all editorial matters should be sent to t
Editor, Oklahoma Historical Society, Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73105.

The Chronicles of Oklahoma is published quarterly in spring, summer, fall, and winter by the Oklahor
Historical Society with its editorial office in the Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73105.

Annual membership in the Oklahoma Historical Society is $5.00 and each member receives *The Chronicles*
Oklahoma free. The subscription rate for institutions and libraries is $6.00 a year. Single numbers of *T*
Chronicles are available for most years and the price will be supplied on request. In addition business memb
ships are available at $25.00 per year; corporate memberships with annual dues of $100.00; and life memb
ships priced at $100.00. Subscriptions, change of address, membership applications, orders for current issues
The Chronicles, and non-current back issues should be sent to the Executive Director of the Oklahoma Histori
Society.

Responsibility for statement of facts or opinions made by contributors in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* is
assumed by the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Second-class postage paid at Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. Copyright 1978 by the Oklahoma Historical Soci

Publication Permit Number 110080.

the
chronicles
OF OKLAHOMA

VOLUME LVI *Summer, 1978* NUMBER 2

DR. KENNY A. FRANKS, *Editor*
PUBLICATION COMMITTEE

DR. ODIE B. FAULK, *Chairman*
DR. LEROY H. FISCHER DR. A. M. GIBSON
DENZIL GARRISON

Associate Editor: MARTHA L. MOBLEY
Assistant Editor: JENNIFER BURRIS

CONTENTS

James Mooney and the Peyote Controversy 127
By L. G. Moses
Oklahoma Pioneers in Mexico: The Chamal Colony 145
By John J. Winberry
Socioeconomic Reconstruction in the Cherokee Nation, 1865–1870 158
By Sue Hammond
The United States Army as the Early Patron of Naturalists in the Trans-Mississippi West, 1803–1820 171
By Phillip Drennen Thomas
Law Enforcement in Transition: From Decentralized County Sheriffs to the Highway Patrol 194
By Bob L. Blackburn
NOTES AND DOCUMENTS 208
The Marland Mansion Color Photograph
Project on the Supreme Court of the United States
The Constitution of the Oklahoma Historical Society
New Member Elected to the Board
BOOK REVIEWS 217
R. Halliburton, Jr., *Red Over Black: Black Slavery Among The Cherokee Indians*, by David H. Miller
Towana Spivey, C. Reid Ferring, Daniel J. Crouch and Kathy Franklin, *Archaeological Investigations Along the Waurika Pipeline, Comanche, Cotton, Jefferson, and Stephens Counties, Oklahoma*, by Marshall Gettys
Ralph Henry Gabriel, ed., *A Frontier Lady: Recollections of the Gold Rush and Early California*, by Susan Peterson
Britton Davis, *The Truth About Geronimo*, by Linda S. Parker
Carl N. Tyson, James H. Thomas and Odie Faulk, *The McMan: The Lives of Robert M. McFarlin and Hames A. Chapman*, by Howard Meredith

Ronald N. Satz, *American Indian Policy in the Jacksonian Era*, by Gary Moulton
John W. Reps, *Cities on Stone: Nineteenth Century Lithograph Images of the Urban West*, by Mary Ellen Meredith
Mary Whatley Clarke, *The Swenson Saga and the SMS Ranches*, by Frederick W. Rathjen
James A. Clifton, *The Prairie People: Continuity and Change in Potawatomi Indian Culture 1665–1965*, by Raymond Wilson
Ballard M. Barker and William Carl Jameson, *Platt National Park: Environment and Ecology*, by James H. Thomas
Wendell C. Bennett and Robert M. Zingg, *The Tarahumara: An Indian Tribe of Northern Mexico*, by Michael M. Smith
Donald L. and Larry C. Rampp, *The Civil War in the Indian Territory*, by Buford Satcher
Del Smith and Michael Cauthron, *Bedrock: Images From the Wayside*, by Michael S. Wilson
J. Ross Browne, *Adventures in the Apache Country: A Tour Through Arizona and Sonora, 1864*, by Larry Ball
Vernon Gladden Spence, *Judge Legett of Abilene: A Texas Frontier Profile* by Odie B. Faulk

OKLAHOMA BOOKS 235
By Vicki Sullivan and Mac R. Harris

FOR THE RECORD 237
Minutes
Gift List
New Members

THE COVER This original painting of a cactus blossom, *Opuntia Engelmanni*, by the internationally known topographer and artist, H. B. Mollhausen, was done during the Pacific Railroad Survey which was under the leadership of First Lieutenant Amiel Weeks Whipple in 1853. This survey explored extensively many sections of the Southwest, including Indian Territory.

JAMES MOONEY AND THE PEYOTE CONTROVERSY

*By L. G. Moses**

In speaking about his relationships with Indians to a Chicago, Illinois, newspaper reporter in August, 1893, James Mooney said "they like me because I come to them with sympathy, eager to preserve all that is sacred to them while the missionary and agent come to do away and destroy their traditions."[1] The subject of the interview was Mooney's supervision of the Smithsonian Institution's exhibit at the Columbian Exposition. Millions gathered in Chicago that summer of economic depression to celebrate four hundred years of progress that had begun with Columbus' first glimpse of the new world and its native race. Few exposition visitors had known about Frederick Jackson Turner's paper read the previous month on the significance of the now gone frontier; those who had heard it were largely unimpressed. Turner had suggested that the future of the nation's forest-born liberties might prove precarious now that society had abandoned itself to industrialism and the metropolis. The rugged individual who conquered the wilderness had been transformed into the refined, if ruthless, captain of industry. Though many people expressed concern for society as it existed in 1893, largely in economic terms, few were distressed by the condition of the American Indian who had helped challenge the four century occupation of the continent. Mooney was in Chicago that summer to remind the American people of those previous occupants of the continent, now expatriated on reservations. Preservation by writing of Indian culture occupied his life's work.

James Mooney had joined the Bureau of Ethnology in 1885, six years after its founding.[2] While researching his impressive study of the Ghost Dance Religion in 1891, the young ethnologist witnessed rituals of the new peyote cult among the Kiowas in Oklahoma. Though begun as an ancillary study, the peyote religion soon became one of Mooney's major projects for the Bureau. He had been among the first non-Indians of record to participate in a peyote ceremony and to call the small carrot-like plant to the attention of the Washington authorities. What he later told the Chicago reporter was

---

* The author is an Assistant Professor of history at Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, Arizona.

[1] Lida Rose McCabe, "The Indian Man: James Mooney and His Work for the World's Fair," *The Inter-Ocean Illustrated Supplement*, August 20, 1893, p. 1, in James Mooney Vertical File, The Smithsonian Institution National Anthropological Archives, Museum of Natural History, Washington, D.C.

[2] Neil M. Judd, *The Bureau of American Ethnology* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967), p. 6.

true: it had been the trust of the Kiowa that had gained him admittance. Mooney's statement that summer at the Columbian Exposition was also prescient. Organizations, queued up on the side of civilization, looked with horror on the Bureau of Ethnology. The missionaries and Bureau of Indian Affairs administrators distrusted both the ethnologist and the organization for which he labored. In 1918 that mistrust united with indignation concerning Mooney's work on behalf of the peyote religion. In defending the religious use of the plant in testimony before the United States House of Representatives Sub-Committee on Indian Affairs in February and March, 1918, he placed himself across the line of march of the most prestigious Indian defense organizations. Though anti-peyote legislation was defeated, Mooney and his work suffered. Reformers linked peyote use with barbarism, suggesting that the Bureau of American Ethnology—the "American" was added to the title in 1894—and Mooney in particular, desired the failure of assimilation and advancement, thereby maintaining a supply of blanket-Indian contacts.

Mooney was neither a romantic nor a charleton when it came to his attitude toward Indian assimilation. Responding to an invitation in 1903 from Albert K. Smiley, controlling genius of the Lake Mohonk Conferences, he summarized his sentiments concerning the Indians' ways of life. "No one realizes so well as the ethnologic student the immeasurable superiority of civilization over savagery, and the swift inevitable decay of savagery before the new light." It was the business of the ethnologist to observe and record, not perpetuate. "From our intimate knowledge of the Indians and their environment," he wrote, "we may differ from their other friends as to times and methods, but not as to principles."[3] In the developing struggle over peyote, it was unfair for the friends of the Indians to suggest that Mooney's motives were entirely selfish.

Beginning in 1914, the Society of American Indians first publicized the wide-spread use of peyote. In that group's spring quarterly journal an editorial entitled "Drug-Induced Religion" appeared. Though biased, the statement was reportorial rather than inflammatory, and it ended somewhat tentatively with a suggestion that the new-born of peyote eaters be watched for mental and physical disorders.[4] In the fall of the same year the Lake Mohonk Conference on the Indian and Other Dependent Peoples took up the standard of the anti-peyote crusade, including in its platform the resolution "that the federal prohibition of intoxicating liquors be extended to

---

[3] James Mooney to Albert K. Smiley, August 13, 1903, Smiley Family Papers, Lake Mohonk Conference, Quaker Collection, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania.

[4] "Drug-Induced Religion," *The Quarterly Journal of the Society of American Indians*, Vol. II, No. 2 (April–June, 1914), pp. 99–100.

James Mooney at his desk in the Bureau of American Ethnology in 1894

include this dangerous drug."[5] The resolution followed on the presentation of papers by Fred H. Daiker, Chief of the Law and Order Section of the Indian Office, and the Reverend G. A. Watermulder of Winnebago, Nebraska. Both described the properties of the cactus and offered testimonials as to its deleterious effects. But it was the comment of Reverend Watermulder that captured the missionary spirit of the growing campaign:[6]

> . . . . we are now face to face with a question, "Is it a menace to progress? Is it merely a pleasurable indulgence? Shall we treat it with indifference, a joke of politicians? Or shall we treat it intelligently as men and women prompted by high patriotic and moral purposes? Of course, the Indian thinks it is his salvation. . . . But ah, what delusion! What fancied pictures! What castles in the air! Finally and certainly, what a debauched, ruined life. . . ."

State and federal authorities needed effective legislation to inhibit and then entirely suppress the sale and use of peyote. To just such legislation the conference and all the organizations it represented pledged support.

Mooney received a complimentary copy of the proceedings of the Lake Mohonk Conference for 1914. "In looking thru [*sic*] its interesting pages,"

[5] Lake Mohonk Conference, *Report of the Thirty-Second Annual Lake Mohonk Conference on the Indian and Other Dependent Peoples* (1914), p. 8.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 72.

he wrote soonafter to H. C. Phillips, Secretary of the Conference, "I find several devoted to Peyote, in which the whole tone is violently denunciating of the plant and the rite." As the "only competant witness" to have made a study of the subject, including participation in the ceremonies among the principle peyote tribes of the United States and Mexico, Mooney contested the remarks of the attendants. It was not a soporific habit, but a religious rite, and it neither fostered immorality nor shortened life. "The opposition," he concluded, "is based upon our prevailing ignorance & intolerance of Indian custom & feeling."[7] Phillips replied that because his knowledge of peyote consisted only in what he was told, he was "decidedly of no definite opinion." But if "the good people who treated the subject at Mohonk have been so completely deceived, perhaps sometime we could hear from the other side."[8]

Mooney testified in Washington before the Board of Indian Commissioners in February, 1915, in support of the peyote rite. Those who had promised to speak against the cult failed to appear to the regret of the chairman.[9] Mooney assumed the role of expert, which undoubtedly he was, but in doing so, he became identified by the government and the Board of Indian Commissioners, many of whom were members of the protectionist associations, with a practice that ran counter to official government policy.

That September the organizers of the 1915 Mohonk Conference invited his attendance. Though held by duties in Washington, D.C., he wrote to Secretary Phillips recommending other ethnologists and certain interested Indians to present the case for peyote.[10] Upon learning that Mooney would not attend, Phillips conveyed his regrets to the ethnologist and added that, perhaps, the tentative program for the conference needed clarifying. "For the fall definite subjects have so far been formulated that there would be little chance to do justice to any other big topic. It would be better to postpone the subject [of peyote] until a more thorough discussion could be organized."[11]

The October meeting of the Friends of the Indians, however, did contain references to peyote. At the second session, the Reverend F. K. Brooke, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Oklahoma, addressed members on the necessity for cooperation between state and federal authorities. "There is no peril that confronts us at the present time so great as the use of 'peyote.' " Of its habit forming properties, the Bishop believed there could be no doubt.

---

[7] Mooney to H. C. Phillips, January 30, 1915, Smiley Family Papers, Box 48.
[8] Phillips to Mooney, February 9, 1915, *Ibid.*
[9] Mooney to Phillips, March 9, 1915, *Ibid.*
[10] Mooney to Phillips, September 9, 1915, *Ibid.*
[11] Phillips to Mooney, September 18, 1915, *Ibid.*

"Missionaries have been preaching against its use, and last year they got together and decided they would have no one as a member of the church . . . if he were addicted to the peyote habit."[12] Brooke next asked the Commissioner of Indian Affairs whether the government was prepared to take steps in restricting addiction. Commissioner Cato Sells answered that, indeed, legislation had been drafted and awaited presentation to Congress at the coming session. "It includes the suppression of the peyote bean and all intoxicants by whatever name known," Sells boasted. The platform committee applauded the "efficient efforts to stop the sale of intoxicants and use of peyote."[13]

When he learned about the activities of the anti-peyotists from Warren K. Moorehead, member of the Board of Indian Commissioners and the Business Committee of the Mohonk Conference, Mooney was outraged. "I venture to say," he wrote to Secretary Phillips, "that if it were made known that opportunity would be given to Indians for free discussion of this subject . . . a dozen western tribes would gladly nominate delegations of their best picked men and send them there at their own expense for that purpose." The only peyote advocate present had been Francis LaFlesche, son of an Omaha chief and an ethnologist for the Bureau. LaFlesche's remarks were confined to "protection of Indian lands."[14] Phillips responded that perhaps too little emphasis had been previously placed on the importance of the peyote discussion before the conference in 1914 but that Mooney's suggestions for the 1915 meeting arrived too late to be included on the program. The brief mention of peyote was "entirely incidental." The platform reference to peyote "came over from last year," Phillips explained, "and simply indicates inability of anyone to control a platform committee." Phillips promised that before another conference convened, arrangements would be made to secure representatives on all sides of the issue.[15] Though somewhat placated, the ethnologist reminded Phillips that while working for the uplift of the Indian, "we must recognize that his own civilization has good points, which the educated men of the race are willing to defend."[16]

The Indian defense organizations increased their attacks on peyote. The Society of American Indians reprinted the 1915 platform of the Lake Mohonk Conference applauding the efforts made by the government to stop the sale and use of the narcotic.[17] The Indian Rights Association by early 1916 had

[12] Lake Mohonk Conference, *Report of the Thirty-Third Annual Lake Mohonk Conference on the Indian and Other Dependent Peoples* (1915), p. 75.

[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 7, 75.

[14] Mooney to Phillips, November 3, 1915, Smiley Family Papers, Box 48.

[15] Phillips to Mooney, November 8, 1915, *Ibid.*

[16] Mooney to Phillips, November 26, 1915, *Ibid.*

[17] "The Bulletin Board," *The Quarterly Journal of the Society of American Indians*, Vol. III, No. 4 (October-December, 1915), p. 275.

Two peyote leaders

also joined the conflict, including in its annual report the comments of Matthew K. Sniffen, Secretary and member of the Public Information Committee. He reported several deaths from peyote at the Winnebago Reservation in Nebraska.[18] With the increasing tempo of the assault, peyote was assured an extensive treatment at the upcoming conclave at Mohonk Lake, New York. In the early fall of 1916, the organizers of the conference sent invitations to peyotists to meet the challenge of their critics.

"It would seem to us," Secretary Phillips wrote Mooney, "that [the peyote discussion] would require not less than six, and probably eight or more papers to cover the subject to give the readers of the printed proceedings a fair idea of both sides of the case." Time, however, proved against the actual presentation of so lengthy a list at the session. Phillips invited Mooney to participate in a discussion, not to exceed one and one-half hours, on the scientific, religious and medical aspects of the controversy.[19] Five days before

[18] Indian Rights Association, *The Thirty-Third Annual Report of the Executive Committee* (Philadelphia: Office of the Indian Rights Association, 1915), p. 19.

[19] Phillips to Mooney, September 7, 1916, Smiley Family Papers, Box 53.

the conference met, Mooney accepted the invitation. He had been seriously ill upon his return from a field trip to the Cherokees of North Carolina and had ceased all work for the Bureau. The importance of the subject, however, compelled his attendance. "I shall be glad . . . to speak upon the subject of the Peyote Ritual from the standpoint of 25 years close scientific observation among the tribes most devoted to it," he wrote Phillips.[20] Yet when he arrived at New Paltz, New York, the entrepot for delegates to Lake Mohonk, the station agent treated him as a day party instead of a conference guest despite the records to the contrary on the stage report and delegates' list. The presence of Mooney's eight year old son further complicated the situation. On being informed that the child could not be quartered in the house with the other guests, Mooney left the conference and returned to Washington by an evening train.[21] Seeing his name on the program, however, the opponents of peyote became very active. Many attempted to get assignment of time to present their case. The platform committee was so overwhelmed by requests for time that they inserted a clause denouncing peyote, but it failed to pass the full business committee, after Phillips intervened. "Perhaps this preliminary skirmish was not a bad thing," Phillips wrote to Mooney, "and it may be that the discussion for 1917 will find a less biased audience then [sic] would probably have been the case this year." Phillips also extended his regrets for the "unfortunate occurance" at New Paltz and hoped that Mooney would not associate the conference with the snubbing he received.[22]

Some of those present at the 1916 Conference were particularly disappointed at Mooney's absence. Early in November, Henry A. Larsen, Chief Special Officer of the Indian Bureau, asked that E. B. Meritt, Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs, obtain copies of the peyote article that Mooney had written for the *Smithsonian Handbook*, "the only paper that has been published as a result of his investigations."[23] Larson was taking special interest in a government employee who openly advocated the use of what many considered a dangerous drug. Matthew K. Sniffen and S. M. Brosius of the Indian Rights Association had also been present at the conference. Both helped draft the pages on peyote for the 1916 Indian Rights Association *Annual Report*. "Judging from the results of efforts heretofore made to suppress its use," the report read in part, "the devotees of peyote evidently maintain lobbyists to oppose legislation intended to place a ban on the drug."

---

[20] Mooney to Phillips, October 13, 1916, *Ibid.*

[21] H. C. Phillips, "Memorandum of James Mooney Incident," October 18, 1916, *Ibid.*

[22] Phillips to Mooney, October 23, 1916, *Ibid.*

[23] Ethnologist-in-Charge to E. B. Meritt, December 5, 1916, Liquor Traffic File, No. 126, Part 4, Central Files 1907–1939, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Record Group Seventy-Five, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

Much of the detail contained in the Brosius and Sniffen report came from anti-peyote partisans at the Utah agency. Earlier in 1916, Gertrude Bonnin, a Sioux writer, and her husband, also a Sioux and member of the Indian Service, opened a community center at Fort Duschense, Utah, under the auspices of the Society of American Indians.[24] The Bonnins asserted that the peyotists, in assuming a religious guise, were undermining the work of the churches and government to uplift the Indians. The Indian Rights Association report also contained a statement by Reverend M. J. Hersey, an Episcopal missionary at the Utah agency and a close friend of the Bonnins:[25]

> . . . From a moral and religious standpoint the effect of peyote is even more apparant. Its followers seem to abandon Christian teaching, and in their frequent nightly gatherings indulge in excesses through the midnight hour, in which men and women participate. It is claimed that in these nocturnal debaucheries there is often total abandonment of virtue especially among the women.

Mooney was amused by his conferred role as purveyer of vice, but there were forces at work that would call on the alarm of good intentioned moralists to work for the silencing of the ethnologist who seemed to stand so brazenly in the way of progress.

Mooney remained in Washington throughout 1917. His health, infrequently strong, kept him from his work at the Bureau much of the time. In late summer, Secretary Phillips wrote to the ethnologist that the Mohonk Conference for 1917 would have to be postponed, and the peyote discussion put off for another year. War had taken over the consciousness of the Republic. Mooney lamented to Phillips that "all things educative, philanthropic or uplifting must now give way to the business of organized murder and destruction." In the year of the great crusade to elevate democracy among the unregenerate nations, Mooney cheered, perhaps coyly, the dropping of the word "Dependent" from the title of the Mohonk Conference.[26]

The first great marshalling of anti-peyote forces in support of prohibitive legislation came with the Gandy Bill introduced in the House of Representatives in 1916. A similar bill was also introduced in the Senate. Neither bill received sufficient votes for passage. The government, however, with the aid of the Post Office Department prohibited the use of the mail for

---

[24] Hazel W. Hertzberg, *The Search for an American Indian Identity* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1971), p. 138. The author wishes to thank Dr. Hertzberg of Columbia University for assistance in obtaining certain documents and for her valuable suggestions on additional sources for the biography of James Mooney now nearing completion.

[25] Indian Rights Association, *The Thirty-Fourth Annual Report of the Executive Committee* (Philadelphia: Office of the Indian Rights Association, 1916), pp. 38, 39.

[26] Mooney to Phillips, September 26, 1917, Smiley Family Papers, Box 55.

shipment of the plant. During 1917, states such as Nevada, Colorado and Utah enacted anti-peyote laws. The following year Carl Hayden of Arizona introduced his bill, "House Resolution 2614" calling for the revision and codification of laws regulating the liquor traffic and including peyote among an expanded list of intoxicants. Hearings before the House Sub-Committee of the Committee on Indian Affairs concerning the Hayden Bill were held in February and March, 1918.[27] Prominent among the witnesses supporting Indian religious use of peyote was James Mooney.

The roster of witnesses both for and against peyote included many eminent reformers, ethnologists, doctors and high-ranking personnel of the Indian Service. One of the more ardent supporters of the Hayden Bill was Richard Henry Pratt, the founder of Carlisle Indian School. Pratt went well beyond the usual scientific and religious discussion and castigated the Bureau of American Ethnology and James Mooney. The Bureau had consistently stood in the way of Indian education, the old general said, and had succeeded in "keeping the country misinformed about the Indians. It was well established at the time of the ghost-dance craze among the Indians that white men were its promoters if not its originators. That this peyote craze is under the same impulse is evident from what appears in the evidence."[28] Implicit in his suggestion of non-Indian origins of the cult were references to Mooney, the chronicler of the Ghost Dance Religion. Though Mooney defended peyote, himself and ethnologists in general, imploring the sub-committee to accept the counsel of scientists in the Agriculture Department and Indian peyote users, he did so in the midst of a hostile and influential group of Indians from the Society of American Indians and their "friends." Despite much testimony that peyote was neither habit-forming, dangerous to the health of Indians nor used immorally, the sub-committee reported the Hayden Bill favorably. With the first success the anti-peyotists looked to speedy passage in the full Congress.

A final report on the "Prohibition of Use of Peyote" was printed in May, 1918, at the request of John N. Tillman of Arkansas, chairman of the House Committee on Indian Affairs. Most of the report contained previously published materials, including an article from the 1916 Indian Rights Association *Annual Report*, in which the Bonnins had cited the injurious effects of peyote use at the Utah agency. Gertrude Bonnin was also the author of a section of the Tillman report entitled "Peyote Causes Race Suicide." She wrote that a man, probably Mooney, had admitted that peyote users often prayed without using the drug. Piety, therefore, was not necessarily limited

---

[27] Hertzberg, *The Search for an American Indian Identity*, pp. 255, 257, 259.

[28] United States House of Representatives, *Hearings on House Resolution 2614* (2 parts, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1918), Part. I, pp. 141, 145.

James Mooney, who defended the use of peyote among the Indians, at about the time the final report on the "Prohibition of Use of Peyote" was published

to the dazed state. Reminding her readers that the nation currently placed great emphasis on prohibition, Bonnin asked why not include peyote, "twin brother of alcohol, and first cousin of habit-forming drugs," in the movement. The Indian needed his rational mind to meet the responsibilities of full citizenship.[29] Tillman closed the report saying that opposition to the Hayden Bill on religious grounds "should receive scant credit, although picturesque and eloquent Indian orators before the sub-committee [last February and March] pleaded persuasively for the 'peyote religion.'" He

[29] United States House of Representatives, *Report Number 560*, "Prohibition of Use of Peyote," 65th Congress, 2nd Session, in *House Reports Miscellaneous* (2 parts, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1918), part II, p. 24. During his testimony before the House Sub-Committee reviewing the Hayden Bill, Thursday, February 21, 1918, Mooney commented on an article which appeared in the *Washington Times* (Washington, D.C.) the previous Sunday in which Gertrude Bonnin described the effects of peyote, a "mind Poisen." A photograph of Mrs. Bonnin, heralded as a Sioux writer, Carlisle graduate, and relative of the famous Sitting Bull, accompanied the text. Mooney, with some amusement, pointed out that Mrs. Bonnin's raiment was anomolous. The dress she wore was from some southern tribe; her belt was a Navaho man's belt; her fan, a man's fan, "carried only by men . . . in the peyote ceremony." United States House of Representatives, *Hearings on House Resolution 2614*, Part II, p. 63.

remained unconvinced by scriptural citation to justify the use of peyote as a sacrament:[30]

> This particular claim, urged by Indian orators . . . might be met with the much quoted question: "what plea so tainted and corrupt, but being seasoned with a gracious voice obscures the show of evil; what damned error, but some sober brow will bless it and approve it with a text."

The anti-peyote campaign had moved away from the scientific and constitutional discussion and into the realm of good against evil. In late May, Gertrude Bonnin wrote Pratt that she, like most of her friends, would redouble their efforts with a view to having the Hayden Bill enacted.[31]

That summer Mooney reported to the Chief of the Bureau that his testimony in the interest of the western Indians' peyote religion had "so completely won the hearts of the tribes concerned that it consequently opened the door to successful investigations along every line of inquirey."[32] With his desk cleared of work, Mooney left Washington on June 28, 1918, for a field trip to the Kiowas of Oklahoma. But of his expected continuance of research into peyote begun twenty-seven years before, there was to be a significant interruption. His summer's residence in Oklahoma did not escape the notice of certain missionaries.

In August, 1918, the Reverend Bruce Kinney, general superintendent of the American Baptist Home Mission Society's midland division, attended a meeting of the association's Indian workers in Oklahoma. Returning to his headquarters in Topeka, Kansas, he wrote to Matthew K. Sniffen of the Indian Rights Association that at the meeting he had learned that "Mr. Mooney of the Smithsonian Institute [*sic*] at Washington, was working down here among the Indians and distinctly encouraging their old tribal customs, particularly the use of peyota [*sic*]; telling them that the missionaries knew nothing about it and were not reliable." Kinney had met an Indian employee of the Chemewa School in Oregon who told him that Julia Bent Prentiss, daughter of George Bent of the famous Bent family had received a letter from Mooney in which the ethnologist supposedly cheered the use of peyote and the formation of a chartered church. The letter had been read at a meeting called to organize just such a church. Kinney asked Sniffen if any pressure "[could] be brought to bear from

---

30 United States House of Representatives, *Report Number 560*, 65th Congress, 2nd Session, Part II, p. 26.

31 Gertrude Bonnin to Richard H. Pratt, May 21, 1918, Richard Henry Pratt Papers, Incoming Letters, Group No. S1174, Series I, Box 2, Folder 35, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

32 Bureau of American Ethnology, *Thirty-Ninth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1917–1918* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1925), p. 13.

Washington to minimize efforts along this line. It seems to me a man in his position has no right to influence the Indians in that way."[33] Kinney also wrote on the same subject to G. W. Hicks and Thomas J. Davis, missionary colleagues in Oklahoma.

Forwarded from the Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, office of the Indian Rights Association, Kinney's letter reached Sniffen in Los Angeles, California, while he was on his annual inspection tour among the western tribes. It came as no surprise, Sniffen wrote, that James Mooney had strongly supported the "peyote habit." Sniffen had participated in the hearings on the Hayden Bill. He offered some suggestions to the minister:[34]

> It seems to me that you could do more good, under present conditions, by getting some publicity in your church papers, showing how an important branch of the Government service . . . is . . . encouraging a demoralizing practice among the Indians. . . . It may be that Mooney aims to keep the Indians in their most barbaric state and thus make them interesting ethnological specimens for study by scientists! You could . . . create such a strong public sentiment in the matter that Mooney would be instructed by his superiors to drop his peyote propaganda. That seems to be the most effective way to go after him.

The anti-peyote campaign had now become anti-Mooney.

Members of the Indian Service soon joined with Oklahoma missionaries in the Protests. By late October, 1918, the superintendent of Anadarko agency, T. V. Stinchecum, was bombarding the commissioner's office with requests for Mooney's removal. The ethnologist had shattered his fragile welcome by assisting in the drafting of the charter of the Native American Church, registered with the State of Oklahoma on October 10. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Cato Sells, forwarded one of Stinchecum's telegrams to Charles D. Walcott, secretary of the Smithsonian Institution. "We are making an aggressive campaign to eliminate the use of peyote by Indians," Sells informed Walcott, and "I regard the situation as presented by Superintendent Stinchecum as a serious interference with our efforts to control and eventually entirely eliminate the use of peyote by Indians and feel that you will appreciate the advisability of the immediate recall of Mr. Mooney."[35] Under pressure, Walcott wired Mooney on October 22 to quit the Kiowa reservation. The Secretary of the Smithsonian then attempted to

---

[33] Bruce Kinney to Matthew K. Sniffen, August 21, 1918, The Peyote Papers, 1918–1925, No. 6, Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art Library, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

[34] Matthew K. Sniffen to Bruce Kinney, September 9, 1918, No. 8, *Ibid.*

[35] Commissioner of Indian Affairs to Charles D. Walcott, October 22, 1918, File 85650, No. 126, "Kiowa," Central Files, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Record Group 75, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

appease Commissioner Sells: "The ethnologists sent into the field by the bureau . . . are asked to devote their energies to the study of the languages, manners and customs of the Indians, which can best be done by a cordial cooperation and mutual understanding of officials in charge."[36] Walcott had no intention of alienating a powerful section of the Interior Department whose good favor allowed the Bureau of American Ethnology to study Native Americans at reservations.

Mooney stalled. His superior again ordered him off the reservation on October 28 and once more on the thirtieth. His son had accompanied him to Oklahoma and was now sick with influenza. Superintendent Stinchecum informed the commissioner on Saturday, November 9, that Mooney's son was then well enough to travel and that there was every indication that the ethnologist planned to attend a peyote ceremony that evening.[37] Sells authorized the agent to remove Mooney should he refuse to leave under the general ruling that his presence was "detrimental to the peace and welfare of the Indians."[38] On Monday afternoon Stinchecum drove to Apache, thirty miles from the agency, and found Mooney in the house of Albert Cat, a Kiowa. After some discussion and a few threats the superintendent accepted Mooney's promise to leave the next afternoon. In summary of the incident, Stinchecum wrote: "In view of his attitude on peyote . . . I feel that the Office would be entirely justified in requesting the Bureau of Ethnology [*sic*] not to detail him to any reservations hereafter."[39] On November 12, 1918, Mooney left the Oklahoma reservation never to return.

Even after his removal, missionaries and agents continued their pressure on the government. Reverend Kinney wrote to Stinchecum requesting that he make every effort to obtain Mooney's letter to Julia Prentiss, thought to contain inflammatory material which could be used against him. Gertrude Bonnin, now the secretary-treasurer of the Society of American Indians, when told of its existence by Kinney, also expressed great interest in obtaining a copy. Stinchecum promised to get the letter, but if that proved impossible, he offered to furnish Kinney and the commissioner affidavits that Mooney had spoken derisively of Christian camp meetings and had made statements that the Department of the Interior did not know what it was talking about when it attempted to discourage the use of peyote. "As far as I am concerned," Stinchecum wrote to the Baptist minister, "his work on this reservation as long as I am here is at an end."[40]

---

[36] Walcott to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 23, 1918, *Ibid.*

[37] Telegram: T. V. Stinchecum to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 9, 1918, *Ibid.*

[38] Telegram: E. B. Meritt to Stinchecum, November 9, 1918, *Ibid.*

[39] Stinchecum to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 27, 1918, *Ibid.*

[40] Stinchecum to Bruce Kinney, November 21, 1918, The Peyote Papers, No. 26.

By November 23, Kinney had received a copy of the Prentiss letter from an unspecified source. The letter proved to be inconsequential—mild indeed—a far cry from the hoped for exposé of an irresponsible government employee. Mooney had simply told Mrs. Prentiss that the congressional peyote hearings were available as government documents. He also wrote that a number of peyotists among the Kiowas had debated organizing a church modeled after that of the Puget Sound Shakers. Though disappointed for what it did not contain, the minister forwarded copies to Gertrude Bonnin and Commissioner Sells. More detrimental testimony, Kinney wrote to Stinchecum, could be provided by the Reverend Thomas J. Davis of Watonga, Oklahoma. Davis had heard Mooney boast that he could set the peyote question before Congress in such a way that no law would be made against it. Kinney promised to forward the Davis memorandum with a commendation for Stinchecum's actions against Mooney to the commissioner of Indian Affairs.[41]

Special officers of the Indian service, William R. Houston and Henry A. Larsen, added their voices in opposition to Mooney's recent actions in Oklahoma. Houston had obtained an affidavit from a Comanche Indian on December 5, forwarding copies to Larsen at Denver and Stinchecum at Anadarko. All then sent facsimiles to Commissioner Sells. Herman Asenap, an Indian policeman stationed near Cache, Oklahoma, had signed the affidavit. Near the end of August, according to Asenap, Mooney had attended a "peyote feast" telling those present that "a lady [probably Gertrude Bonnin] had made a complaint before the Indian authorities in Washington about Indians eating peyote." Mooney also blamed the missionaries for fomenting the anti-peyote offensive, and promised, upon his return to Washington, to seek the removal of those agents in alliance with the churches. Unlike the Prentiss letter wherein Mooney simply told of the efforts to organize a peyote church, Asenap's affidavit claimed that the ethnologist had promised to send the Indians instructions on how to organize their religion.[42] With this information, following on the revelation of his aid in chartering the Native American Church of Oklahoma, Mooney's reputation among the powers of the Indian service approached a sinister level.

---

[41] Kinney to Stinchecum, November 23, 1918, File 85650, No. 126, "Kiowa," 1918, Central Files, Record Group 75, National Archives. The *original* Prentiss letter, of which numerous copies were made and circulated, eventually reached the Commissioner of Indian Affairs on April 7, 1919, sent by W. W. Scott, Superintendent of the Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency, Concho, Oklahoma. See, W. W. Scott to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, April 2, 1919, File 11552, No. 126, 1919, Central Files, *ibid*. The Thomas Davis memorandum is from The Peyote Papers, No. 7.

[42] Stinchecum to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 14, 1918, File 85650, No. 126, "Kiowa," 1918, Central Files, *ibid*.

Oklahoma Senator Robert L. Owen, who supported Mooney in his attempt to have the ban against investigation of the use of peyote by the Indians

Late in January, 1919, Gertrude Bonnin sent a letter to Pratt, asking that prompt action be taken to "disarm [Mooney] of his government position; that if he goes into the field he will not appear to have support of the government for his peyote propaganda."[43] Included in her parcel were copies of the Prentiss letter, the testimony of Reverend Davis, a long letter

[43] Gertrude Bonnin to Richard H. Pratt, January 29, 1919, Pratt Papers, Incoming Letters, Group No. S1174, Series I, Box 2, Folder 35.

from William E. Johnson, former liquor suppression officer of the Indian Bureau and now managing editor of *The New Republic*, Westerville, Ohio, and a letter from Mooney to Arthur C. Parker, former president of the Society of American Indians. The last letter criticized the members of the society for their less than expert testimony at the sub-committee hearings the previous winter, adding that it was well known among the western tribes that "a large portion of the Society of American Indians is Indian only by remote ancestry."[44] The letter, though insolent, was written on October 31, just days before Stinchecum finally forced Mooney to leave the reservation. Mooney's use of a franked envelope in sending his now notorious letter to Mrs. Prentiss seemed to offend Bonnin more than the questioning of racial purity.[45] Pratt immediately sent letters to congressmen and reformers, directing their support for the Hayden Bill and against Mooney and the Bureau of American Ethnology. In a letter to Senator Edwin S. Johnson of South Dakota and member of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, Pratt included a copy of the Prentiss letter. "Mr Mooney," Pratt lectured the senator, "has had a salary from the government of the United States and traveling expenses to produce vast mummeries in regard to the Indians for 35 years. During all the 25 years of my work at Carlisle, I felt the baneful influences of the Bureau of Ethnology [*sic*] continually." Both Julia Prentiss and her husband had been Carlisle students. "You can see from this letter the secret influences he is exerting among the Indians. Perhaps Mr. Mooney himself is the originator of the idea of the Peyote church." Pratt also called Johnson's attention to the use of a penilty envelope, adding that he never felt compelled, when at Carlisle, "to cheat the government for personal correspondence," though he had far more right than Mooney when it came to his own students.[46]

Assistant Indian Commissioner E. B. Meritt also took interest in Mooney's latest trip to Oklahoma. He advised agents there to forward data concerning Mooney's participation in chartering the peyote church and procure any copies of the ethnologist's correspondence with Indians.[47] Once again the testimony of T. V. Stinchecum, Thomas Davis and the Prentiss letter were sent to the commissioner of Indian Affairs, this time by the agents in charge of the Otoe Indian Agency, Red Rock, Oklahoma, and the Cheyenne

---

[44] Mooney to Arthur C. Parker, October 31, 1918, *Ibid.*

[45] Bonnin to H. Pratt, January 29, 1918, *Ibid.*

[46] Pratt to Edwin S. Johnson, February 6, 1919, Pratt Papers, General Correspondence and Official Papers, Series I, Box 16, Folder 391.

[47] E. B. Meritt to W. W. Scott, March 19, 1919, File 11552, No. 126, 1919, Central Files, Record Group 75, National Archives.

and Arapaho Agency, Concho, Oklahoma.[48] Bruce Kinney's desire of obtaining evidence against the ethnologist had circled between agencies, missionaries and Washington, catching Mooney in the vortex of scandalized sensibilities.

Upon his return to Washington in November, 1918, Mooney resumed work on the sacred formulas of the Eastern Cherokee and coordinated materials on peyote lately collected in the field. Barred from further investigation among the Indians using peyote, the bureau then assigned him to answering routine ethnologic inquiries. But in May, 1920, he applied to the commissioner for permission to return to Oklahoma. Mooney's health, never very strong, was failing, due in part, as he believed, to his enforced stay in Washington. He lamented his situation to a friend:[49]

> After 35 years' service to the Bureau of Ethnology [*sic*]—a longer service than that of any other ethnologist in or out of the Bureau—and with several monumental research works to my credit, my most important investigation, which promises to be of most value to the scientific and medical world, a research which I initiated and to which I have given a large part of thirty years, is blocked and killed, and I am debarred from the field at the instance of Cato Sells.

Mooney consulted Senator James A. Reed of Missouri, who sent a request to Commissioner Sells that the ban on the ethnologist be lifted. E. B. Meritt answered the appeal, advising Reed that Mooney's activities in Oklahoma had "interferred with the administration of Indian Affairs, and [that] the Office would not be justified in withdrawing the request made at that time."[50]

Even after a personal interview with John Barton Payne, secretary of the interior on June 10, 1920, Mooney's appeal was again denied. Payne wanted a request from the secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, before even considering lifting the proscription. Charles Walcott demurred, stating that the chief of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Dr. J. Walter Fewkes, was absent from Washington and therefore could not be consulted. Walcott told Payne that he was leaving for the Canadian Rockies, but would give the matter his full attention when he returned to Washington in the fall.[51] But when fall came Mooney was too ill to advance his case. Never a strong man physically, his heart had nearly reached its ravaged limit.

---

[48] George A. Hoyes to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 19, 1919; and W. W. Scott to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, April 2, 1919, *Ibid.*

[49] Mooney to Frederick M. Smith, May 18, 1920, File 85650, No. 126, "Kiowa," 1918, Central Files, Record Group 75, National Archives.

[50] Meritt to James A. Reed, June 7, 1920, *Ibid.*

[51] Charles D. Walcott to Secretary of the Interior, June 11, 1920, *Ibid.*

In late February, 1921, with the support of the Oklahoma senator, Robert L. Owen, Mooney again applied to Commissioner Sells. Without the Indian bureau lifting the restriction, the Bureau of American Ethnology would take no action. Cato Sells informed the senator, in the same words used by Meritt in the correspondence with Senator Reed, that Mooney's proposed visit to the Kiowas in the coming spring and summer was unjustified.[52] If any hope existed for a favorable ruling it would, perhaps, come with the Harding Administration and the changing of the guard in Washington. On July 16, Mooney presented himself to Charles H. Burke, the new commissioner of Indian affairs. Burke seemed favorable to the proposal, but before making any final ruling, he preferred to have a formal request from Secretary Walcott. Two days later, the acting secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, C. G. Abbot, forwarded his reply to the commissioner: "Should the Institution desire Mr. Mooney to resume his operations with the Kiowa, it will be very glad to communicate with you further."[53] That desire was never expressed. Five months later, on December 22, 1921, and two months before his sixty-first birthday, James Mooney's heart failed.

When still young in the summer of 1893, the ethnologist had told the reporter for the Chicago *Inter-Ocean* that "unless you live with a people you cannot know them. It is the only way to learn their ideas and study their character." Living with the Indian "was not a pleasant life. And a white man can hardly expect to endure the exposures and privations more than twenty years. . . . Only an absorbing ethnologic interest makes it possible to endure what a scientist must in exiling himself from civilization."[54] Thirty-five years of service had failed to dampen his ardor. He had endured privations in the field during those interludes from civilization, but upon return, he had harvested the fury of civilized men and women. And in the end, like the Indian before him, he became an exile in his own land.

---

[52] Commissioner of Indian Affairs to Robert L. Owen, March 3, 1921, File 11552, No. 126, "Kiowa," 1918, Central Files, Record Group 75, National Archives.

[53] C. G. Abbot to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 18, 1921, File 85650, No. 126, "Kiowa," 1918, Central Files, *Ibid.*

[54] McCabe, "The Indian Man," James Mooney Vertical File, National Anthropological Archives.

OKLAHOMA PIONEERS IN MEXICO: THE CHAMAL COLONY

*By John J. Winberry**

According to the 1890 Census, "the unsettled area [of the United States] has been so broken into by isolated bodies of settlement that there can hardly be said to be a frontier line."[1] The pioneering spirit, however, did not correspondingly disappear. Visions of new opportunities and expectations of a better living, as well as aversions to taxes and crowding, enticed many to seek new lands. At the turn of the century, they could still look south to Mexico, which under the presidency of Porfirio Diaz was seeking European and American agriculturalists to colonize its territory. American settlement in Mexico was not new. The Austin Colony arrived in the province of Coahuila-Texas in the 1820s; Southerners established themselves in the northwest and along the Gulf Coast after the Civil War; and American adventurers, lumbermen and miners could be found throughout the country.[2]

In the 1850s, however, Mexico remembered the Texas Revolution and the War of 1846–1847 all too well. Nevertheless, the nation, though "favored by God with a wonderfully fertile soil and abundant riches," was faced with "all the difficulties that affect small, poor countries."[3] Population especially had to be increased. In August, 1877, a letter from the minister of development to governors inquiring of potential areas for colonization in their states declared that Mexico would "make every sacrifice to attract worthy, hard-working foreigners."[4] Europeans were pouring across the Atlantic into the United States and Canada, and Mexico wanted to direct at least a small current of this flood southward. The country, however, faced some basic problems. Good, vacant lands had to be found; but most were held in vast haciendas, which would not be broken up for decades.[5] Despite improvements in communication and transport, most areas were still iso-

---

* The author is currently an Assistant Professor of Geography at the University of South Carolina, Columbia, South Carolina.

[1] United States Department of Commerce, *Compendium of the Eleventh Census: 1890* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1894), p. xlviii.

[2] G. D. Harmon, "Confederate Migration to Mexico," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. XVII (1937), p. 459; A. F. Rolle, *The Lost Cause* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965), pp. 92, 110.

[3] Mexico, *Memoria de la Dirección de Colonización é Industria* (Mexico: n.p. 1850), p. 1, translated by author.

[4] M. González Navarro, *La Colonización en México* (Mexico, n.p.: 1960), pp. 1–2, translated by author.

[5] G. Wodon de Sorinne, *La Colonización de México* (Mexico: Secretaria de Fomento, 1902), p. 14.

lated, and settlers feared for their personal safety against *banditos* or the arbitrariness of *rurales* and other government representatives.[6] Continued opportunity in the United States and Canada, the desire to settle with others of one's heritage and the many concessions offered by the American government and railroads also worked against Mexico's ambitions.

In 1876 Porfirio Diaz assumed the Presidency of Mexico and initiated three and one half decades of economic development. Encouraged by a cabinet of enterprising elitists, the Porfirian regime perceived Mexico's basic problem to be the laziness and disorder of her people. Immigration of Europeans, it was argued, would improve the economy and furthermore reduce the threat from north of the Rio Grande; perhaps their diligence also would diffuse outward and "improve the population qualitatively."[7] Failure to entice Europeans, however, brought a change of policy. In the 1890s Tamaulipas state removed restrictions on the immigration of Americans, and the national government followed suit.[8] Under the ministry of Carlos Pacheco contracts were let, and colonists began moving into Mexico, most committing themselves to agriculture and locating in the north or along the Gulf Coast. In 1895 only a few over 48,000 foreigners were resident in Mexico, but by 1910 there were over 116,000.[9] This total was below what the nation had hoped for, and among them, to Mexico's chagrin, were many Americans. In 1910 they, settling largely in the north, numbered 30,639. In Ensenada, for instance, Americans outnumbered Mexicans 100 to 1; one Mexican newspaper believed this was as ominous as the advance of an American army and predicted "the annexation by the United States of the territories of our frontier states."[10]

Despite such fears, the Porfirian government welcomed the Americans. Under the 1902 colonization laws each individual could claim up to 2,500 hectares—6,177.5 acres—of land and purchase it over a 10-year period, or up to 100 hectares—247.1 acres—for free if one-tenth of it was cultivated for 5 years. Colonists were exempt for ten years from military service, all taxation—except municipal—import and export duties and were entitled to bounties for introducing new agricultural or industrial techniques.[11]

The American colonies in Mexico were diverse. Among the most successful were and have been the Mormons who settled northwestern Chi-

---

[6] González Navarro, *La Colonización en México*, p. 53.

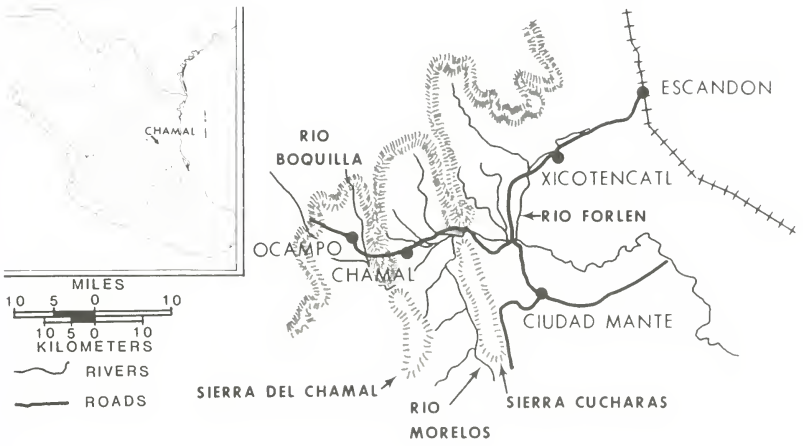
[7] C. C. Cumberland, *Mexico: The Struggle for Modernity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), p. 194.

[8] González Navarro, *La Colonización en México*, p. 25.

[9] Cumberland, *Mexico: The Struggle for Modernity*, p. 196.

[10] González Navarro, *La Colonización en México*, p. 89 and quote on p. 55, translated by author.

[11] Mexico, *Colonization and Naturalization Laws of the Republic of Mexico* (Mexico: American Book and Printing Company, 1905), pp. 1–3.



A map showing the location of the Chamal Colony of Oklahomans in Mexico

huahua between 1885 and 1900.[12] Other colonists had no religious or cultural bond but simply wanted to pioneer successfully a new land. They arrived in Mexico around the turn of the century, prospered until the Mexican Revolution of 1910 and then were forced to abandon their new-found homes, never to return. Theirs were stories of dreams, commitments, hard work, disappointments and an overpowering will to succeed. The Chamal Colony, or Blalock Mexico Colony as was its legal name, was one such group; their chronicle was one repeated by virtually all those pioneering colonists of Mexico at the turn of the century.

The Chamal colony was located in the southwestern corner of Tamaulipas, just northwest of Ciudad Mante. The Chamal Valley is the northern part of a verdant basin a little over 450 feet above sea level within the eastern ranges of the Sierra Madre Oriental. To the east is the rather unpretentious Sierra de Cucharas, 750 feet, and to the west is the more formidable Sierra de Chamal, over 1,800 feet. What the colonists found when they arrived can be discerned partially from early descriptions. In the early 1820s Joel Poinsett, travelling north to Tampico, passed "the hacienda of *Chamal* belonging to the wealthy order of Carmelites, and then entered on an extensive plain covered with palm trees."[13] In 1826 G. F. Lyon descended the Cerro de las Cucharas "to a plain covered with fan

[12] N. L. Whetten, *Rural Mexico* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948), pp. 155–158.

[13] J. R. Poinsett, *Notes on Mexico* (Philadelphia: n.p. 1824), p. 199. There is no mention in the title history that the Carmelites ever owned Chamal, but they may temporarily have acquired it because of a mortgage default. Mrs. M. A. Bateman to John J. Winberry, March 10, 1977; Author's personal collection; *Ibid.*, March 18, 1977.

palms and acacias, [and] in about twelve miles reached a few huts called 'Chamal'."[14]

In 1902 Sheriff George Blalock of Greer County, Oklahoma, tracked a fugitive into Mexico. Whether he brought back his man or not, he did return with a favorable impression of the country south of the Rio Grande. His enthusiasm infected others in southwestern Oklahoma, and later that year Blalock and five other men journeyed to Tampico in search of land. Learning of the old Carmelite property of Chamal, the men visited the valley and decided forthwith to buy it as the site of a new colony.[15] They took an option from the Banco Hipotecario Internacional on the Chamal Ranch, a tract approximately forty-five miles by thirteen miles containing 314,000 acres. Returning to Oklahoma, the men formally incorporated The Blalock Mexico Colony and sold shares of stock. The land was purchased for $55,000—$30,000 in cash from stock sales and mortgage liens to the Banco Hipotecario Internacional of Mexico and the International Bank and Trust Company of the United States for the remaining $25,000. The title deed was transferred to the colony on March 21, 1903, and all outstanding debts and accrued interest were paid off by March 6, 1905.[16]

The colonists embarked for Mexico in the last week of 1902 on two special trains, one for the thirty-three families and scattering of bachelors and the second for the animals and equipment. Southward across Texas they journeyed to the dusty border town of Eagle Pass, where they remained two weeks while Mexican and United States customs authorities went through their property to determine taxes and charges. The colonists were forced to pay import duties, which violated colonization regulations, but they subsequently were remunerated. Across the Rio Grande and on the Mexican Central Railway, they made their way to an isolated little station called Escandón, arriving there on March 3. After a few days unloading the trains, they set off overland on the last leg of the journey to Chamal. It "seemed then that the distance was twice as far as it really was, on account of the roads being so rough, they being merely trails where the burro and mule pack trains traveled from one village to another."[17] Finally, the party worked its way over the mountain on the eastern side of the valley; "the promised land lay just before us, in fact, our vision could rest on the palm valleys stretching out in front of us."[18] Even the thirst most likely was forgotten

---

[14] G. F. Lyon, *A Journal of Residence and Tour in the Republic of Mexico in the Year 1826* (London: n.p. 1828), p. 131.

[15] M. A. Bateman Interview, McAllen, Texas, November 1, 1969.

[16] *The Chamal Record* (Chamal, Tamaulipas, Mexico), July 16, 1912.

[17] *The Chamal Record*, March 16, 1912.

[18] *The Chamal Record*, March 16, 1912.

temporarily as the wagons descended the mountains and headed for the ranch headquarters of old Chamal. It was March 7, 1903, almost three months since their departure from Oklahoma.

Some 150 colonists were in the first group; they moved temporarily into the houses of the old ranch or set up tents along the Rio Boquilla. The land had not been surveyed, and the men explored and hunted in the valley.[19] Their commitment, however, was to agriculture; one family, for instance, imported the following:[20]

> One carload of household goods and furnishings, and one team of good mules, two registered Durham milk cows, and one registered Durham bull, together with approximately thirty chickens, and three registered Berkshire hogs.

A second group of colonists left in November, 1903, and after their arrival, the division of land began. Each individual held twenty shares of stock from his initial investment and, as a result, was allowed to draw for one first-class quarter section, a second-class section and one third-class quarter section. In addition, he was entitled to one twenty-acre block just outside town and a building site in town. Although the twenty-share limit was to insure that "no man [would] monopolize the proposition . . . there was no rule whereby a stockholder had to stop purchasing; . . . the laws of trade were not let down on him and some had more than they needed and others more Dollars than shares."[21] To purchase ten shares might cost up to $1,000. Drawings took place, and each shareholder acquired his land piecemeal. "Then trading commenced in earnest, each man trying to trade so as to block his land—many of them soon succeeded, while others did not."[22]

The town initially was to be located on a slight rise south of the Boquilla River. An alternative site was found soon after the initial decision and, after much argument, was agreed upon; "Chamal" was chosen as its name.[23] Work began on the homes; at first most were crude dwellings of local materials. Forked posts were set up at the corners and a single tall fork in the center of each of the two end walls. Horizontal bamboos, tied on by palm leaves, made the walls; bamboo poles were used for the rafters and purlins; and palm leaves provided the roofing material, being tied to the purlins by

---

[19] *The Chamal Record*, April 16, 1912.

[20] "Memorandum of Claim Before General Claims Commission, United States of America and United Mexican States, January 3, 1925." Agency File 97, Inc. 5, Washington National Records Center, Suitland, Maryland, p. 1.

[21] W. E. Frasier, "Colony Contract," (transcribed copy from private collection of Mrs. H. C. Stoups, Corpus Christi, Texas).

[22] *Ibid.*

[23] *The Chamal Record*, April 16, 1912.

The type of corner-timbered, palm-log house built by the colonists after settling in Chamal. The houses, following a typical American pioneer pattern, were of two rooms separated by a central hallway but were traditionally roofed with palm branches. Some were enlarged "and fixed up till they make real nice houses"

their stringy edges. Floors initially were dirt, but soon flat rocks were roughly fitted together to make stone floors. These crude dwellings soon were replaced by more substantial structures of palm logs. These were built in traditional log cabin style, the logs placed horizontally one over another with the ends notched and interlocked. Chinked and daubed, they made quite comfortable homes. Palm leaves still provided the roof, but later men ventured into the mountains to cut and make oak shakes used on some houses. Floors of pine wood became common in time. In 1912 the log houses were still dominant because only one stone building, the school house, and eight or nine houses of lumber were reported in Chamal.[24]

Upon their arrival the colonists began planting gardens but found that seasons were different than in the states. Crops planted in late spring, for instance, failed because the rainy season did not begin until about the middle of June, although its onset varied from year to year. Corn became the valley's major crop; land was broken in June with the first rains and in July, usually, seed was planted. Frequently more than one harvest was realized from a single field. The other two standard Mexican crops, beans and squash, also were grown. Another crop adopted by the colonists from the Mexicans was

[24] *The Chamal Record*, May 1, 1912, p. 1.

ajonjoli, a millet-like small seed plant, which was sold. Gardens included peas, butterbeans, tomatoes, turnips, radishes, onions, okra, peanuts, watermelons, beets, sorghum and cane. Orchards held banana, orange, lemon, pineapple, grapefruit, fig, mango and avocado trees.[25] Stock-raising also played a major role in the colony's economy.

For ten years Chamal prospered and grew. In 1906, according to a Mexican government report, the colony harvested over 56,000 bushels of corn, over 8,500 bushels of beans and about the same volume of potatoes. The colony also produced sorghum and various vegetables for its own consumption. There also were some 4,000 fruit trees of various types. Livestock included 50 American and 149 Mexican bulls; 3,000 cattle; and 70 American and 50 Mexican horses. A water-powered corn mill, one blacksmith shop and two general stores completed the inventory. In 1907 the population was set at 261 Americans and some 1,000 *indigenes* or Mexicans. In 1909 fifty-seven American families resided in the colony—fifty had been reported in 1907—and over 3,700 acres were cultivated. There were 100 head of American cattle, 30 mules and 300 hogs. There were as well 200 Mexican horses and 100 Mexican mules. The report also noted that the colony included one lawyer, one doctor, one surveyor and four school teachers. Roads had been built to Valles to meet the railroad; and a new bridge spanned the Rio Boquilla.[26]

In 1911 eighty-eight families resided in the colony.[27] A 1912 report listed fifty-four landholders whose property was valued at $285,427.[28] The "village of Chamal" was described as:[29]

> situated in the north end of the valley. It has: About 250 population; a Public Square set out in citrous fruits, shrubbery and shade trees and a public well on same; 4 Stores; 2 Blacksmith Shops, a Drug Store; a Meat Market; a Shoe Shop; a Grist Mill and a Saw Mill, both run by a steam engine; a Printing Office and a Paper; a 2-story rock School House 24 x 66 feet, nicely finished and furnished; a Post Office and 3 Mails a week; Doctors, Interpreters, Translators, Real Estate Dealers, etc., and a Church Building under construction. There are also several little Mexican settlements at different places over the valley.

---

[25] *The Chamal Record*, July 16, 1912; June 16, 1912; March 1, 1912; October 16, 1912; October 1, 1912; January 16, 1913.

[26] González Navarro, *La Colonización en México*, pp. 71–72.

[27] "Historical Statement," General Claims Commission, United States of America and Mexican States, Agency File 86, Inc. 29, Annex 1, Washington National Records Center, p. 2.

[28] Dispatch No. 530, "Value of Property, in this Consular District, owned by American Citizens, May 12, 1912," Box 3701/536, Decimal File 1910–29, General Records of the Department of State, Record Group 59, National Archives and Records Service, Washington, D.C.

[29] *The Chamal Record*, March 1, 1912.

In 1910 opposition to Porfirio Diaz flamed into revolution. American authorities in Mexico realized the danger to American citizens. In April, 1912, the American consul at Tampico reported that the Chamal colony, "about 40 miles distant from the railroad, . . . would be in the most critical position of any in case of an uprising against Americans but about 100 fighting men can be mustered and would give a good account of themselves."[30] Chamal, however, was affected only indirectly in the early years. In May, 1911, bandits were in the vicinity of Chamal, and the governor of Tamaulipas dispatched *rurales*.[31] In early 1912 an election in Ocampo, the municipal seat in which Chamal was situated, resulted in the "outs" taking "the field on the side of the revolution." Troops were recruited, and some minor confrontations occurred, "but, so far, neither side have bothered the Americans here. The Americans don't take sides with either faction."[32] By the end of May, however, the situation worsened. W. E. Frasier, then president of the colony, wrote the American consul in Tampico, "we are infested with the different combatants of the Republic and it is hard to tell which is the worse. Those claiming to be Federals having passed through here yesterday from Morelos to Ocampo having taken enroute and borrowed altogether about eight or more horses that I hear of [know of?]." The consul advised the colonists to "refuse assistance of any kind to either party" and if animals are taken "to obtain receipts for same" or "affidavits of witnesses."[33] Some of the colonists began to feel their lives threatened, and in the summer of 1912 abandoned the colony.[34] Most stayed on, but the situation was deteriorating. Armed bands attacked, stole and destroyed colony property. To provide some protection, "a large fort or stronghold so-called" was built "around the schoolhouse . . . in which the women and the children were placed for safety," but at times they still had to flee into the mountains.[35]

Through 1913 bands of armed men attacked nearby towns as well as the colony lands. Requests by the colonists for protection were futile, because in

---

[30] Dispatch No. 487, "Clarence A. Miller to Secretary of State, April 5, 1912," Box 3698/232, Decimal File 1910–29, Record Group 59, National Archives and Records Services, Washington, D.C.

[31] Dispatch No. 279, Clarence A. Miller to Secretary of State, May 26, 1911, File 812.00/2025, Records of Department of State Relating to Internal Affairs of Mexico 1910–1929, National Archives Microfilm Publication M-274, roll 13.

[32] *The Chamal Record*, May 16, 1912.

[33] Dispatch No. 547, Clarence A. Miller to Secretary of State, June 1, 1912, Box 3702/591, Decimal File 1910–29, Record Group 59, Records of the Department of State Relating to Internal Affairs of Mexico.

[34] "To stay or not to stay, to run or not to run, that is the question. As for our part, we think we will stay, at least until something a whole lot worse than anything we have yet seen comes up. It seems, however, that some have decided to pull," *The Chamal Record*, May 16, 1912, "Memorandum of Claim before General Claims Commission, January 9, 1925," Agency File 102, Incl. 5, National Archives and Records Services, Washington, D.C.

[35] "Memorandum of Claim," Agency File 97, Incl. 5.

A view of the northwestern corner of Chamal's plaza or public square. It was 100 yards square and surrounded by business lots as evidenced by the old store across the street to the right of the photograph. During the time of the colony, the plaza was "fenced and in a splendid state of cultivation and put out to trees and shrubbery," including orange trees, "some lemon trees and two or three kinds of shade trees." The public well was located in the square's southwestern corner

many instances the bands and the local authorities were in collusion. In April a Chamal family was attacked, and in May an American at Xicotencatl was seriously wounded when trying to protect his family from armed marauders. In desperation the colonists appealed to President Wilson, citing the numerous assaults on themselves and their property; they concluded, however, that "to leave at the present time would mean the loss of our life's savings." In response the American consul at Tampico asked the American ambassador to intervene for federal troops to be stationed in the Chamal area. Once more, the request was futile.[36]

By the summer of 1913 not even a semblance of governmental authority remained in the area as armed groups threatened Chamal with death and destruction. The colonists were unprotected, and the American authorities

---

36 "Historical Statement," Agency File 86, Incl. 29, Annex 1, pp. 2–4, National Archives and Records Services, Washington, D.C.

ordered them to leave, refusing to be responsible for their welfare. In August, 1913, therefore, the Americans deserted their "former peaceful homes" and returned to the United States.[37] A few young men remained to watch over property, but they spent a good portion of their time fleeing into the mountains for their lives. Many of the colonists eventually crossed into Texas to remain there for many difficult months, anticipating an eventual return to their homes in Chamal.[38]

In August, 1914, the American government believed that the Mexican situation had stabilized and so advised the Chamal colonists. Many returned, eager to reoccupy and protect their property. One colonist, however, "found that more than one half of my cattle were no more and one third of my stock likewise; found houses and burned fences and orchards destroyed and in every way despoiled."[39] Fighting still raged between Constitutionalist and Villista forces, and the colony was threatened with sudden loss of property at the hands of one or the other faction. It got through 1915 successfully, however, and one colonist, buoyed by "one of the best crops," returned his family to Chamal in January, 1916, "hoping against hope that we were making our last move."[40]

Such optimism was soon thrashed. Villista forces continued to control southern Tamaulipas into 1916 and confiscated property at will. "Armies came through our valley at times, taking our horses from under our hands."[41] In April, 1916, one colonist was imprisoned by Villista forces, and a 4,000 peso ransom was paid to free him. Another colonist was murdered as he tried "to save as much as possible of his life times labor from the destruction of the Enemies to Civilization and of progress in that section of the country."[42] In May, 1916, the American consul at Tampico "said for us to take our women and children to places of safety," and some men took their families to Tampico. The cost of maintaining them there was prohibitive, however, and the American authorities offered no assistance.[43] The constant threats and terrorism visited on Chamal by both Villista and Constitutionalist forces increased, and the warring troops cut off escape routes to the north. As a result, beginning about the twentieth of May, groups began making their way into the mountains as a temporary refuge. Their goal was

---

37 Frasier, "Colony Contract," p. 8; "Memorandum of Claim," Agency File 97, Incl. 29, p. 8.

38 An indication of the suffering experienced by some colonists is found in W. E. Frasier, "From a Bounteous Living to Poverty," (transcribed copy from private collection of Mrs. H. C. Stoups, Corpus Christi, Texas), pp. 2–3.

39 Frasier, "Colony Contract," p. 9.

40 *Ibid.*, p. 10.

41 "Memorandum of Claim, January 19, 1925," Agency File 97, Incl. 9.

42 "W. E. Frasier to Secretary of State, June 3, 1917," Box 3740B, Decimal File 1910–29, Record Group 59.

Lonesome Cove, about twenty miles north of town. The route was precipitous and difficult, and the colonists left family by family to minimize suspicion among the Mexicans. In late June the culmination of terrorism occurred when Constitutionalist forces surrounded the valley, plundered the colonists' homes and arrested all the men. Twenty-one were lined up to be executed, but the order was countermanded.[44]

After this a large number of colonists and virtually all the women and children began the long climb into the mountains. One group of fifteen, ranging in age from one to sixty-four, began the climb with a wagon and two pack mules. Steep ascents and water shortage faced them as they "tottered with children crying, women looking pale and men and boys badly worried." After two days, they had covered fifteen miles but were so exhausted that on the second night they "did not feel disposed to even venture on in the hunt for water."[45] On the third day they finally reached Lonesome Cove. From this refuge, sorties were made back to the valley for provisions to support the eighty men, women and children. They blocked the entrances to the cove and were resolved to protect it against any intruders.

As late as June 18, however, a few colonists remained in Chamal. Constitutionalist forces again swept into the valley to steal property. Some Americans, told earlier of this threat, tried to remove their animals, but the "soldiers" entered and searched the houses for weapons and other plunder. Villista forces followed this group. Some colonists were able to flee into the woods and fields where with much hardship they avoided capture, but the remaining Americans were arrested and held overnight in a single room expecting execution the next day. The next morning, however, they were told "to vaminose for we were not wanted here no how."[46] After this, all the Americans abandoned the colony and retreated into the mountains.

Into mid-July the colonists held their mountain refuge, rejecting demands from the opposing forces to surrender themselves and their guns. They requested help from the American authorities in McAllen, Texas, who passed word of the situation on to the State Department. Little apparently was done before a second messenger, on July 13, reached the American consul "at Laredo, Texas and informed him that the colonists had been robbed until they had neither food nor money to reach the border, and requested the Department's assistance in enabling them to reach the United States."[47]

---

[43] "W. E. Frasier to Secretary of State, August 12, 1916," File 812.48/3417, Internal Affairs of Mexico 1910–1929, M-274, roll 159.

[44] "Historical Statement," Agency File 86, Incl. 29, Annex 1, pp. 8–9.

[45] W. E. Frasier, "Flight to Lonesome Cove on Chamalitos" (transcribed copy from private collection of Mrs. H. C. Stoups), quotes on p. 5.

[46] "Frasier to Secretary of State," M-274, roll 159.

[47] "Historical Statement," Agency File 86, Incl. 29, Annex 1, p. 11.

The stone, two-story school house was built in 1910 and cost between $5000 and $6000 Mexican currency. During the troubles of 1912–1913, a "stronghold so-called" was built around it to protect the women and children placed in the building for safety

The consul dispatched a messenger to arrange transport for the colonists. On August 13, almost three months after the first families had sought refuge in the mountains, fifty-three colonists reached Laredo. The remaining forty or so arrived within the following week. Consul Garrett wired the Patriotic Relief Commission: "The destitute Chamal colonists who are now arriving from Mexico . . . have been reduced from comparative plenty to abject poverty by persistent robbery many of them not even having a change of clothing left."[48]

The colonists had lost their homes, their possessions, their livelihoods, and they felt somewhat betrayed by their government. They had always considered themselves American citizens and had looked to the government for protection in Mexico and for assistance as refugees.[49] The government provided neither but did pay transportation to homes of families or friends where the colonists could get a new start. For ten years they had prospered in Chamal, but most would never return. Nevertheless, the same courage

---

48 "Alonso B. Garrett to Maude Wetmore, August 16, 1916," M-274, roll 159.

49 "He never took an oath of allegiance to Mexico, nor threw off his allegiance to his Native Country, but held and looked to the same for protection and sovereignty." "Petition of James Edward Shafer, January 29, 1917," Box 4752Z20, Decimal File 1910–29, Record Group 59.

and determination that had underlain their successes in Mexico would fire their drive to start anew. For many, however, the road to recovery would be long and arduous:[50]

> My wife, daughter and little Sue went on to Doc Matthews, in Dallas County. Myself and 5 boys from 13 years down, landed at Osceola, Hill County, Texas . . . with forty cents in pocket and a very sick boy who was still sick on August 30th. I was instructed by Consul to write Department of State, at Washington to tell exactly how all this last trouble came about and ask for aid, which I did and was promptly informed that there were no funds set aside to help American Refugees. Now you see that I have been reduced to penury by the pranks of the United States and Mexico. . . . I am no beggar, but I need aid. Just give me all the work you can at living wages, will you, and I will not complain at you, partner.

---

[50] Frasier, "From a Bounteous Living to Poverty," p. 4.

SOCIOECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION IN THE CHEROKEE NATION, 1865–1870

*By Sue Hammond**

"Cherokees! Let us look forward to the pleasing landscape of the future.... The error, the wrong, the violence, the patience, the suffering, the heroism and the victory of the war have floated by us down the stream of time."[1] With this statement, William P. Ross, principal chief of the Cherokees in 1866, called his people to face the future by learning from the past.

Much could be learned from the past of the Cherokee Nation. When the Civil War began, the Cherokees had been a prosperous, civilized people, who had comfortable homes, adequate schools and large herds of cattle and horses. However, under the leadership of Principal Chief John Ross, the Cherokees signed a controversial treaty with the Confederate States of America in 1861. Later, the United States commissioner of Indian affairs, D. N. Cooley who also served as "presiding president" of the commission to make treaties with the Indians at the end of the war in 1866, claimed that the Cherokees not only signed a treaty with the Confederacy, but employed every practicable means of engaging other tribes on the same side.[2]

When the Cherokees found they were expected to actively participate in military activities outside their boundaries, 600 deserted, joined the Union and amassed an admirable service record. Principal Chief John Ross reconvened the Cherokee National Council in 1863, and the members of the meeting declared that the Cherokees who joined the Union were loyal, and confiscated much of the land that belonged to the Confederate Cherokees who remained with the South. Thus, after the Civil War the Cherokee Nation was divided into two rival factions.[3] However, both groups, southern and northern, joined other Indian tribes in 1865 at the Fort Smith,

---

* The author is a former graduate student of Dr. LeRoy H. Fischer, Professor of History and Civil War era specialist at Oklahoma State University. This article was written while Miss Hammond was a member of Dr. Fischer's research seminar.

[1] Willam Potter Ross, *The Life and Times of Honorable William Potter Ross* (Fort Smith, Arkansas: Weldon and Williams, 1892), p. 56.

[2] United States Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1865* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1866), pp. 11, 468; Grace Steele Woodward, *The Cherokees* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), p. 359. Harlan and Woodward have refuted Cooley's statement by pointing out that the Cherokees held out the longest against the Confederacy, had been the last to sign the treaty and had signed reluctantly, with the understanding that their regiments were to defend their nation from Northern invasion only.

[3] United States Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1865*, p. 468; United States Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1866* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1866), pp. 11, 12.

Arkansas, peace council, which finally drew up a treaty the following year in Washington, D.C.

Much to the honor of the loyal Cherokees, the Treaty of 1866 became a measure against them as well as the Confederate Indian tribes, and the judgment against the federal Cherokees made at the peace council caused many of them to be bitter and distrustful. During this period of turmoil, John Ross died in 1866 and was succeeded by his nephew, William Ross, as principal chief.[4]

At the end of the Civil War, the Cherokees were in appalling straits. The armies of both the Union and Confederacy had swept through their land, and many of the federal Cherokees had returned to their homeland during the war only to find their property desolated—the war left one-third of the Cherokee women widows and one-fourth of the children orphans. The conflict had a tragic effect on the population of the tribe and reduced their population from 25,000 at the beginning of the war to 13,000 at the close.[5]

The war had been more disastrous to the Cherokees than to the other Five Civilized Tribes. The Cherokees had lost almost everything but their land, and it was stripped of fences, horses and mills. James Harlan, the secretary of the interior, thought they should be compensated for the damage caused by the armies, for there were few common schools in the nation, a desperate need for food and the churches were in decay. An air of ruin and desolation enveloped the whole country, the people were moving backward in civilization and Christianity; they were discouraged, disheartened and on the way toward barbarism.[6]

The Cherokees who had fought for the Union were mustered out of the service on May 31, 1865, but it was almost three weeks before they were paid.[7] Usually it would have been too late for them to plant corn, but there had been recent rains, and the women and children had begun the planting of crops; when released from duty the men could only help in finishing the

[4] Woodward, *The Cherokees*, p. 299.

[5] Bernice Norman Crockett, "Health Conditions in Indian Territory," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXVI, No. 1. (Spring, 1958), p. 25; United States Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1866*, p. 346; United States Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1867* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1868), p. 21; United States Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1869* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1870), p. 36; Morris L. Wardell, *A Political History of the Cherokee Nation, 1838–1907* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1938), p. 216. The *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1866* and the *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1869* showed a population of 14,000 while a census taken in 1867 showed a population of 13,566. Wardell states that some of the people were killed in the war and others had not returned to Indian Territory.

[6] United States Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1865*, p. 471.

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 471–472.

Cherokee Chief William P. Ross, who in pointing to the future at the close of the Civil War declared, "Never did we have more to live for, to labor for and to gain"

cultivation of what had been planted. If the corn that was harvested that year could have been divided equally among the families, there would have been enough, but it was concentrated in the hands of a few. In addition, the Cherokees raised no wheat the first summer after the war to meet the need for flour, because the men were released from the service so late.[8]

The southern Cherokees were in even worse condition than the federal Cherokees. They were afraid to return to their homes due to the bitter hostility of the northern faction, as evidenced by the confiscation laws. They tried, under the leadership of Stand Watie, to secure official recognition as a separate entity from the northern Cherokees after the Civil War, but they did not succeed. Most remained in the Choctaw Nation on the Red River during the winter of 1865–1866, where they lived through that winter in dire poverty.[9] Returning to the Cherokee Nation only when they heard that the

---

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 472.

[9] Edward Everett Dale and Gaston Litton, *Cherokee Cavalier: Forty Years of Cherokee History as Told in the Correspondence of the Ridge-Watie-Boudinot Family* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1939), p. 319.

Ross party was warring among itself and that William Ross had been defeated by Lewis Downing in an election for principal chief, the southern Cherokees settled in the Canadian district around Webbers Falls, even though in many instances their property was elsewhere. At first it was necessary for the southern Cherokees to be fed at public expense for many months after the war, and Mary Cobb Agnew, a Cherokee, remembered vividly how the country appeared when she returned home after the war. "The houses and cabins had been burned," she observed, and the "fields had grown up into thickets of underbrush."[10]

Chief William P. Ross, in a speech to the people, pointed to the future and suggested that "Never did we have more to live for and to gain!"[11] He reminded the young men that idleness led to poverty, dissipation, strife, violence, murder and the gallows and that industry was honorable. He pointed out that many children were left who had to be educated and that the mechanical arts should be pursued because they offered constant employment. Though he started the Cherokees on the road to recovery during the period of reconstruction, he was out of office in 1867 for his role in the signing of the Fort Smith Peace Treaty.

The most pressing problem facing the Cherokees during this period was to produce enough food to meet the needs of the people and to fortify the economy. At least one-half of the tribe had no animals or farming implements of any kind with which to cultivate the soil and was forced to farm small patches of land with sharpened sticks and any animals, plows and hoes they could borrow from more fortunate neighbors. Many times several families used the same horse and plow, moving them from farm to farm. However, conditions improved steadily during the early reconstruction years, and by 1868 the people were producing a surplus of grain and vegetables and had acquired an adequate supply of horses, cattle and hogs. Crops continued to increase the following year as did the livestock.[12] However, in 1870, two-thirds of the land owned by the Indians was unfit for cultivation, and large areas of the tillable land was of inferior quality. Most of the untillable soil was entirely worthless, even for timber, because it consisted of stony ridges and valleys covered with scrubby growth.[13] John B. Jones, the

---

[10] Woodward, *The Cherokees*, p. 310.

[11] Ross, *The Life and Times of Honorable William Potter Ross*, p. 57.

[12] Crockett, "Health Conditions in Indian Territory," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXVI, p. 25; United States Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1868* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1869), p. 741; United States Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1869*, p. 36.

[13] United States Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1871* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1872), p. 564.

Cherokee agent, in 1871 suggested that the Cherokees give attention to fruit cultivation, as the raising of stock and grain occupied almost the entire population in 1870, even though the country was adapted to fruit-raising. As an inducement for others to try this enterprise, Jones reported the establishment of a successful nursery near the center of the nation.[14]

The Cherokees received some money to relieve their extreme poverty in the early days of reconstruction from the sale of their "Neutral Lands" in Kansas. This area was held in trust by the United States until it was sold to homesteaders, and a permanent fund was created. The money was divided so that fifty percent was placed in a general fund, thirty-five percent allocated to schools and fifteen percent provided to the orphan fund. In 1871, Jones asked that the boundary lines be checked, for there was some problem with Cherokees who were uncertain if they were on their own land or on Osage property.[15]

The Treaty of 1866 also provided an opportunity to other friendly tribes to become citizens of the Cherokee Nation. Among those taking advantage were the Delawares, the Munsies and the Shawnees, who fulfilled the necessary requirements and began moving from Kansas in 1867. The Osages also sold their land in Kansas and moved to the Cherokee Outlet. After the tribes had settled in the region there was still a large amount of unsettled land, and the Department of the Interior began moving in tribes from other regions. Many of these Indians were not civilized or friendly and were moved without regard to the treaty which prohibited tribes that were unfriendly or uncivilized from being settled in the Cherokee Nation. The Cherokees also had some trouble with the friendly tribes who settled on their land—the Delawares were not satisfied because they had not been given political equality; the Quapaws attempted to induce the Delawares to move to their land and buy headrights from them; and the Osages had settled on the wrong land and had to be moved again in several years. These problems with other tribes, added to the lack of farm implements, combined to make existence for the Cherokees hard in the early years of reconstruction.

But the Cherokees were not content to simply exist; they wanted to rebuild their nation and schools to educate their children. Assistant Chief James Vann pointed out in 1868 that at no time in the history of the nation had there been such a desire for "cultivating the arts of civilization and

---

[14] United States House of Representatives, 42nd Congress, 2nd Session, *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1871–1872), Vol. I, p. 981; Ross, *The Life and Times of Honorable William Potter Ross*, p. 9.

[15] Emmet Starr, *History of the Cherokee Indians and their Legends and Folk Lore* (Oklahoma City: The Warden Company, 1922), p. 261; United States Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1871*, pp. 568–569.

One of the several Cherokee schools that functioned after the Civil War

education."[16] The Cherokee had thirty-two public or national schools in 1867, forty-two in 1869 and sixty-four in 1870 with $8,200, $16,000 and $25,000 respectively for their support. Of the thirty-two schools in 1867, there were two for Negroes, and five orphans were attending the Cherokee Male Seminary and Cherokee Female Seminary near Park Hill until a permanent site could be selected for the Cherokee Orphan Asylum which was finally opened in 1872.[17] Nonetheless, according to W. B. Davis in 1868, education had not attained the high position it had held before the war. The male and female seminaries were not in operation due to a lack of funds. As for primary education, there were two school sessions of five months per year, all schools were under a national superintendent and there were three local directors of each school. In 1871, Jones reported that the Cherokees had a definite need for a high school, which at that time did not exist. Yet, there

[16] Wardell, *A Political History of the Cherokee Nation, 1838–1907*, p. 216.

[17] Carl T. Steen, "The Home for the Insane, Deaf, Dumb, and Blind of the Cherokee Nation," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXI, No. 4 (December, 1943), p. 403.

was a great deal of progress in education during the five years following the war, and by 1870, there were two boarding schools and sixty day schools with an average attendance of 1,989 pupils sustained at a cost of $25,000 in operation.[18]

The Treaty of 1866 also enabled the missionaries to return to the Cherokee Nation, and the United States government agreed to reimburse, to a certain extent, the mission societies which had lost property during the Civil War. In addition, mission organizations were granted the right to occupy and use as much as 160 acres of land for missionary and educational purposes. Believing that religion was essential to human welfare, the Cherokee National Council in November, 1866, authorized Principal Chief John Ross to invite the Congregational, Presbyterian, Moravian and Baptist churches, plus the two branches of the Methodist church, to renew their labors in the nation.[19] The churches accepted the invitation, returned missionaries to the region and continued their work where they had left off before the war.

The churches quickly expanded their membership and influence among the Cherokees and enjoyed a great amount of success.[20] The Reverend E. J. Mock of the Moravian Church returned to the region and held services in the dining hall of the female seminary and camp meetings were held throughout the area were well attended, some lasting as long as two months. They usually were held after the crops had been harvested, when the people had leisure to attend and enjoy them. The Baptist, who had several native preachers, had the largest membership among the Cherokees, with probably one-fourth of the population belonging to that church.[21]

The Cherokees were interested in the construction or renovation of public buildings after the war as well as the furtherance of education and religion. The brick capitol building in Tahlequah is a monument to the work done during the reconstruction period, as is the Cherokee Female Seminary building. The Cherokees also built a national jail or prison; an asylum for the insane, deaf, dumb, blind and indigent persons; a home for orphans;

---

18 United States Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1868*, p. 741; Crockett, "Health Conditions in the Cherokee Nation," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXVI, p. 34. There are discrepencies in the number of schools in various sources, but they all report between fifty-nine and sixty-four schools for 1870.

19 Woodward, *The Cherokees*, p. 312.

20 Harnell to Davis, September 16, 1868, United States House of Representatives, 40th Congress, 3rd Session, *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1868–1869), p. 743. The Reverend John Harnell wrote to Major William B. Davis, agent to the Cherokees, reporting that he had received 700 members into his church for the years 1866 and 1867. Harnell told Davis that the people were kind, friendly and extended the utmost hospitality to him.

21 Woodward, *The Cherokees*, p. 313; United States Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1868*, p. 742.

and an up-to-date opera house in an effort to overcome the desolation and destruction which had been produced by the Civil War.[22] Most of the homes in the Cherokee Nation were substantial log houses and not mere cabins. They were usually well-built, comfortable residences constructed of hewn timbers with stone or brick chimneys. Many were weather-boarded and so presented the appearance of frame buildings. There were 3,792 log houses in the nation in 1870 with many families having all the necessary outbuildings.[23]

Under the Treaty of 1866, slaves in the Cherokee Nation were freed and given citizenship if they established residence within its boundaries within six months after the treaty had been ratified. The agreement also provided part of the Canadian district of the Cherokee Nation for the freed slave or the free black who had never been a slave and who wished to settle there. The Civil War had made refugees of the slaves, as it had many of the Cherokees, and many were scattered throughout the region. Thus, some did not hear of the opportunity to return nor the time limit involved, and others learned of the provision, but were unable to return. Also, many children who had been separated from their parents during the war were too young to travel and could not return in time. Those who did not return within the time limit were legally considered intruders and could be forced to leave. Nevertheless, agent John B. Craig asked that provisions be made to keep these freedmen from being removed as intruders, for the removal in some cases would mean separation of families.[24] Neither the Cherokees nor the United States took any measure to provide freedmen legal status; however, the officials generally followed a lax policy which allowed them to remain.[25]

At the end of the war, Secretary of the Interior Harlan had sent Brevet Major General John B. Sanborn through Indian Territory to check on the condition of the freedmen. After his tour, Sanborn recommended that the Negroes be settled east of the ninety-seventh degree of longitude in a military district under martial law; however, his suggestion was not followed.[26] He also recommended that the practice of polygamy be abandoned by the

---

[22] Many of these buildings were built after 1870.

[23] United States Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1871*, p. 564.

[24] United States Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1870* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1870), p. 748.

[25] Hanna R. Warren, "Reconstruction in the Cherokee Nation," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLV, No. 1 (Spring, 1967), p. 184.

[26] Sanborn to Harlan, January 5, 1866, United States Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1866*, p. 284.

Churches underwent a period of revival during the Reconstruction period in the Cherokee Nation

freedmen in Indian Territory. While pointing out that polygamy had always existed among Indians and had been adopted, to a degree, by the freedmen, he instructed the agents to the tribes of the territory to marry freedmen who came to them for that purpose, but only if they were satisfied that polygamy would not be committed. The freedmen, who were numerous, were generally a peaceable, well-disposed group, who presented a thriving community by 1870. However, Craig observed in 1870 that the Negroes were dissatisfied with their condition; he noted that they seemed to have trouble adjusting to their position and wished to own their lands individually. He believed that the Cherokees would reluctantly agree to a proposal to give the freedmen enough land so that the head of each family could have title to 160 acres.[27]

There were several white citizens of the United States which had been allowed to enter the region to work on permits given to them by the federal government, and many times when the permits expired they remained.[28] Craig desired authority to be able to determine if an intruder should be asked to leave, and he recommended that those who were of bad character be expelled. There were also complaints made to Craig by the Cherokees about Creeks intruding in the Cherokee Nation, and he informed the Cherokee officials that the Creek agent would effect the removal of those violating standing agreements.[29] Another problem of intrusion was by Texas ranchers who grazed their cattle in the Cherokee Outlet during their trail drives to

---

[27] United States Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1870*, p. 753.

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 748.

[29] *Ibid.*, p. 403.

northern markets; however, the Cherokees readily solved this intrusion by charging for grazing privileges.[30]

One of the most serious questions in the Cherokee Nation was connected with the liquor traffic. Alcohol was the greatest curse to the Cherokees, and Cooley considered it as one of the main obstacles to extending trade between the United States and Indian Territory.[31] Liquor still entered the nation simply because the Cherokees would not enforce their own laws, for many of them wanted the alcohol for medicinal purposes. Thus, Craig, in 1869, recommended that provisions be made to license the introduction of wines and liquors by persons who were in the business of apothecaries and sold it for medicinal purposes.[32]

White traders also sold illegal goods and weapons to hostile Indians, and some traders were so powerful they could interfere with treaties between the Indians and the United States. Several federal officials asked that the traders be given licenses to sell to the Indians that had to be renewed annually at each post or tribe, and required the traders to publicly announce the lowest prices at which they would sell their goods.[33] Craig, in 1869, finally requested mounted troops to prevent the liquor traffic.[34]

There were other disturbing factors in the Cherokee Nation, of which one was the possibility of a railroad. In 1870, the possibility became reality as one actually entered the region. By the 1866 agreement, a free right of way, 200 feet wide was granted to any railroad company or corporation authorized by the United States Congress to build through the Cherokee Nation from any point north to south or east to west.[35] However, the Cherokees feared the motives of railroad advocates, as the people of southern Kansas were particularly eager to open Cherokee land to homesettlers. The United States government did little to allay the fears of the Indians who felt very insecure about their future sovereignty. The first railroad from the North to reach the nation was the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railway, a southern branch of the Union Pacific Railway. The secretary of the interior, J. D. Cox, in 1870 granted permission for the railroad to enter the

---

[30] Woodward, *The Cherokees*, p. 314.

[31] United States Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1871*, p. 568.

[32] United States Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1869*, pp. 404–405.

[33] Cooley to Harlan, March 16, 1866, United States Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1866*, pp. 310–311.

[34] United States Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1869*, p. 404.

[35] George Rainey, *The Cherokee Strip* (Guthrie, Oklahoma: Co-operative Publishing Company, 1933), pp. 51–52.

Cherokee Nation, and rails were laid from Chetopa, Kansas, across the Cherokee Nation to the nearest corner of the Creek Nation. Competition among the railroads was great, and in eagerness to enter the territory first, part of the tracks had been constructed before the United States government or the Cherokees had given their permission. The Cherokees protested, and a conference was held to make adjustments and draft controlling regulations.

There were other business enterprises in the Cherokee Nation during this period, and many were owned by Cherokee citizens. Unfortunately, several of these businesses were illegal under Cherokee or United States law as the tribe held the land and minerals of the area in common. Craig suspected that some Cherokees were entering into intrigues with railroad companies to release to these companies large tracts of land, hoping to receive rewards in return.[36] A number of sawmills were also in operation by 1869. Owned by Cherokees who, with hired workmen from the United States, cut and exported lumber to Kansas and Arkansas in violation of Cherokee law that provided that the timber the men were cutting and exporting was the common property of all the people.[37]

By 1870 several coal mines, yielding large deposits and creating many new jobs, had been opened in the northern part of the nation. Worked by Cherokees who employed whites as miners, under lease from the Cherokee Nation the mines provided an excellent quality of coal which was exported to Kansas.[38] A United States Supreme Court case growing out of one enterprise in the Cherokee and Choctaw nations greatly reduced some of the profits being made by the Indian enterprises. At the end of the war some Indians had established tobacco factories in their nations near the Arkansas line. They had interpreted the Treaty of 1866 as allowing them to establish tobacco processing plants which were exempt from the United States excise taxes in sales outside Indian Territory. However, the exemption was denied by the Supreme Court in 1871 in a legal test of Indian treaty rights known as the *Cherokee Tobacco Case*.[39]

The Cherokees had trouble with their laws relating to the punishment of criminals during the turbulent period after the cessation of hostilities.

---

[36] Warren, "Reconstruction in the Cherokee Nation," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLV, p. 187.

[37] United States Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1869*, p. 404.

[38] United States Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1870*, pp. 754–755.

[39] Robert K. Heimann, "The Cherokee Tobacco Case," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLI, No. 3 (Autumn, 1963), pp. 299–300.

Very few crimes were punished immediately following the war, and the law was held in contempt by many who chose to break it. During the process of reconstruction an increase in population and travel in the region resulted in causing the law to be wholly inadequate. Social demoralization due to the war existed to some extent, and there was no adequate means to suppress violence where only Indians were involved. The Cherokee penal code was meager, and the punishments did not apply to any cases except treason, murder and arson. The villages and trading stations, particularly Fort Gibson, were constantly made scenes of lawlessness, usually by half-bloods and desperate characters, whom the Cherokee courts would not convict for fear of retribution by the participants.

As a result of the lawlessness, Craig recommended enforcement of the United States penal laws in all cases of crimes accompanied by violence, committed in the territory by Indians against either Indians or whites. He further suggested that military commissions be authorized to try offenders and inflict a designated punishment on principals and accessories in cases of murder, robbery, assault and battery with intent to kill and simple assault. He also recommended that it was inadvisable to modify treaties so that the United States penal code could take the place of the Cherokee laws.[40]

There were also complaints by the Cherokees about deputy United States marshals who made arrests under a law which allowed informers to claim one-half the property of those arrested and convicted of a crime. Many times the deputies actually planted liquor on a wealthy man in the nation, so that they could collect one-half of the man's possessions.[41] Many Cherokees were also swindled by an unscrupulous white man who offered to help them collect military claims for a fee of ten percent. Instead he collected fifteen percent and then informed many of his clients that there were no bounties or pensions due them. Craig asked for an investigation of this chicanery in 1869.[42]

The Cherokees had been willing to comply with the Treaty of 1866 although they were unhappy with it. The tribe had seemingly overcome the differences between the various factions resulting from the Civil War. Immediately after the conflict, many Cherokees were determined to build up their nation and looked forward.[43] But by 1870 there were reports by agents

---

[40] United States Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1869*, p. 404.

[41] *Ibid.*, pp. 405–406.

[42] *Ibid.*, p. 403.

[43] United States House of Representatives, 40th Congress, 3rd Session, *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior*, p. 741; United States Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1869*, p. 36.

that the people distrusted their future. Some believed their doom as a nation was sealed. They were plagued by an apathy that depressed the entire tribe, and there was a prevailing popular opinion that the whole Indian race was on the way to extinction. The Cherokees felt insecure and were afraid that their land would be taken from them. The agents who reported these attitudes strongly suggested that measures be taken by the United States government to reassure them of their security.[44]

The question that plagued most Cherokees during the five year period following the Civil War was not if they could rebuild their nation, but if the United States was going to allow them to maintain their self-government. The majority of Cherokees were hard-working, law-abiding and generally content with their status. The manner in which they handled their social and economic problems after the Civil War was an indication of their determination to remain a self-governing nation, as well as their willingness and ability to work to better themselves.

---

[44] United States Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1871*, p. 566; United States Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1870*, pp. 749, 751.

THE UNITED STATES ARMY AS THE EARLY PATRON OF NATURALISTS IN THE TRANS-MISSISSIPPI WEST, 1803–1820

*By Phillip Drennen Thomas**

In the seventeen years between the initiation of the Meriweather Lewis and William Clark Expedition and the completion of the Stephen H. Long Expedition, American penetration of the Trans-Mississippi West began to expose the flora and fauna of this unknown region to the scrutiny of European and American scientists. Many of the naturalists who made collections, recorded their observations and gained an insight into the geological formations of this area were frequently either members of the United States Army or members of government expeditions under army leadership. With considerable difficulty, the biota of this vast area began to be sketched out. The majority of the activities of the early naturalists in the area were ultimately in the realm of taxonomy. Geology, botany and zoology were just beginning their professional growth in this country.

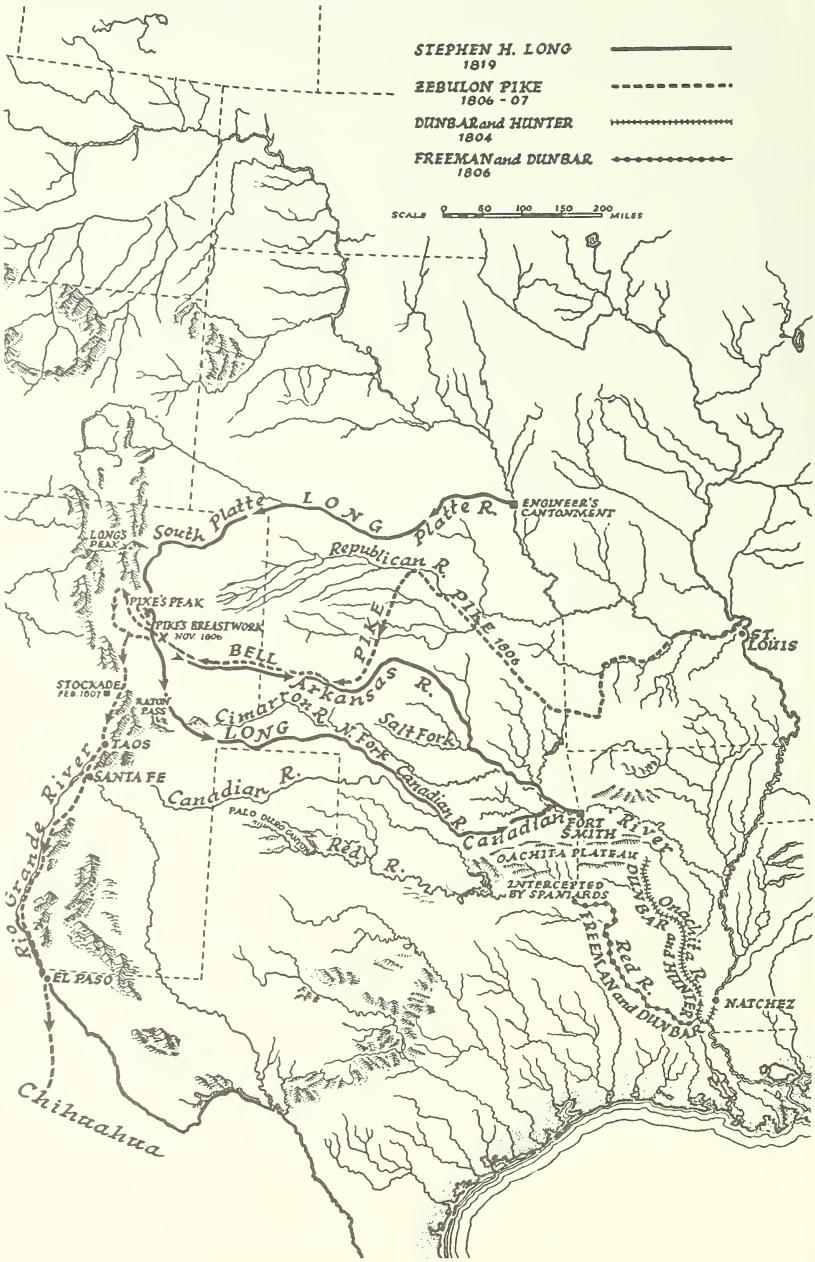
American interest in the lands beyond the Mississippi River had been nourished by the persistently curious Thomas Jefferson. In the two decades prior to his becoming president, Jefferson had sought on at least four occasions to encourage western exploration.[1] One of his more quixotic endeavors in this area was the encouragement he gave to John Ledyard, a Connecticut adventurer. Ledyard, who had served with Captain James Cook during his third circumnavigation of 1776–1779, had sought to cross the North American continent from its western to eastern shores. Ledyard had planned to travel overland from Paris to Siberia. Upon reaching Siberia, he was to join a Russian fur party on its way to Alaska. Once in Alaska, he was going to drop south until he reached what he thought was the latitude of the Missouri River. Then he was planning to walk eastward until he reached American settlements. Unfortunately, after wintering near Kamschataka, Russia, he was captured by the Empress Catherine's troops and returned to western Europe. Eternally adventurous, he then turned his attention to another of the great geographical mysteries of the nineteenth century, the source of the Nile River. He died at Cairo, Egypt, on November 15, 1788, a day before he was to embark on his Nile expedition.

Although Alexander Mackenzie had crossed the continent in the north

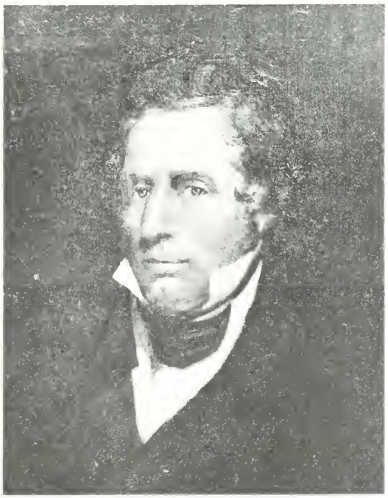
---

* The author is currently head of the Department of History at Wichita State University, Wichita, Kansas.

[1] Paul Russell Cutright, *Lewis and Clark: Pioneering Naturalists* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1969), pp. 10–13 and Max Meisel, *A Bibliography of American Natural History* (3 vols; Brooklyn: Premier Publishing Company, 1924–1929), Vol. II, pp. 88–91.



Map showing the Long, Pike, Dunbar and Hunter, and Freeman and Dunbar expeditions between 1806–1819



TRAVELS

TO THE WEST OF THE

ALLEGHANY MOUNTAINS,

IN THE STATES OF

Ohio,

KENTUCKY, AND TENNESSEA.

AND BACK TO CHARLESTON, BY THE UPPER CAROLINES;

CONTAINING

The most interesting Details on the present State of

Agriculture,

AND

THE NATURAL PRODUCE OF THOSE COUNTRIES:

TOGETHER WITH

Particulars relative to the Commerce that exists between the above-mentioned States, and those situated East of the Mountains and Low Louisiana,

UNDERTAKEN, IN THE YEAR 1802,

UNDER THE AUSPICES OF

His Excellency M. CHAPTAL, Minister of the Interior,

BY F. A. MICHAUX,

MEMBER OF THE SOCIETY OF NATURAL HISTORY AT PARIS; CORRESPONDENT OF THE AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY IN THE DEPARTMENT OF THE SEINE AND OISE.

London:

Printed by D. N. SHURES, Rose-Court, Fleet-Street;

FOR B. CROSBY AND CO. STATIONERS' COURT;

AND J. F. HUGHES, WIGMORE STREET, CAVENDISH SQUARE.

1805.

In 1803 Andre Michaux, after his botanical explorations in the United States, published *Flora boreali-americana*

in 1793, Americans had yet to perform this feat. This honor fell to Lewis and Clark. Jefferson's instructions to them were explicit. "The object of your mission is to explore the Missouri river, and such principal streams of it, as by its course and communication with the waters of the Pacific Ocean, may offer the most direct and practicable water communications across this continent, for the purposes of commerce."[2] Yet, it was soon recognized that this expedition would substantially advance American natural history. For as Bernard Lacepede observed to Jefferson in May of 1803, "whatever may be the success of the expedition you are going to make, it will be extremely useful for the progress of industry, the sciences, and especially natural history."[3] Neither Lewis nor Clark were either trained or experienced scientists, although Lewis had received some rudimentary instructions in the methods of making scientific observations from the American Philosophical Society.[4]

---

[2] Cutright, *Lewis and Clark: Pioneering Naturalist*, p. 3; Donald Jackson, ed., *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition with Related Documents 1783–1854* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1962), p. 61; Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition 1804–1806* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1904–1905), p. 248.

[3] Jackson, *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition with Related Documents 1783–1854*, p. 47.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 44.

Nevertheless, within their instructions there were strong admonitions to observe "with great pains and accuracy" the flora, fauna, peoples and land through which they passed.[5]

While many of the details and much of the significance of the Lewis and Clark Expedition has been appreciated for at least a century, their contributions as naturalists have been frequently either neglected or denigrated.[6] Recent studies have indicated that their activities were an important turning point in the development of American natural history.[7] The year 1803 is significant for it witnessed the beginning of the Lewis and Clark Expedition; the publication in Paris of the first North American flora, Andre Michaux's *Flora borealiamericana*; and the publication of America's initial botanical textbook by Benjamin Smith Barton.[8] Prior to their expedition, the natural history of this country's plants and animals had been developed by Europeans.[9] During the colonial era, the new nation's flora and fauna had been described by English and continental scientists with members of the Royal Society of England showing a particular interest in the natural

---

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 62; Robert Henry Welker, *Birds and Men* (New York: Atheneum, 1966), p. 30, contends that the failure of any trained scientists to accompany the expedition "was a great loss to science . . . for the burden of recording the flora and fauna of the vast new territory then fell upon the two leaders, neither of them properly qualified (despite instructions from Jefferson himself)."

[6] *Ibid.*, indites the expedition for having failed to publish a formal report of the natural history and Clark, in particular, for limiting his observations of birds to twenty-three pages and for having "so little formal training that he confused a wren with a flycatcher, a bat with the class of birds, a cormorant and a coot with ducks."

[7] The literature on this subject is growing. Cutright's *Lewis and Clark: Pioneering Naturalists* is a masterful introduction to this subject. It may be complemented by Raymond D. Furroughs, *The Natural History of the Lewis and Clark Expedition* (East Lansing: Michigan State University, 1961), Elijah H. Criswell, *Lewis and Clark: Linguistic Pioneers*, University of Missouri Studies, Vol. 15, No. 2 and Donald Jackson, "Some Advice for the Next Editor of Lewis and Clark," *Bulletin Missouri Historical Society*, Vol. XXIV, No. 1 (October, 1967).

[8] For a discussion of Michaux's work, see Joseph Ewan's reprint of Michaux's *Flora borealiamericana* (New York: Classica Botanica Americana, 1973). Barton's *Elements of Botany* (1803) appeared in six editions and played an important role in American botanical education.

[9] The earliest Spanish travelers in the southwest were careful observers. Clevy Lloyd Strout's "Flora and Fauna Mentioned in the Journals of the Coronado Expedition," *Great Plains Journal*, Vol. II, No. 1 (Fall, 1971), pp. 5–41, provides an excellent survey of the diverse plant and animal forms encountered by the Spanish in the sixteenth century. Joseph Ewan, *Rocky Mountain Naturalists* (Denver: The University of Denver Press, 1950), p. 2, presents the intriguing hypothesis that the livestock of Coronado's army must have been an important disseminator of weeds. "I believe many of the characteristic weeds of New Mexico and the Southwest, including such dooryard immigrants as common mallow, puncture vine, sheep sorrel, lamb's quarters, horehound, penny cress (*Thlaspi arvense*), broad-leaved plantain, sow thistle, dandelion, and many grasses such as brome (*Bromus tectorum*), barnyard grass (*Echinochloa crus-galli*), and wild oats, date from this introduction over four centuries ago."

history of this continent.[10] Now this practice gradually began to change. Jefferson acknowledged to the director of the Museum of Natural History in Paris that the Lewis and Clark Expedition would enable this nation's scientists to repay their obligations to the peers abroad. Americans now began to play an active role in the discovery of the botanical, zoological and geological features of the nation, and with the purchase of the Louisiana Territory, the Trans-Mississippi West became the most fertile for investigations in these areas. American science was emerging from its colonial status and its dependency upon European scientists.

The failure to appreciate the significance of the scientific dimensions of the Lewis and Clark Expedition can be partially found in the way the accounts of the expedition were finally published. Lewis' appointment in early 1807 as governor of the Territory of Louisiana, while surely a deserved honor, prevented him nevertheless from having both the necessary leisure and resources to give his full attention to the study and publication of the expedition's accomplishments and journals. There is no question that Lewis intended to devote some of his energies to a delineation of the scientific attainments of their mission. A prospectus prepared in 1807 to announce the forthcoming publication of an account of the expedition, indicated that the second part of that three volume series:[11]

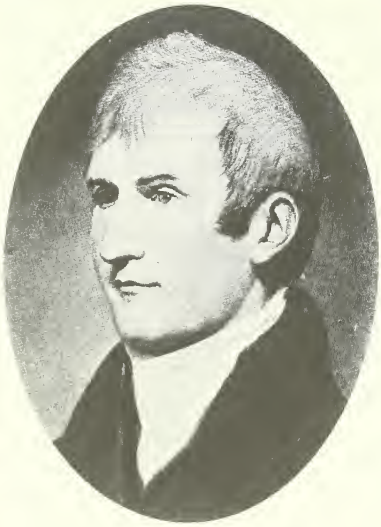
> will be confined exclusively to scientific research, and principally to the natural history of those hitherto unknown regions. It will contain a full dissertation on such subjects as have fallen within the notice of the author, and which may properly be distributed under the heads of Botany, Mineralogy, and Zoology, together with some strictures on the origin of the Prairies, the cause of the muddiness of the Missouri, of volcanic appearances, and other natural phenomena which were met with in the course of this interesting tour. This volume will also contain a comparative view of twenty-three vocabularies of distinct Indian languages, procured by Captains Lewis and Clark on the voyage, and will be ornamented and embellished with a much greater number of plates than will be bestowed on the first part of the work, as it is intended that every subject of natural history which is entirely new, and of which there are a considerable number, shall be accompanied by an appropriate engraving illustrative of it.

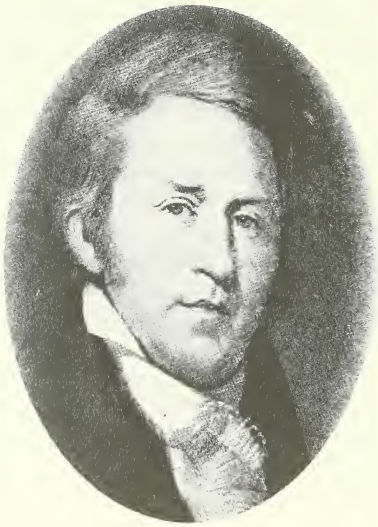
Unfortunately, Lewis' tragic, and still inadequately explained, death at Grinder's Tavern on the Natchez Trace in 1809 prevented the fulfillment of his task.

---

[10] For a detailed discussion of colonial science and its European relationships, see Raymond Phineas Stearns, *Science in the British Colonies of America* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1970).

[11] Jackson, *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition with Related Documents 1783–1854*, pp. 395–396.



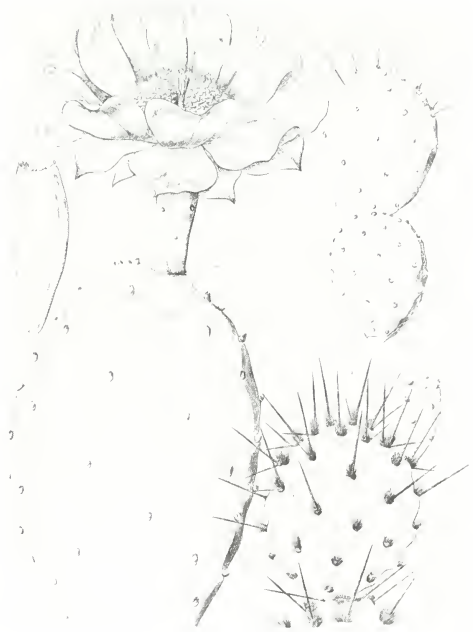


Lewis and Clark during their famous expeditions in the Trans-Mississippi region

Confusion now surrounded the publication of the expedition's records. Ultimately, this responsibility was delegated by Clark to Nicholas Biddle. A lawyer by profession, Biddle's scientific interests were small, and thus the scientific portions of the journal were to be prepared by Benjamin Smith Barton of the University of Pennsylvania. This seemed to be an excellent choice, as Barton had the largest natural history library and herbarium in the nation, but illness prevented him from completing this work. With Barton unable to prepare the scientific sections, Biddle neglected them. Jefferson lamented to Baron Alexander von Humboldt in 1813 that "you will find it inconceivable that Lewis's journey to the Pacific should not yet have appeared; nor is it in my power to tell you the reason. The measures taken by his surviving companion, Clark, for the publication have not answered our wishes in point of dispatch."[12] Jefferson further noted perceptively that "the botanical and zoological discoveries of Lewis will probably experience greater delay, and become known to the world through other channels before the volume will be ready."[13]

---

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 596.
[13] *Ibid.*



OPURTIA RAFINESQUI
was named after the famous
Constantine Samuel
Rafinesque

VIOLA BECKWITHII was
so named after one of the
botanists during one of the
expeditions around the Great
Salt Lake and the Sierra
Nevada

An equally neglected question has been the fate of the expedition's specimen collections; because these were the first collections made on the Missouri and Columbia watersheds, this is a question of some importance. The fate of these collections, the naturalists who examined them and the impetus they gave to further scientific study are important themes in tracing the development of the scientific knowledge of the nation's western regions.[14]

Many of the zoological and ethnological specimens were exhibited in the Quadruped Room at Peale's Museum in Philadelphia after having been deposited there in December, 1809.[15] Seeking always to increase attendance at his museum, Peale also prepared a wax figure of Captain Lewis resplendently adorned in the ermine mantle of Comeawhait, Chief of the Shoshone.[16] The Lewis and Clark specimens became a popular attraction in the nation's scientific capital. Generally organized along the Linnean system, these specimens could be examined by the country's leading naturalists including Thomas Say, Alexander Wilson, George Ord and Constantine Samuel Rafinesque.[17] They thus became the type specimens for many new western animals.

The first ornithological descriptions of avian species collected by Lewis and Clark appeared in the third volume of Alexander Wilson's *American Ornithology*.[18] Here were portrayed the brilliantly colored Western Tanager (*Piranga ludoviciana*), the pink bellied Lewis's woodpecker (*Asyndesmus lewis*) and the gray bodied Clark's nutcracker (*Nucifraga columbiana*). In a mild debate with Charles Willson Peale over priority in publishing these birds, Wilson stated that "it was the request and particular wish of Captain Lewis, made to me in person, that I should make drawings of such of the feathered tribes as had been preserved, and were new."[19] Wilson's sketches of these birds were engraved by Alexander Lawson, who, after Audubon, was the most important scientific illustrator of the nineteenth century. Utilizing Latin binomials in the designation of these birds, Wilson began to popularize a taxonomic innovation that was soon followed by other naturalists.[20]

---

[14] Cutright, *Lewis and Clark: Pioneering Naturalist*, 349.

[15] Charles Coleman Sellers, *Charles Willson Peale* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1969), 337–344; Walter Faxon, "Relics of Peale's Museum," *Bulletin: Museum of Comparative Zoology*, Vol. LIX (1915), 125.

[16] Sellers, *Charles Willson Peale*, p. 344.

[17] *Ibid.*, 337; Faxon, *Relics*, 125.

[18] Alexander Wilson, *American Ornithology; or, the Natural History of the Birds of the United States*, 9 vols. (Philadelphia: Bradford & Inskeep, 1808–1814).

[19] Welker, *Birds and Men*, p. 31.

[20] Cutright, *Lewis and Clark; Pioneering Naturalists*, p. 386.

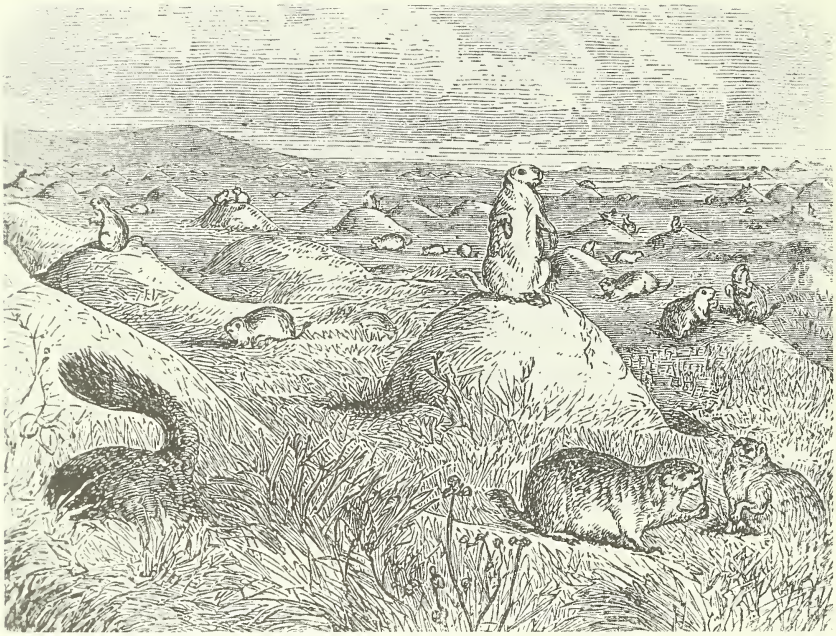
The question of priority in science is always a very complex one, and the hazards and rapidity of travel, as well as the inexperience of Lewis and Clark as naturalists, prevented them from preparing the detailed descriptions necessary for clearly identifying all of the new species they encountered. Some plants and animals they examined were known but had not yet been scientifically described. In other cases, the descriptions were so imprecise that it was impossible to identify them with particular species. Taxonomy itself was in a period of rapid evolution, and methods of classification varied dramatically.

Using the criteria of deleting animals that had been formally described by the time Lewis and Clark encountered them, Cutright estimates that Lewis and Clark discovered 122 species and subspecies that were unknown to science.[21] Sixty-five of these species were found west of the Continental Divide.[22] George Ord, Thomas Say, Constantine Rafinesque and Alexander Wilson played a leading role in classifying the fauna observed by Lewis and Clark. Further American interest in these animals was stimulated by the publication of several studies. George Ord's account of vertebrate animals in William Guthrie's *A New Geographical, Historical, and Commercial Grammar; and Present State of the Kingdoms of the World* (2nd American edition, 1815) included descriptions of many of these animals. This work was also one of America's first zoological treatises.[23] While also embracing later accounts, Richard Harlan's *Fauna Americana* (1825) and John D. Godman's *American Natural History* (1826–1828) sustained the interest in the nation's newly found fauna. Godman's work is particularly unique since it was the first illustrated zoological text in America.

Given the ease of both collecting and observing plants over animals, it is not surprising that more plants than animals were discovered. The number of new plants described would have been substantially greater if they had not lost a cache of plants, collected east of the divide, to high water during the winter of 1805–1806.[24] Of the 178 plants which were new to science, 140 came from the western side of the Divide and were collected when the expedition had less time for such activities.[25] The botanical collections had a varied history. In the hands of the German botanist, Frederick Pursh, seventy-seven species were described with some specimens being taken to England by him. These were utilized by Pursh in the publication of his *Flora*

---

[21] *Ibid.*, pp. 424, 447.
[22] *Ibid.*
[23] *Ibid.*, pp. 382–388.
[24] *Ibid.*, p. 423.
[25] *Ibid.*



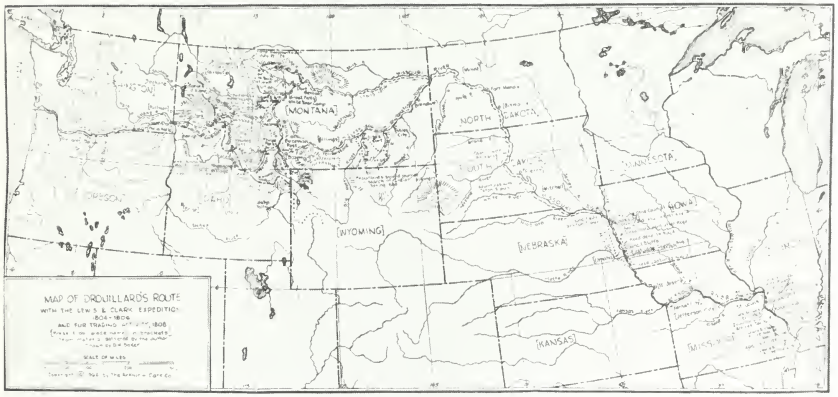
The prairie dog, besides being an interesting specie to study, proved an excellent source of meat during the Pike expedition of 1806

Americae Septentrionalis (1814), the most extensive work on American flora to have yet appeared.

The success of the Lewis and Clark Expedition was manifestly obvious. Not only had it completed its primary mission of establishing a route to the Pacific, it had also fulfilled Jefferson's ancillary aims of having made significant scientific discoveries. Its botanical, zoological and ethnological collections and findings stimulated other scientists to investigate the resources of the nation's western lands. Congress, which for well defined constitutional reasons had previously avoided supporting scientific exploration, now began to subsidize western scientific exploration indirectly by allocating funds for military expeditions.[26] With this support, the army and navy became the principal agents of national scientific exploration and discovery in the first half of the nineteenth century. The Pike and Long expeditions established the principle that exploration was an important military activity.[27]

[26] A. Hunter Dupree, *Science in the Federal Government* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1964), p. 26.

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 28.



Map of Drouillard, one of the expeditionists, with Lewis and Clark during the Fur Trading Activity of 1808

While the Lewis and Clark Expedition had met with unequalled success, expeditions into the Red River valley during the years between 1803 and 1806 were of more limited value. The ill-defined boundaries of the Louisiana Purchase required an immediate assessment of the western tributaries of the Mississippi River. Consequently, the Arkansas and Red rivers were of particular interest during this period. Indeed, Jefferson included an account of Dr. John Sibley's 1803 ascension of the Red River in his report to the Senate on the progress of the Lewis and Clark Expedition.[28] Sibley's contributions to the natural history of the area were negligible although he did comment briefly upon the customs and characteristics of the various Indian tribes encountered.

A year later in 1804, Jefferson commissioned William Dunbar and Dr. George Hunter to explore the sources of the Red River, but once more the source was not found and the scientific results were meager.[29] Dunbar and Hunter did note the abundance of animal life on the western prairies and offered succinct comments on the bison and antelope. Undaunted by these initial failures in the Louisiana Territory, Jefferson again commissioned a force to proceed up the Red River. In 1806, Captain Thomas Sparks and

---

28 Meisel, *A Bibliography of American Natural History*, Vol. II, 85–88, provides a brief review of the reports of this expedition.

29 Isaac J. Cox, "The Exploration of the Louisiana Frontier, 1803–1806," *Annual Report of the American Historical Review*, Vol. IX, No. 1 (October, 1904), p. 156.

Thomas Freeman led a party 650 miles up the river until they were turned back by the Spanish. Again, little was accomplished.[30]

Western exploration was continued when the enigmatic Brigadier General James Wilkinson ordered the twenty-seven year old Zebulon Pike to lead an expedition into the Louisiana Territory. Pike had some limited experience in exploration, for in 1805 he had led a small party up the Mississippi River.[31] The stated purpose of Pike's second expedition was to convey some captive Osages, who had just returned from a visit to Washington, to their lodges at Grand Osage, to secure peace between the Kansa and Osage nations, to establish relations with the Comanches and to observe the headwaters of the Arkansas and Red rivers.[32] The unstated objectives of this expedition have long intrigued and puzzled historians. Perhaps in deference to Jefferson, Wilkinson also included instructions for scientific observations:[33]

> In the course of your tour, you are to remark particularly upon the Geographical structure; the Natural History; and population of the country through which you may pass, taking particular care to collect and preserve, specimens of every thing curious in the mineral or botanical Worlds, which can be preserved and are portable: Let your courses be regulated by your compass, and your Distances by your Watch . . .

Unfortunately for the scientific accomplishments of this expedition, Pike's interests were not attuned to such inquiries. He candidly admitted it and stated:[34]

> With respect to the great acquisitions which might have been made to the science of botany and zoology, I can only observe, that neither my education nor taste led me to the pursuit, and if they had, my mind was too much engrossed in making the arrangements for our subsistance and safety, to give

---

[30] E. W. Gilbert, *The Exploration of Western America, 1800–1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1933), p. 153.

[31] For an understanding of the events of this journey, see Donald Jackson, *The Journals of Zebulon Montgomery Pike*, 2 vols. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966), Vol. I, pp. 3–226.

[32] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 286. Any student of Pike's activities in the West should consult Elliott Coues, *The Expeditions of Zebulon M. Pike*, 3 vols. (New York: Francis P. Harper, 1895) for the marvelously detailed footnotes. Nevertheless, the reader should heed well Jackson's warning that "It was Coues custom to give his readers elaborate lectures on subjects in which he was well versed and to pay less heed to those about which he had little information;" Jackson, *The Journals of Zebulon Montgomery Pike*, Vol. I, 189. For Jackson's comments upon Coues' extravagantly liberal emendation of the Biddle edition of the Lewis and Clark journals, see Jackson, *Letters of The Lewis and Clark Expedition with Related Documents 1783–1854*, 673–676.

[33] Jackson, *Journals of Zebulon Montgomery Pike*, Vol. I, p. 286.

[34] *Ibid.*, p. xxiv.

time to scrutinize the productions of the countries over which we travelled, with the eye of a Linnaeus or Buffon.

The scientific attainments of Pike's journey would have been considerably enhanced if the ornithologist Alexander Wilson had been allowed to accompany the party as he desired. For reasons that are not clear, Wilson was not granted permission to become a member of the expedition.[35] He thus lost the opportunity of becoming the first ornithologist to work in the lands beyond the Mississippi.

Pike and his party of twenty-three men began their mission on July 15, 1806. By August 19 they had reached the Osage villages. They then proceeded north to the Pawnee villages on the Republican River, and there they turned south, crossed the Smoky Hill River and marched towards the Big Bend of the Arkansas River. The party now separated. First Lieutenant James B. Wilkinson, the son of General Williamson, led a party of four men down the Arkansas River, while Pike turned west toward the "Stony Mountains." A few natural history observations were made. Pike observed with some interest the black tailed prairie dogs (*Cynomys ludovicianus*), the Wishtonwish of the Plains Indians. He even sought to learn something of their habits and their dens by trying unsuccessfully to drive one from its hole by pouring 140 kettles of water down it.[36] At times his party's interest in the prairie dog was more immediate, for Pike records that "we killed great numbers of them with our rifles and found them excellent meat, after they were exposed a night or two to the frost, by which means the rankness acquired by their subterraneaous dwelling is corrected.[37] His account of the habits and gastronomic excellence of the prairie dog was one of the first published accounts of this animal.[38] Although Pike failed to appreciate the prairie dog's role in the prairie ecosystem, his comments upon this animal are among his most significant contributions to the natural history of the West.

Pike's subsequent adventures are well known. On the afternoon of November 15, 1806, Pike's men gained their first view of the front range of the Rocky Mountains and the peak that was to bear their leader's name.[39] Killing buffalo and deer for provisions, they proceeded towards the "blue mountain." On November 23, Pike decided to make an ascent on "the high

---

[35] Welker, *Birds and Men*, p. 55; Robert Platte, *Alexander Wilson: Wanderer in the Wilderness* (New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1966), pp. 91–92.

[36] Coues, *The Expeditions of Zebulon M. Pike*, Vol. II, p. 430; Jackson, *Journals*, Vol. I. 338.

[37] *Ibid.*, p. 339; Coues, *The Expeditions of Zebulon M. Pike*, Vol. II, p. 30.

[38] *Ibid.*, p. 431.

[39] *Ibid.*, p. 444.

OPUNTIA ANGUSTATA
presumably named after the geologist Angugust Edward Jessup

2-3 var LONGISPINA was one of the specie discovered during the Stephen H. Long expedition and may have been so named

point of the blue mountain."[40] After struggling for four days, the attempt was abandoned, and it was to be Dr. Edwin James, botanist of the Long Expedition, who first climbed Pike's Peak. November and December of 1806 saw the party seeking and failing to find the sources of the Arkansas and Red rivers.[41]

Pike's ideas on the courses of western rivers are extremely confused.[42] It is clear that he did not, as his journal indicates that he did, view on January 5, 1807, both the Yellowstone and Arkansas rivers.[43] After an arduous crossing of the Sangre de Cristos, Pike struck west until he reached what he contended was the Red River, but which was actually the Rio Grande. After marching down the river for some eighteen miles, they moved up one of its tributaries, the Conejos River, until they reached a suitable site for a stockade. Here, they were arrested on February 26, 1807, by Spanish Dragoons for being in the Territory of New Mexico. Pike and his party were escorted to Santa Fe. While Pike's accounts of his later experiences are important, they do not contribute any important information on southwestern biotas.

Published before the Lewis and Clark narratives appeared, Pike's journals did provide information that was readily available on the nation's newly acquired western lands. While they did not substantially enhance the nation's knowledge of the natural history of the west, they did introduce a significant idea. Contained within an appendix to the 1810 edition of Pike's report was the germ of the idea for the famous debate on the "Great American Desert."[44] Forbidding in their treeless austerity, Pike viewed the vast plains which he had encountered as becoming as "celebrated as the sandy deserts of Africa."[45] Yet, in the desolation of the plains, Pike saw some advantages. That inhospitable area might restrict the nation's constant western expansion. "Our citizens being so prone to rambling and extending themselves on the frontiers will, through necessity, be constrained

---

[40] *Ibid.*, pp. 445–459.

[41] *Ibid.*, pp. 445–450.

[42] *Ibid.*, pp. 523–524.

[43] *Ibid.*, p. 479; Jackson, *The Journals of Zebulon Montgomery Pike*, Vol. I, pp. 365–366. Pike's journal for that day that he "had acquired the sources of La Platte and Arkansas rivers, with the river to the northwest, supposed to be the Pierre Jaun, which scarcely any person but a madman would ever purposely attempt to trace further than the entrance of those mountains which hitherto secured their sources from the scrutinizing eye of civilized man."

[44] *Ibid.*, pp. 27, 28. Coues, *Expeditions of Zebulon M. Pike*, Vol. II, pp. 534–535; Terry L. Alfrod, "The West As a Desert In American Thought Prior to Long's 1819–1820 Expedition," *Journal of the West*, Vol. VIII, No. 4 (October, 1969), pp. 515–526; William H. Goetzmann, *Exploration and Empire* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1967), pp. 50–53; and James C. Malin, *The Grassland of North America, Prolegomena to its History* (Gloucester: Peter Smith, 1967), pp. 173–193.

[45] Coues, *Expeditions of Zebulon M. Pike*, Vol. II, p. 525.

to limit their extent on the west to the borders of the Missouri and Mississippi, while they leave the prairies incapable of cultivation to the wandering and uncivilized aborigines of the country."[46] Time would modify Pike's, and slightly later Long's, concepts of the barrenness of this region; but Pike's published accounts of the southwest provided the nation with its first introduction to this subject.

The accomplishments of the Lewis and Clark and Pike expeditions nourished American interest in the West, but the War of 1812 interrupted government exploration in the area. The Englishmen John Bradbury and Thomas Nuttall became the first professional botanists to work in the West when in 1811 they joined a Pacific Fur Company expedition up the Missouri River. Of the two, Nuttall made the most significant contributions. A meticulous fieldworker, Nuttall's taxonomy was weakened by his classification of plants by the Linnean system. Nuttall published the results of his investigations of plants obtained on his journey up the Missouri in *The Genera of North American Plants, and a Catalogue of Species, to the Year 1817* (1818). Although Nuttall used the Linnean system, he nevertheless discussed the natural relationships between genera. As the first on comprehensive American flora, this work established Nuttall's reputation as a botanist, and his discussion of natural relationships provided American naturalists with a practical introduction to the merits of A. L. de Jussieu's system of classification.

Nuttall also collected along the Arkansas River from 1818–1820.[47] His 1820 paper to the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia on the geology and fossils of the Mississippi Valley anticipated modern geological techniques of stratigraphical correlations. Joining Nathaniel Jarvis Wyeth's second expedition to Oregon, along with the ornithologist John Kirk Townsend, he became the first botanist to cross the continent collecting plants.

It was not until 1818 that the government made plans to once more send an expedition into the West. Seeking to restrict British influence in the western fur trade, Secretary of War John C. Calhoun ordered Colonel Henry Atkinson to establish a series of forts on the upper Missouri. Unique in its organization, the expedition sought to wed American technology, military prowess and scientific discovery by utilizing six steamboats to convey the troops to their destination. As Calhoun's plans expanded, the Yellowstone Expedition evolved into three components: the Missouri Expedition, the

---

[46] *Ibid.*

[47] For the details of Nuttall's life, see Jeannette E. Graustein, *Thomas Nuttall, Naturalist* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967)

Mississippi Expedition and a scientific expedition under Major Stephen H. Long.[48]

This latter expedition was the first government sponsored expedition in the American West to include trained scientists. Calhoun's instructions to Long were in the spirit of those given to Lewis and Clark and Long was encouraged to avail himself of the "valuable suggestions of Mr. Jefferson to Capt. Lewis."[49] While Long's party was the most scientifically able group to have yet entered the lands beyond the Mississippi, the government was not generous in its support of the expedition's naturalists. John Torrey, who rejected an opportunity to participate, explained to a mentor, Amos Eaton, "that the naturalists will be provided with board and receive protection—the papers, drawings &c are to be given up to [the] government, who are to have the entire disposal of them—the naturalists to furnish themselves at their own expence . . . No compensation will be allowed the naturalists."[50]

Regardless of meager governmental support, the scientific contingent included some rather accomplished individuals. Dr. William Baldwin served as surgeon and naturalist, Thomas Say as zoologist, August Edward Jessup as geologist, Titian Ramsay Peale as assistant naturalist and Samuel Seymour as painter. A graduate of Dartmouth, Long had gained frontier experience in 1817–1818 in a journey into eastern Oklahoma and in the establishment of Fort Smith in the Arkansas territory.[51]

Little was accomplished in the first year of the expedition. After leaving St. Louis on board the sixty-five foot steamboat *Western Engineer*, they proceeded up the Missouri. Baldwin's thoughts on the use of the steamboat for scientific exploration were less than sanguine. In a letter to a fellow botanist, Baldwin commented upon the first steamboat to ply the Missouri River:[52]

> I have at last the mortification to inform you without hesitation, that a steam boat is not calculated for exploring . . . Slow as has been the progress of this boat, since our entrance into this river, little opportunity has been afforded to the Naturalists, to do any thing. There has been no stopping, except to take in wood and water and to repair . . . Not one moment has been granted

---

48 Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., Edwin James' *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains, performed in the Years 1819, 1820 . . . under the Command of Maj. S. H. Long* in *Early Western Travels* (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1905), Vols. XIV–XVII, hereinafter cited as Thwaites, *James*; William H. Goetzmann, *Army Exploration in the American West, 1803–1863* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959), 39–44.

49 Thwaites, *James*, Vol. XIV, 38.

50 Torrey to William Darlington, quoted in Andrew Denny Rodgers III, *John Torrey* (New York: Hafner Publishing Company, 1965), p. 47.

51 For Long's career, see Richard G. Wood, *Stephen Harriman Long, 1784–1864* (Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1966).

52 Baldwin to William Darlington, quoted in Susan Delan McKelvey, *Botanical Exploration of the Trans-Mississippi West, 1790–1850* (Boston: Arnold Arboretum of Harvard University, 1955), p. 197.

A romanticised version of a man during an encounter with grizzly bears at the headwaters of the Arkansas River

> to the Naturalists, to explore, that could be avoided; and the most productive situations have all been passed by . . . No mode of travelling is so poorly calculated for Naturalists; and besides, it is the most expensive to the government—the least expeditious, and safe, of any mode of travelling.

Even those parties of naturalists which traveled overland encountered difficulties. Say had his horses and equipment stolen by a Pawnee war party.[53] On August 31, 1819, the forty year old Baldwin died, "the first American with botanical training to collect plants westward of the Mississippi River."[54] Two and a half weeks later, the expedition entered winter quarters near Council Bluff. During the winter encampment, Say, with the aid of Peale, prepared some of the earliest ethnographical studies of the Pawnee, Otto, Iowa, Kansa, Missouri and Omaha Indians. Although lacking the internal cohesiveness of modern anthropological investigations, as contemporary records they provide an invaluable insight into the life of the Plains Indians. James' account includes Say's abundant descriptions of the manners, customs, medical problems, sexual mores, hunting practices, languages and religious beliefs of the tribes the expedition met.[55]

Say was apparently the most active scientist during the winter of 1819–1820. He collected marine fossils from limestone formations near the camp

---

[53] Thwaites, *James*, Vol. XIV, pp. 199–210.
[54] McKelvey, *Botanical Exploration of the Trans-Mississippi West, 1790–1850*, p. 189.
[55] Thwaites, *James*, Vol. XIV, pp. 199–288, and Vol. XV, pp. 11–115.

General Randolph B. Marcy was responsible for developing further on the mesquite trees found in the Rocky Mountain Areas

and studied, whenever possible, the local coyote and wolf populations. Seeking to gain a specimen of *Canis laterans* (coyote) for detailed examination, Say encountered the persistent western problem of trapping one of those wily animals.[56] Before the winter camp was abandoned in June of 1820, Say had the opportunity of observing the great spring migration of geese, swans, ducks and cranes through the area noting five new species in the process.[57]

During the winter, the nature of the expedition changed. The lack of immediate success, a declining economy and a penurious Congress abridged the original plans. Further progress up the Missouri was abandoned, and Long was ordered to proceed "by land to the source of the river Platte, and thence by way of the Arkansas and Red rivers to the Mississippi.[58] The

---

[56] *Ibid.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 250–258.

[57] George E. Osterhout, "Concerning the Ornithology of the Long Expedition of 1820," *The Oologist*, Vol. XXXVII (October, 1929), pp. 118–120.

[58] Thwaites, *James*, Vol. XV, p. 189.

death of Baldwin and the withdrawal of Jessup had also created vacancies in the scientific staff. Their positions were combined and filled by Dr. Edwin James. James was an excellent selection for he played a major role in the expedition serving not only as surgeon but also as botanist, geologist and chronicler.[59] Say was to continue his investigations of "the manners, customs, and traditions of the various savage tribes" which they might encounter.[60]

After members of the party purchased sixteen horses at their own expense, the expedition abandoned winter camp. Long had been provided, as had Lewis and Clark earlier, with small pox vaccine.[61] It had been intended for the Pawnees who had been seriously ravaged by the disease a few years earlier. Unfortunately, the keelboat carrying it had been wrecked on the Missouri, and the vaccine was drenched. Unsure of its quality, Long did not persist in innoculating the unwilling Pawnees.[62] Moving westward towards the Rockies, Dr. James and Thomas Say were now in an area that had not been explored by scientists, and as the footnotes in James' account indicates they found many new floral and faunal specimens to collect and describe. In Colorado alone they discovered approximately seventy-three new species of flora.[63] After finding it difficult to travel through extensive patches of prickly pear, they at last sighted the Rocky Mountains on June 30.[64] On the same day they saw what they believed was Pike's Peak, but it was actually the peak that was to later bear Long's name, Long's Peak. Turning south, the party proceeded towards the Arkansas River, discovering on July 11 the beautiful blue columbine, *Aquilegia coerulea*.[65] They increasingly encountered the "great shrubby cactus which forms so conspicious a feature in the vegetable physiognomy of the plains of the Arkansas."[66]

After correctly identifying Pike's Peak, James set forth with four men on July 13 to climb that summit.[67] Leaving two men at the base of the moun-

---

[59] After beginning a promising career in science, James abandoned this field believing that he could not make his mark upon the age. For James' thoughts on this subject, see Ewan, *Rocky Mountain Naturalists*, pp. 18–19.

[60] Thwaites, *James*, Vol. XV, p. 189; For Thomas Say, see Harry B. Weiss and Grace M. Ziegler, *Thomas Say* (Springfield: Charles C. Thomas Publisher, 1931).

[61] Thwaites, *James*, Vol. XV, p. 202; Cutright, *Lewis and Clark, Pioneering Naturalists*, p. 69; and Jackson, *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition with Related Documents 1783–1854*, p. 35, 64, 130.

[62] Thwaites, *James*, Vol. XV, p. 208.

[63] George E. Osterhout, "Rocky Mountain Botany and the Long Expedition of 1820," *Bulletin of the Torrey Botanical Club*, Vol. XLVII, No. 12 (December, 1920), pp. 560–562.

[64] Thwaites, *James*, Vol. XV, p. 264.

[65] *Ibid.*, p. 305.

[66] *Ibid.*, p. 311. This cactus may have been one of the common chollas, perhaps, *Apuntia Imbriccala.*

[67] *Ibid.*, Vol. XVI, p. 11.

tain to watch their horses, James and two companions set forth. After spending the night on the mountain, they passed through the timberline of Pike's Peak on July 14. This was the first time that a botanist had passed through the delicate alpine flora of the Rocky Mountains. For James, it was a "region of astonishing beauty, and of great interest on account of its productions."[68] Gathering plants slowed their progress for as James remarked "we met, as we proceeded, such numbers of unknown and interesting plants, as to occasion much delay in collecting; and were under the mortifying necessity of passing by numbers we saw in situations difficult of access."[69] But at last around 4:00 P.M., James and his companions reached the summit, the first white man to ascend a 14,000 foot summit in North America and the first naturalist to examine the fragile alpine ecosystems of the Rocky Mountains. July 14, 1820, was a signal day in American botany, for James discovered fourteen and possibly sixteen new plant species.[70] The principal scientific accomplishments of the expedition were now over. After a cursory attempt to reach the headwaters of the Arkansas River and after an exciting encounter with a grizzly, the party turned south. On July 21, the majority of the party, including Say and Seymour, began a descent of the Arkansas River to Fort Smith. During this trip, three deserters stole the horses and saddle bags of the party. After an arduous trip, Say had lost five collections of his field notes including:[71]

> one book of observations on the manners and habits of the Mountain Indians, and their history, so far as it could be obtained from interpreters; one book of notes on the manners and habits of animals, and descriptions of species; one book containing a journal; two books containing vocabularies of the languages of the Mountain Indians.

James chastized the "worthless, indolent, and pusillanimous" deserters for having stolen these journals since "all these, being utterly useless to the wretches who now possessed them, were probably thrown away upon the ocean of prairie, and consequently the labour of months was consigned to oblivion by these uneducated vandals."[72]

Long, James, Peale and seven enlisted men, then crossed the Arkansas River and marched south in a confused search for the sources of the Red River. Probably mistaking the Canadian for the Red River, they thought they had accomplished their task. Long's party then wandered eastward

---

[68] *Ibid.*, p. 16.

[69] *Ibid.*, pp. 18–19. On their ascent they recorded some of the earliest comments on pikas.

[70] Ewan, *Rocky Mountain Naturalists*, 15–16; and Osterhout, "Rocky Mountain Botany and the Long Expedition," *Bulletin of the Torrey Botanical Club*, Vol. XLVIII, pp. 556–558.

[71] Thwaites, *James*, Vol. XVI, p. 263 and Vol. XVII, p. 101.

[72] *Ibid.*, Vol. XVI, p. 264.

until they found themselves on the Arkansas. Arriving at Fort Smith, Arkansas, they rendezvoused with the balance of their party in September, 1820. At a cost of $20,348.17½, the Long Expedition was over.[73]

Government support for the publication of the results of the expedition was parsimonious. Say and James were allocated $2.00 per diem while they worked on the reports; Peale and Say were granted $1.50 per diem and ration while they worked on the specimens collected.[74] They had collected "more than sixty prepared skins of new or rare animals"; "several thousand insects," of which they thought seven or eight hundred were new to science; "four or five hundred species of plants new to the Flora of the United States, and many of them supposed to be undescribed;" a collection of minerals, terrestrial and "fluviatile" shells and one hundred and twenty sketches by Peale and one hundred and fifty landscapes by Seymour.[75]

The botanical collections were prepared by John Torrey and appeared in the *Annals of the Lyceum of Natural History* in 1823, 1824 and 1826. A distinguished student of American botanical history salutes John Torrey's 1826 paper, *Some Account of a Collection of Plants made during a journey to and from the Rocky Mountains in the summer of 1820, by Edwin P. James, M.D.* as being historically notable for "constituting the first paper in America drawn up along the lines of the then emergent 'natural system' of plant classification!"[76] James' remarks on trees were particularly valuable, and his comment upon the mesquite tree in particular were later utilized by R. B. Marcy in his reports of that region.[77]

The geology of the expedition was tinged with Wernerian biases. James accurately contended that in the arid lands west of the Ozark mountains it might be possible to gain water by drilling bore holes into the secondary formations, an early suggestion of artesian wells in the west.[78] Noting the presence of coal and lead deposits in the Ozark region, he optimistically predicted that the "Ozark mountains exhibit evidence of metallic riches far exceeding any thing that appears in the Rocky Mountains."[79] James was equally incorrect in his pessimistic assessment of the lands adjacent to the Rocky Mountains. "In regard to this extensive section of country, I do not

---

[73] Wood, *Stephen Harriman Long*, p. 111.

[74] *Ibid.*, p. 112.

[75] Thwaites, *James*, Vol. XVII, p. 93. In view of Thomas Say's important work on entomology, *American Entomology*, 3 vols. (1824–1828), it is paradoxical to note that James' account contains very little information on insects. James did include Say's lengthy comments upon the Indian tribes encountered.

[76] Ewan, *Rocky Mountain Naturalists*, p. 14; Rodgers, *John Torrey*, p. 53.

[77] Malin, *The Grasslands of North America, Prolegomena to its History*, 449–461.

[78] George P. Merrill, "Contributions to the History of American Geology," in the *Annual Report of the U.S. National Museum* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1906), p. 247.

[79] Thwaites, *James*, Vol. XVII, p. 231.

hesitate in giving the opinion, that it is almost wholly unfit for cultivation, and of course unihabitable [sic] by a people depending upon agriculture for their subsistence."[80] It was a "peculiarly adapted as a range for buffaloes, wild goats and other wild game."[81]

The Lewis and Clark, Pike and Long expeditions played a crucial role in the initial delineation of the natural history of the West. Handicapped by the dimensions of the regions they were seeking to investigate, the limitations of time and space prevented these expeditions from more than merely observing the most obvious floral and faunal forms. More detailed, sustained investigations came later. Nevertheless, the momentum of western exploration had begun, and an examination of the region's biota became an important component of future expeditions.

---

[80] *Ibid.*, p. 147.
[81] *Ibid.*, p. 148

LAW ENFORCEMENT IN TRANSITION: FROM DECENTRALIZED COUNTY SHERIFFS TO THE HIGHWAY PATROL

*By Bob L. Blackburn**

When Oklahoma's founding fathers were contemplating possible law enforcement systems for the new state in 1907, they had to find one well suited to a state which was more than eighty percent rural. They realized it had to reflect the social conditions of a state with few roads, fewer automobiles and retarded communication between rural areas. The isolation of rural areas before 1907 had bred social characteristics of individualism, provincialism, mistrust of outsiders and a strong belief in local control of politics, schools and law enforcement. The Oklahoma Constitution therefore did not provide for a statewide law enforcement organization, establishing only a decentralized system of elected county sheriffs.

County law enforcement was sufficient in 1907, for it complemented prevailing social conditions. Few outsiders visited isolated areas, thus few problems arose which were not related to local citizens. In criminal cases concerning local people an elected sheriff was the appropriate officer to investigate, for he knew the people, knew the prevailing social standards and knew what law violations the community would not tolerate. The absence of a rapid method of escape for criminals who did enter a county usually allowed the sheriff time to gather a posse and to apprehend the culprit. In the few urban communities where transients might pose more serious threats to law and order, municipal police forces were organized.

The law enforcement team of county sheriffs and urban police was sufficient for the rural, horse-drawn society of 1907. However, by the 1930s, this system had begun to show strains as the state changed from a settled rural society to one marked by advancing urbanization, increasing mobility and changing social attitudes.

At the base of the change was urbanization. From 1910 to 1930 the proportion of Oklahomans living in urban areas increased from one-fifth to one-third, while the general population increased more than 200 percent.[1] While the shifting population brought its resulting changes, means of transportation and communication were revolutionized. Whereas in 1907 buggies

---

* Bob L. Blackburn is a graduate teaching assistant and a candidate for the Doctor of Philosophy degree in history at Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma.

[1] State of Oklahoma, *Report on a Survey of Organization and Administration of Oklahoma: Submitted to Governor E. W. Marland by the Institute for Government Research of the Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C.* (Oklahoma City: Harlow Publishing Corporation, 1935), p. 3.

and wagons had crowded small town streets, by 1930 every section of the state could boast of at least one state-built road.[2] Even isolated backwoods became readily accessible to outsiders, including the increasing numbers of criminals. Additionally, the large number of motorists on the highways led to serious safety problems.

A spiralling highway traffic death toll, together with the crime of the 1930s, were results of these rapid social changes. These changes increasingly strained the capabilities of county sheriffs until by the mid-1930s serious threats to the public's safety were imminent. By their nature county sheriffs could not cope with mobile criminals and isolated highway accidents, for the office had been created to meet the challenges of a horse-drawn age, not those of the 1930s.

The crime wave which plagued the Midwest during the early and mid-1930s was especially serious in Oklahoma. This was partially due to the proximity of criminal retreats. In the eastern part of the state were the famed Cookson Hills, the densely wooded mountains which had served criminals as a safe retreat since the days of Jesse James and the Daltons. Close to the border, and beyond the jurisdictions of county sheriffs, were Joplin, Missouri and Hot Springs, Arkansas, two of the most famous "open" cities in the Midwest where criminals could find friendly police and corrupt politicians.[3] Criminals could blaze a path of violence in Oklahoma, then retreat to nearby havens.

The problem was compounded by the new mobility of modern bandits. By the 1930s many automobiles could attain speeds of 90–100 miles per hour, usually leaving a local sheriff far behind. An aggressive highway building campaign, which had begun under Governor M. E. Trapp's administration in 1925, had laced the state with high-speed roads, providing convenient avenues for escape.[4] With fast cars, good highways and nearby retreats, the criminal saw Oklahoma's wealth as a prime target.

The loss of life and property due to accidents on the highways was even more tragic than that due to criminal activities. Before 1920 there had been fewer than 100 deaths per year on the state's highways. Even as late as 1930 the number was less than 400.[5] By 1936 the annual death toll had climbed to

---

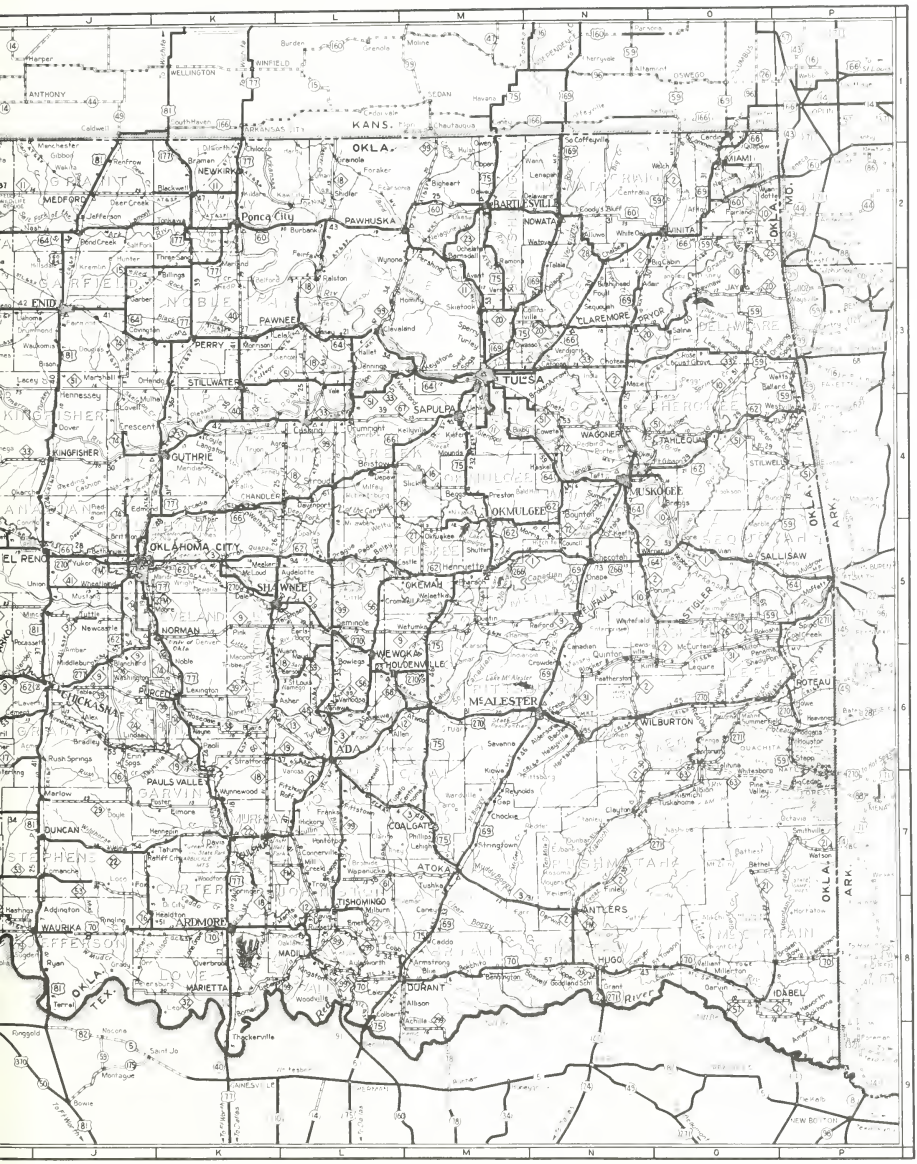
[2] E. Bee Guthrie, "Oklahoma's Road Program," *Harlow's Weekly* (Oklahoma City), June 19, 1926, p. 4.

[3] John Toland, *The Dillinger Days* (New York: Random House, 1965), p. 250.

[4] For a better account of the accelerated highway building program in the 1920s, see Bob Blackburn, "Governor Martin E. Trapp," *Governors of Oklahoma*, ed. Leroy Fischer (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Historical Society, to be released in 1978).

[5] Oklahoma State Planning Board, *A State Police For Oklahoma* (Oklahoma City: np, June, 1936), p. 2.

STATE OF OKLAHOMA
DEPARTMENT OF HIGHWAYS
MAP SHOWING CONDITION
OF IMPROVEMENT
OF THE
STATE HIGHWAY SYSTEM
April 1039
STATE HIGHWAY COMMISSION
S. H. Singleton - Chairman
G. A. Meacham - Member ~ H. E. Bailey - Member
Van T. Moon - Chief Engineer
Scale
0 5 10 20 30 40 50
MILES
Legend
Conc., Asph on Conc., or Brick Pavement
Asphaltic Surfaces on Gravel Base.
Oil Treated Gravel.
Untreated Gravel.
Standard Graded & Drained Earth.
Earth, Maintained, but not Standard Grade.
Earth Grade Under Construction.
Pavement Under Construction.
Highways Not Maintained.
Accumulated Mileage & Mileage Between Junctions.
Railroads.
Electric Railways.
State Highway Numbers.
U.S. Highway Numbers.
Farm-to-Market Roads.
Drawn by - T. D. "Pat" Murphy
Supervision of - M. R. Kester
COLO.
OKLA.
KANS.
TEXAS
TEX.
N.M.
BOISE CITY
CIMARRON
GUYMON
BEAVER CITY
BEAVER
HOOKER
PERRYTON
STRATFORD
SPEARMAN
LIPSCOMB
ELLIS
WOODWARD
ROGER MILLS
CUSTER
BECKHAM
WASHITA
HARMON
GREER
JACKSON
TILLMAN
KIOWA
CANADIAN
WHEELER
CHEYENNE
SAYRE
ELK CITY
CORDELL
HOBART
MANGUM
HOLLIS
ALTUS
HEADRICK
TIPTON
CHILDRESS
QUANAH
VERNON
CROWELL
ELECTRA
ALTUS
MARIETTA
ARDMORE
SEYMOUR
MABELLE
BENJAMIN
MUNDAY
GUTHRIE
To Amarillo
To Clovis
To Abilene
To Ardmore



By the 1930s Oklahoma's expanded road network made the task of the newly formed Highway Patrol even greater

685 lives, with more than 2,000 serious injuries.[6] The most prominent cause was the increased use of automobiles and the construction of high-speed roads. With more people driving bigger and faster cars on smoother and seemingly safer roads, the death toll steadily climbed.

Multiplying the problems was the dearth of traffic regulations. Although automobile use had increased phenomenally, the state government had not reacted with the proper traffic safety laws. For example, as late as 1935 there was no state registration or licensing law. If a person could start a car and at least keep it on the road, he could operate legally on any state highway. Even the few traffic regulations in the statutes were not backed with effective enforcement.[7] With unregulated highway usage, it was a matter of self-preservation on the highways of the state.

There were several reasons why county sheriffs could not deal effectively with either this problem or the threat of modern crime. The most serious was a manpower shortage. In 1934 most county law enforcement consisted of a sheriff, an undersheriff, a deputy and a jailer. Populous counties, such as Oklahoma or Tulsa had more, but the majority had only four or fewer officers, and in thirty counties there were three or fewer officers. Actual manpower was more limited than the figures indicate, for one of the officers usually was a jailer. Moreover, the sheriff and undersheriff were limited in their law enforcement duties, for at least one-third of their time was spent as officers of the court.[8] In nearly one-half of the state's counties there were only two law enforcement officers spending approximately five to six hours a day enforcing the law.

Most rural counties in the 1930s could not raise needed revenue to expand their sheriff's departments to meet the rising threats to public safety. The population flight from the dust bowl, combined with depression conditions, had decreased county tax bases to the point where extra taxes simply could not be levied. Most rural counties were losing population in the 1930s, Roger Mills County declining from 14,164 in 1930 to 10,736 in 1940; Seminole County from 79,621 to 61,201; and Creek County from 64,115 to 55,503. Out of the state's seventy-seven counties, forty-seven lost population from 1930 to 1940.[9] This decrease in rural population, plus thirty percent unemployment, prevented law enforcement's flexibility when confined to the county tax base.

Shortages of funds limited the effectiveness of sheriffs who were on the

---

[6] Unpublished manuscript in the files of Charles Rice, the original director of the Drivers License Division of the Oklahoma Department of Public Safety, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

[7] *Report on a Survey of Organization and Administration of Oklahoma*, p. 98.

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] United States Bureau of Commerce, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940. Population* (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1942), p. 863.

road. While criminals and bootleggers usually purchased or stole modern high-speed automobiles, most counties continued using old vehicles for the sake of economy. Radios, which were being developed in the early 1930s, also were too expensive for financially troubled county governments; by 1935 only four or five sheriff's departments had mobile radios in their patrol cars, and they were in urbanized counties.[10]

Bad communications prevented sheriffs from overcoming another problem endemic to county law enforcement: inter-county pursuit of criminals. While criminals in high-speed automobiles could cross county lines in minutes in many cases, those boundaries limited sheriffs' jurisdictions. When a criminal entered another county, pursuit became the duty of another sheriff. Radios could have alleviated the situation, for inter-county cooperation would have been possible. However, the lack of funds and slow communications made such cooperation impossible.

Another shortcoming of county law enforcement was a lack of police training. By statute sheriffs were elected every two years; therefore, too often their election successes were based more on popularity than on law enforcement expertise. At a time when sophisticated criminals threatened public safety, law enforcement was amateuristic. To indicate the seriousness of the problem, a survey of all county governments taken in 1935 revealed that of thirty-five sheriffs reporting, nineteen were serving first terms with no previous experience as sheriff. Of the thirty-five, two were considered to have made police work a career, while fourteen were farmers or ranchers, the rest having had varied professions ranging from butcher to grocery clerk.[11] With little or no police training, even the most capable citizens could not have been expected to solve threats posed by modern bootleggers, killers and bank robbers.

The sheriff could not overcome such shortcomings by depending on other law enforcement organizations then existing. At the county level were constables, but they were officers of the justice courts who served almost exclusively as clerks and process servers, although they possessed general law enforcement powers. At the state level the only law enforcement body was the State Bureau of Criminal Identification and Investigation. Created in 1925, the State Bureau had originally fielded seven agents and of those only three had been investigative officers.[12] By 1935 the number of field officers had increased only to four, hardly a sufficient force for aiding sheriffs in any-

---

[10] Interview, Charles Hughes, June 19, 1976.

[11] *Report on a Survey of Organization and Administration of Oklahoma*, pp. 97–98.

[12] State of Oklahoma, *Session Laws of 1925* (Oklahoma City: Harlow Publishing Corporation, 1926), p. 178.

thing except the most extraordinary crimes.[13] The Federal Bureau of Investigation could not offer measurable aid to sheriffs either; in 1933 there were only 266 special agents for the entire country, and their jurisdiction was severely limited by state-federal separation of powers.[14]

The limited outside assistance, combined with the structural incapabilities of county law enforcement, forced state leaders to realize that traditional means of law enforcement were inadequate when confronted with rapid social changes. The solution to the new conditions was a centralized state police. Such a force would have statewide jurisdiction, breaking down county jurisdictions which before had limited criminal pursuit. A state police also would be free from politics, enabling officers to pursue law enforcement as a career. It would broaden law enforcement's tax base to the entire state and open possibilities to federal funds, solving the manpower, supply and equipment problems. In addition such a force would offer flexibility to law enforcement which it had lacked when organized on the county basis. Overall, a state police indeed would have better confronted the problems posed by changing social conditions.

The transition from county law enforcement to a centralized highway patrol was a slow process; however, a majority of citizens had to demand governmental changes before they occurred. Although many of the inadequacies of county law enforcement had become apparent as early as 1929, many citizens had not become convinced that new conditions necessitated a state police. Only when a serious threat to public safety was demonstrated to a majority of Oklahomans did the demands for law enforcement transition begin. That change of attitude, or public awareness of a serious problem, developed slowly, moved month after month by reports of criminal activity, breakdown of law and order, and reports of an intolerable slaughter on the highways. The history of that change in attitude began in the early 1930s.

In a few months of 1933–1934, a series of criminal activities in the state shocked many citizens to the realization that rampant crime had indeed arrived in Oklahoma. During the summer of 1933 George "Machine Gun" Kelley and his gang chose Oklahoma City for their most daring crime to date. Their plan was to kidnap Oklahoma City oilman Charles Urschel, demand $200,000 ransom, then flee the state. After successfully abducting the prominent Citian, the kidnappers held Urschel captive several days while news of the crime dominated state and national headlines, for not since the

---

[13] State of Oklahoma, *Report on a Survey of Organization and Administration of Oklahoma*, p. 100.

[14] Toland, *The Dillinger Days*, p. 37.

kidnapping of Charles Lindbergh's baby had such a crime drawn such public attention. Although the Kelley gang later was captured, they had terrorized an Oklahoman family, had successfully demanded a small fortune in ransom and had seemingly thwarted all initial attempts at solving the crime.[15] Such a crime so close to home touched the sensitivities of many Oklahomans, making a lasting impression of inadequate law enforcement.

Another highly publicized crime involved the Barrow gang, led by the notorious Bonnie Parker and Clyde Barrow. While passing through Oklahoma to escape Texan lawmen, the killers took time to rob a bank near Commerce. When the gang was sighted outside of town, local police chief Percy Boyd and sixty-year old constable Cal Campbell mistakenly decided to try to arrest them alone. However, the two local sons were no match for the ruthless gunmen; in an ill-timed gunfight, both officers were shot, the elderly Campbell dying from his wounds. The death was highly publicized, spreading apprehension and fear of lawlessness across the state.[16]

In 1934 criminal activities again were common topics in the state when more than 1,000 lawmen assembled in one of the largest manhunts the state had ever witnessed. The governor had directed the small army to capture the Barrow gang and Charles A. "Pretty Boy" Floyd who supposedly were hiding in the Cookson Hills area. Sheriffs, deputies, sworn-in citizens and national guardsmen futilely combed the densely wooded hills south of Tahlequah, making headlines every day they were in the field.[17] To the average citizen such extraordinary methods of law enforcement indicated a breakdown in law and order. If such an army was necessary for temporary law enforcement, perhaps permanent law enforcement reform was necessary. The constant barrage of sensational criminal activities fostered such an impression in the minds of many state citizens.

Another threat to law and order in the 1930s, but one which was not as sensational, was the increased activities of bootleggers. Although Oklahoma long had been plagued with illegal whiskey, before 1930 the supply of whiskey had been limited because of national prohibition. However, in December of 1933 national prohibition was repealed, allowing American whiskey manufacturers to rekindle their distilleries. With a sufficient supply of whiskey in certain counties of Texas and Arkansas adjacent to the border, bootleggers saw a ready market in still-dry Oklahoma.

Like the better known criminals of the 1930s, bootleggers took advantage of high-speed automobiles and new highways to avoid county sheriffs. Al-

---

[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 83–102.
[16] *Ibid.*, p. 251.
[17] *Ibid.*, p. 250.

Such scenes of death convinced many that county law enforcement alone no longer could cope with threats to the public safety

though documented proof of bootlegging activities is second hand at best, federal tax statements reveal a thriving illegal liquor business in Oklahoma. In 1934, the first year after national repeal, federal tax agents collected more than $100,000 in hard liquor taxes—taxes on illegal liquor. By paying the federal excise duties, bootleggers kept federal agents out of their way, leaving only unprepared county sheriffs to elude. That startling fact was published in the *Daily Oklahoman*, opening the eyes of many reformers to the extensive illegal liquor problem.[18]

As if to further heighten the public's awareness of the liquor traffic, Governor E. W. Marland ordered state agents to crack down on bootleggers in a series of raids. Although there were not enough agents to make a significant challenge to the bootleggers, the raids were highly publicized. In addition to the spot raids, Marland began a verbal campaign against sheriffs' tolerance of illegal whiskey sales. In one statement, Marland said that "local

---

[18] *Daily Oklahoman* (Oklahoma City) August 8, 1935, p. 1.

The creation of the Highway Patrol in 1937 solved many of the problems confronting law enforcement agencies

respect for the anti-liquor laws does not prevail to the extent of any legal agency being able to effectively terminate bootlegging." He even went so far as to threaten use of the National Guard in an all out attempt to end the rampant whiskey trade.[19]

Newspaper editors in all sections of the state reiterated Marland's criticism of local enforcement. The editor of the *Alva Daily Record* suggested that local officers usually knew about liquor outlets, but seldom enforced the laws due either to apathy, inability or corruption. An editorial in the *Blackwell Daily Journal* went even further, saying that because local enforcement usually was inactive, only state police action could end the liquor menace.[20] Such editorials were typical of many Oklahomans' attitudes in 1935, when bootleggers seemed to be operating in the open market. Such publicity touched the sense of social responsibility of anti-liquor forces and the powerful church organizations. As those people realized local police could not counter the elicit liquor traffic, they likewise demanded reform.

Also threatening the public safety were modern-day cattle rustlers. The rustling problem had worsened in the 1920s, reaching crisis proportions by

---

[19] *Harlow's Weekly*, June 22, 1935, p. 3.
[20] *Ibid.*

the mid-1930s. Like violent crimes and bootlegging, the new rustling was in part due to social changes and technological advances. Before the widespread use of trucks, cattle rustlers on horseback moved stolen cattle overland, moving slowly and leaving a highly visible trail. Such handicaps made it easier for sheriffs or cattlemen to gather a posse and overtake the rustlers.

Modern rustlers, however, overcame those handicaps with trucks and paved highways. Rustlers in the 1930s could round up ten to twenty cattle, drive them into a truck through a cut fence and drive away on paved roads. The truck left no trail and the rustlers were quick enough to cross the county line long before the victimized cattleman awoke. With no patrolmen on the highways, few obstacles stood in the way of the motorized rustler.[21] When rustling became widespread enough, cattlemen demanded law enforcement reform which would end the loss of their livelihood.

Although criminal activity was highly publicized and had a marked influence on public attitudes, crime personally touched the lives of relatively few Oklahomans each year. While victims' neighbors might be sympathetic, and other citizens might feel threatened, they did not feel the personal tragedy which motivated people to demand radical law enforcement reform. That necessary emotional element proved to be the increasing highway traffic death toll. In 1936 alone there were 685 deaths, with more than 2,000 serious injuries. Such carnage touched the lives of thousands of voters, and, because most citizens were constantly in their cars on the dangerous highways, they were better aware of that threat. This highly visible threat to their safety forced many people to concede that traffic regulation and a centralized police force to enforce the regulations were necessary.

By 1935 many Oklahomans had become aware that there was a serious threat to their safety and that it was serious partly due to the inefficient law enforcement at the county level. Among the critics of county police and in the vanguard of the advocates for a state police was Governor E. W. Marland. The governor was well aware of the benefits offered by a state police, for he was from Pennsylvania, a progressive state which had organized an efficient state police force in the 1920s.[22] In public addresses he repeatedly urged creating such a force in Oklahoma. Moreover, knowing that hard facts would be needed to persuade conservatives that governmental centralization was necessary, he commissioned the Brookings Institute in 1935 to make a study of the state government. The next year he directed the State

---

21 *Ibid.*, September 19, 1936, p. 3.

22 J. J. Mathews, *Life and Death of an Oilman: The Career of E. W. Marland* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1951), p. 8.

Planning Board to draw up a detailed plan for a state police.[23] The conclusions of both publications not only exposed the needs for a centralized police force, but also kept the topic of law enforcement before the public's scrutiny.

Many newspaper editors likewise advocated a state police. An editorial in *Harlow's Weekly*, the state's foremost chronicler of public opinion, reported that many editors in the state supported any proposal for a state patrol. Editors of the *Blackwell Daily Journal*, *Frederick Leader* and *Alva Daily Record* were only a few of the many concerned citizens in all sections of the state who demanded action to confront the mounting dangers of crime and highway injuries.[24]

Relentless reportings of such threats to law and order also sparked the social consciousness of citizen's groups. The Cattlemens Association, which represented victimized stockmen, lobbied energetically; automobile dealers and manufacturers, who recognized a corellation between highway safety and car sales, pushed for a highway patrol; benevolent societies, which lamented the waste of lives and property, clamored for law enforcement reform; and even Chambers of Commerce, which would profit from increased travel, expressed their concerns. From all sections of the state and from all economic classes concerned citizens rallied behind the advocates for a statewide law enforcement organization.[25]

The state police idea was not without its opponents. In 1929, and again in 1935, state police bills had been defeated in the state legislature despite the developing public support for such a force. Much of the opposition had come from municipal and county governmental organizations who feared state centralization. The *Municipal Review*, the official publication of the Oklahoma Municipal League, feared a state police would operate independently of local officials, possibly encroaching on their powers. The County Commissioners' Organization expressed similar fears.[26] Supplementing this opposition were conservative legislators, primarily from rural areas, who steadfastly held to conservative ideas of local government and extreme governmental economy. Sandy Singleton, Chairman of the Appropriations Committee, was one such official who believed in opposing new governmental programs such as a state police because it would mean new appropriations. The conservative rallying cry of "lower taxes and reduced governmental spending" had not disappeared with the 1920s.

---

[23] Interview, Dale Petty, June 5, 1976, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

[24] *Harlow's Weekly*, August 10, 1935, p. 6, October 19, 1935, p. 3.

[25] Interview, Dale Petty, June 5, 1976, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma; J. M. Gentry, "Safety in Motor Cars is Campaign Demand," *Harlow's Weekly*, February 8, 1936, p. 5.

[26] *Ibid.*, January 23, 1937, pp. 2–3; Interview, Dale Petty, June 5, 1976, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

By mid-1935 not even this opposition could hold back the demands for a change in law enforcement. However, public opinion behind a state police continued to mount, until in June of 1935, the legislature authorized the creation of a limited highway patrol. Organized in the Stolen Car Department of the State Highway Commission, the six-car patrol quickly took advantage of its full police powers and statewide jurisdiction.

Although the force was too limited to be thoroughly effective, its existence was crucial for the future of a larger state patrol. This early patrol proved that a state police force would indeed be an effective supplement to county law enforcement, especially concerning prevention of traffic accidents and the war against bootleggers. For example, during 1935 the six-man patrol issued more than 1,000 arrests and 500 warnings in an attempt to force drivers to follow basic safety rules and one patrolman fully utilized his new Ford to overtake a bootlegger in a frantic twenty-six mile high-speed race, ending with the confiscation of 1,080 pints of whiskey.[27] Another benefit of the 1935 patrol, but one not directly related to law enforcement, was that it attracted the attention of Highway Commissioner J. M. "Bud" Gentry. The interest taken by the Enid car dealer proved invaluable from 1935 to 1945 as he planned, lobbied for and organized the first largescale patrol. In 1937 he became the first Commissioner of Public Safety, and was responsible for the successful initiation of the highway patrol.

In 1936 and 1937 the same threatening conditions which had led to the creation of the first patrol worsened, especially the highway death toll. An alarming increase of more than sixty deaths from the previous year gave new fuel to the enthusiasm of safety advocates. In December of 1936 such enthusiasm resulted in the creation of the first State Safety Council, organized to work for better standards in highway safety. One of its stated goals was to advocate a state highway patrol and to "tell it to the politicians."[28] Such civic activities, combined with a general shift of public opinion, soon succeeded in getting a bill proposed in the legislature to create a larger and more effective patrol.

Opposition still remained, however, forcing state police advocates to compromise on certain points. Such political maneuvering included an amendment declaring the powers and duties of the patrol would in no way be a limitation on the powers and duties of sheriffs. To reinforce that provision, Governor Marland and proposed Commissioner "Bud" Gentry promised that the patrol would not be used to interfere with the prerogatives of county officials or sheriffs. With such reassurances to county officials, the bill passed

---

[27] *Harlow's Weekly*, January 23, 1937, p. 11.
[28] *Ibid.*, December 12, 1936, p. 2.

both houses of the legislature and was signed into law on April 20, 1937.[29]

By July the first highway patrol academy had been completed. With professional police training and new equipment, fourteen troopers on motorcycles and seventy troopers in new Fords and Hudsons drove to their first assignments in every section of the state. Two months later the force was increased to 125, full strength for the young police force.

When those troopers began patrolling the highways of the state, Oklahoma's law enforcement entered a new stage. It had been a slow transition, one necessitated by social changes and initiated only after public awareness of the resulting problems. Since 1937 the Oklahoma Highway Patrol has proven its worth in protecting lives and property of the public. Social conditions continue to change, but the diverse systems of law enforcement at local, state and federal levels have proven capable of adaptation, a characteristic gained during the unsettled days of the early 1930s.

---

[29] State of Oklahoma, *Journal of the House of Representatives*, Regular Session, Sixteenth Legislature, April 26, 1937 (Oklahoma City: Harlow Publishing Corporation, 1938), p. 2895.

☆ NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

THE MARLAND MANSION COVER PHOTOGRAPH

The color photograph of the dome on a stairway landing at the west end of the gallery of the E. W. Marland Mansion in Ponca City, Oklahoma, that appeared on the cover of the Spring, 1978, issue of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* was made available by Mr. Paul E. LeFebvre. Mr. LeFebvre is a well-known photographer of Oklahoma landmarks, and the Publication Department wishes to acknowledge his generous assistance.

PROJECT ON THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

Entitled "Documentary History of the Supreme Court of the United States, 1789–1800," the project is supported by the Supreme Court Historical Society and the National Historical Publications and Records Commission and is scheduled for completion in five years. The project objective is to publish all documents which illuminate the development of the Supreme Court in its first decade. The editors are particularly interested in locating any correspondence of the following individuals:

Chief Justices:

John Jay (1745–1829)
John Rutledge (1739–1800)
Oliver Ellsworth (1745–1807)

Associate Justices:

John Blair (1732–1800)
Samuel Chase (1741–1811)
William Cushing (1732–1810)
James Iredell (1751–1799)
Thomas Johnson (1732–1819)
Alfred Moore (1755–1810)
William Paterson (1745–1806)
Bushrod Washington (1762–1829)
James Wilson (1742–1798)

Clerks of the Court:

John Tucker
Samuel Bayard

Attorneys General:

Edmund Randolph
William Bradford
Charles Lee

Unofficial Court Reporter:

Alexander James Dallas

Please forward all information to Dr. Maeva Marcus
The Supreme Court Historical Society
Suite 333
1511 K Street, N. W.
Washington, D.C. 20005

CONSTITUTION
of
THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

ARTICLE I
Name, Object and Location

Section 1. The name of this organization shall be:
The Oklahoma Historical Society

Section 2. The purposes for which the Oklahoma Historical Society is organized and conducted are to preserve and to perpetuate the history of Oklahoma and its people; to stimulate popular interest in historical study and research; and to promote and to disseminate historical knowledge. To further these ends and, as the trustee of the State of Oklahoma, it shall maintain a library and museum in which it shall collect, arrange, catalog, index and preserve books, pamphlets, newspapers, magazines, manuscripts, letters, diaries, journals, records, maps, charts, documents, photographs, engravings, etchings, pictures, portraits, busts, statuary and other objects of art and all other appropriate museum material with special regard to the history of Oklahoma. It shall perpetuate knowledge of the lives and deeds of the explorers and pioneers of this region; it shall collect and preserve the arts and crafts of the pioneering period, the legends, traditions, histories and cultural standards of the Indian tribes; it shall maintain a collection of the handiwork of the same, and an archaeological collection illustrating the life, customs and culture of the prehistoric peoples. It shall disseminate the knowledge thus gained by investigation and research through the medium of printed reports, bulletins, lectures, exhibits or other suitable means or methods. It shall discharge all other duties and responsibilities placed upon it by the Legislature of the State of Oklahoma.

Section 3. All deposits of papers, artifacts or articles or other gifts received by the Society are made to it in trust for the people of the State of Oklahoma, and may not be received with any limitation, condition or other restriction that renders such other than an outright gift. No portrait may be hung in the galleries of the Society except upon the prior invitation from the Board of Directors, after a majority vote to that effect duly taken at a regularly constituted meeting. Provided, no portrait, bust, art object, artifact, manuscript, document, nor thing of historical value, shall be removed from its place of exhibition or from the premises of the Society, nor shall any of said objects be loaned to any person without prior permission in each case from the Board.

Section 4. The offices, library, archives and museum of the Oklahoma Historical Society shall be located at Oklahoma City, Oklahoma; provided the Society may as from time to time determined by the Board, establish temporary displays or exhibits at other locations in conjunction with fairs, exhibitions or other meetings of historical, education or scientific interest.

ARTICLE II

Membership

Section 1. The membership of the Oklahoma Historical Society shall consist of: Annual, Life and Honorary.

Section 2. The annual membership of the Society shall be composed of such persons as shall be elected to membership by the Board of Directors at any regular meeting thereof, except that which last precedes the regular annual meeting of the Society, after payment of the prescribed fee. Editors or publishers of newspapers or other periodicals who have contributed the regular issues for one year shall be entitled to membership in the Society during the continuance of such contribution thereafter without the payment of the annual membership fee.

Section 3. The life membership of the Society shall be composed of such persons as shall be elected to membership by the Board of Directors and after payment of the prescribed life membership fee.

Section 4. The honorary membership of the Society shall be composed of the Governor, former Governors of the State of Oklahoma, members of the Legislature during their term of office, Justices of the Supreme Court, and such persons as may be so elected by the Board of Directors because of their distinction in literary or scientific attainments or notable public service. The honorary members shall be free of all dues and assessments and shall not vote at the annual meeting of the Society.

Section 5. The annual membership fee shall be five dollars per year; and the life membership fee shall be one hundred dollars; provided, such fees may be from time to time modified by the Board of Directors of the Society. Membership dues shall be deposited in the Private Fund of the Society and expended for the purposes of the Society as the Board shall direct.

Section 6. Membership may be withdrawn from any person at any meeting of the Society by a two-thirds vote of the members present. Provided, that at least twenty days notice shall be given the accused member, together with specifications of the charges upon which action is proposed to be based.

Section 7. Only life members and such annual members as have paid their current membership fee shall be entitled to vote at any annual meeting of the Society. Provided, that a representative of each newspaper or periodical

which has contributed its paper for at least one year to the Society shall be entitled to one vote at the annual meeting of the Society.

ARTICLE III

Meetings

Section 1. The annual meeting of the Oklahoma Historical Society shall be held at such place or places and on such date or dates as may be determined by said Society, or its Board of Directors when the Society at an annual meeting or adjourned meeting thereof has failed to designate such place or time.

Section 2. Special meetings of the Society shall be convened upon call of the President of the Society for the transaction of such business as may be specified therein and no other business shall be taken up for consideration at such meeting except by unanimous consent.

Section 3. Notice of all meetings of the Society shall be given by mail, or if directed by the Board by publication in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, to all members of the Society by the Executive Director, at least twenty days in advance of such meeting.

Section 4. Fifteen voting members shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business of the Society at any regular or called meeting thereof.

ARTICLE IV

Directors

Section 1. The Board of Directors of twenty-five members shall be the governing body of the Society, with full and complete authority to manage, administer and control its affairs, moneys, property and effects. The Board of Directors may formulate such rules and regulations as may in its judgment be necessary for the proper conduct of the affairs of the Society, not in conflict with this Constitution. The Governor of Oklahoma shall be an additional and ex officio member of the Board.

Section 2. Members of the Board shall be elected for a term of five years or until their successors have been elected. Directors shall be elected only from among those persons who have been annual or life members of the Society for not less than three years prior to their nomination.

Section 3. Five members of the Board of Directors shall be elected annually by ballot by members of the Society in the following manner: Prior to the tenth day of January of each year the Executive Director and the Treasurer shall prepare ballots upon which appear the names of the five directors whose terms will expire that year, unless otherwise directed in writing by such director, and the names of such other eligible persons who may be

nominated thereto in writing filed with the Executive Director by the first day of such year by twenty-five members who at said time are entitled to vote at the annual meeting. Such ballot shall be mailed by the Executive Director to each member of the Society entitled to vote at the annual meeting, who shall mark such ballot for not more than five, and shall then return same in a double envelope, the inner one being a plain envelope. The member shall sign his name to the outer envelope. Upon prior direction of the Executive Committee, in lieu thereof, such ballot may be printed in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, in which event the Executive Committee will provide adequate instructions for the return and protection of the ballot. On the fourth Tuesday in January, or as soon thereafter as possible, the President, a Vice-President, the Executive Director, and the Treasurer shall meet and open the ballots, counting the same, and retaining the envelopes and ballots in a safe place until the next regular quarterly meeting of the Board of Directors, when such ballots, together with the envelopes and the result of the canvass shall be delivered by proper certificate to the Board. After being satisfied as to the correctness of the canvass, the Board of Directors shall declare the five receiving the highest vote as directors of the Society. If no additional nominations are received, thus resulting in no contest, the Executive Director at the meeting of the Board of Directors where such ballots otherwise would be canvassed shall cast one vote and declare the five nominees elected.

Section 4. The meetings of the Board of Directors of the Society shall be held on the Thursday immediately following the fourth Wednesday of January of each year and quarterly thereafter during the year.

Section 5. Special meetings of the Board of Directors may be called by the President of the Society at the request of three members of the Board of Directors, due notice of the same having been given five days in advance, together with a statement of the object of the meeting. Five members of the Board of Directors shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business. The Board shall cause the Executive Director to prepare a written report of its proceedings to be published to the membership of the Society.

Section 6. The Board of Directors of the Society shall supervise the number and designation of the employees of the Society and as recommended by the Executive Committee, shall approve the selection of suitable persons to fill such positions and the determination of the rate of compensation of each employee within limitations fixed by legislative enactment. The Board of Directors may require bond for the faithful performance of duty by any employee in such sum justified by the circumstances. No member of the Board of Directors shall receive salary, expenses or per diem for services rendered as a member of the Board of Directors.

Section 7. The absence of a member of the Board of Directors from three consecutive regular quarterly meetings of the Board of Directors shall operate to terminate the membership of such director from said Board, provided that a statement from the member accepted by the Board, at the meeting from which the Board member was absent showing such member he was reasonably prevented from attending such Board meeting may prevent the termination of such membership.

Section 8. In the event of a vacancy in the membership of the Board of Directors, the same shall be filled for the remainder of that term by the Board of Directors. In the event of a vacancy on the Board of Directors, the President shall announce such fact at the first meeting of the Board thereafter. Nominations may be made orally from the floor at the meeting or by letter to the Executive Director in the interim before twenty days preceding the next regular meeting unless such time be enlarged by the Board. The Executive Director shall review all nominations for eligibility as required by Section 2 of this Article, and shall mail the list of such eligible nominations to the members of the Board prior to its next meeting. The vote shall be by secret ballot and the nominee receiving the majority vote shall be seated as Director. In the event of a plurality only, the winner shall be determined by a run-off ballot between the two nominees receiving the highest number of votes.

Section 9. Members of the Board of Directors who have completed the term to which they were elected and who have indicated a desire not to serve further as provided by Section 3 of this Article, may be elected as a Board Member Emeritus for life on majority vote of the remaining members of the Board. Provided, that to be eligible for such emeritus membership such retiring Board Member shall have served not less than ten years as a member of the Board with an attendance record of at least sixty per cent (60%) of all regular or special meetings. Such emeritus member shall not be entitled to hold office, to make or second a motion, nor to cast a vote, but shall in all respects be entitled to participate in all of the proceedings and deliberations of the Board of Directors.

ARTICLE V

Officers

Section 1. The officers of the Society shall be a President, two Vice-Presidents, an Executive Director and a Treasurer. Each shall serve for a term of two years or until the successor of each be elected. All officers except the Executive Director shall be elected from among the members of the Board of Directors.

Section 2. At the meeting of the Board where the newly elected Directors are announced, and on each even numbered year, the Board shall elect such

officers. Such election shall be by written ballot. Provided, nothing shall be construed to prevent the Board from electing such additional Emeritus officers as it may determine.

Section 3. The President of the Society shall preside at all meetings of the Society and perform all other duties usually incident to a chief executive officer.

Section 4. The Vice-Presidents of the Society, in order of their election, shall perform the duties of the President in event of the absence or disability of that officer.

Section 5. The Executive Director of the Society shall keep the records and seal of the Society; shall take and record the minutes of the proceedings of the meetings of the Society and of its Board of Directors; shall conduct its correspondence; in conjunction with the President of the Society, he shall make such report of its work and collections as may be required by law or order of the Board; he shall collect all membership fees and keep a record of same, transmitting the funds thus secured to the Treasurer of the Society; shall be in supervisory control of all staff members and employees of the Society; and shall perform such other duties as may be assigned to him by the Board of Directors. The Executive Director shall give bond in such sum as the Board of Directors may determine for the faithful performance of his duties.

Section 6. The Treasurer of the Society shall receive and hold all funds of the Society; shall keep the accounts of the Society in its name in a safe banking institution; shall keep a detailed account of the receipts and expenditures holding the same subject to inspection by the President and the Board of Directors of the Society; and shall render a full report at the annual meeting of the Society and at such other times as may be required by the Board of Directors. The Treasurer shall give bond for the faithful performance of his duties as may be required by the Board of Directors.

Section 7. Any officer of the Society may be removed for cause by a two-thirds vote at any regularly convened meeting of the Board of Directors.

Section 8. Officers pro tempore may be chosen at any meeting of the Board of Directors of the Society in event of the absence or disability of the regular officers.

ARTICLE VI

Committees, Official Journal

Section 1. There shall be an Executive Committee composed of the President, the Vice-Presidents, the Treasurer, and two other members of the Board of Directors appointed by the President. It shall meet at the call of

the President and minutes of its meetings shall be kept by the Executive Director.

Section 2. The Executive Committee shall, as directed by the President, advise and counsel the President in the discharge of his responsibilities and the administration of his office, shall determine such routine matters of policy, not inconsistent with the mandates of the Board of Directors, as may arise between regular meetings of the Board; and shall, under the supervision of the Board of Directors, select suitable persons to fill positions on the staff of the Society.

Section 3. The President, agreeable to the directives of the Board of Directors, shall appoint and designate such standing or special committees as may be appropriate to the work and purposes of the Society.

Section 4. The official publication of the Oklahoma Historical Society shall be *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*. It shall be published quarterly and distributed without charge to all members of the Society, editors or publishers of newspapers deposited in original or microfilm form regularly without charge in the archives of the Society, and such schools, libraries and other institutions and societies as may be from time to time determined. The Editor of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* shall be selected by the Board of Directors upon the recommendation of the Executive Committee.

Section 5. *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* shall publish the minutes of the meetings of the Board of Directors and of the Society; and shall pursue an editorial policy of publication of worthy and scholarly manuscripts dealing with all aspects of Oklahoma or regional history, including necrologies, reviews, reprints of journals and reports and the other activities of the Society. It shall not interest itself in the publication of manuscripts of a political or controversial nature.

ARTICLE VII

Amendments

This constitution may be amended at any meeting of the Society by a two-thirds vote of the members present, provided, that due notice of such proposed amendment be given in the form of a copy thereof to each member or by publication in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* at least three months in advance of the date of such meeting.

NEW MEMBER ELECTED TO BOARD

Mrs. L. E. Hodge, Jr.

A native of Hammon, Mrs. L. E. Hodge, Jr. attended Oklahoma College for Women in Chickasha, Oklahoma. In 1965, she began publishing historical articles in numerous western Oklahoma newspapers, *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* and *Orbit Magazine*.

Mrs. Hodge appeared in the 1966 edition of Outstanding Young Women of America. She has served with several community service organizations in Hammon, and, as chairman of the Hammon Bicentennial, helped found the Hammon Community Museum.

Mrs. Hodge is very active in sponsoring programs for Indian children in a four-county area. Having written history stories included in *Prairie Fire*, a book on western Oklahoma History, she serves on the Prairie Fire Committee.

As one of the organizers of the Western Oklahoma Anthropological Society, she served as its secretary-treasurer and also as vice-president of The Western Oklahoma Historical Society. A member of The Oklahoma Genealogical Society, The Oklahoma Anthropological Society, The Oklahoma Historical Society and The National Trust for Historic Preservation, she is an avid collector of Indian artifacts, Indian lore, art and Indian jewelry.

RED OVER BLACK: BLACK SLAVERY AMONG THE CHEROKEE INDIANS. By R. Halliburton, Jr. (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1976. Pp. x, 219, Illustrations. Maps. Notes. Bibliography. Index. Appendices. $15.95.)

Halliburton's major thesis is that black slavery among the Cherokees was remarkably similar in all respects to slavery among southern whites and that it "evolved into an institution that was a microcosm of slavery in the Southern United States." He rejects the theory that Cherokees were more benevolent to their slaves than white slave owners and argues that this notion was the direct result of propaganda by missionaries and Indian agents.

Missionaries supported the argument to mollify critical abolitionist-leaning mission boards. Missionaries suffered from the overriding fear that if they took a public stand against slavery in the Cherokee Nation or denied Cherokee slave owners church membership, they and their missions might be expelled from Cherokee territory. Indian superintendents and agents, most of whom were pro-slavery southerners, also supported the benevolent view. One agent, George Butler, arguing that the institution of black slavery had exercised an important civilizing influence upon the Cherokees, even suggested that nomadic plains Indians might "acquire industrious habits" if black slaves were distributed among the "wild tribes."

Halliburton argues that Cherokees "exhibited the strongest color prejudice of any Indians." Miscegenation was prohibited as early as 1824, and by 1841 Cherokee slave codes were comparable to slave codes in southern states. Although tribal prohibition against miscegenation was not entirely successful, mixed-blooded offspring were excluded from tribal membership, and most free Negroes were unwelcome in the Cherokee Nation. After the Civil War, Cherokees reluctantly admitted freedmen to tribal membership under federal mandate.

Halliburton suggests that Cherokee brutality towards their slaves differed little from similar brutality imposed by whites upon their slaves and cites at least one vivid example. Although an 1842 statute imposed execution by hanging upon conviction for killing a slave, a clause in the law excluded from presecution those Cherokees who killed slaves involved "in the act of resistance," or who inadvertently killed slaves while administering "moderate correction."

Whereas inner conflicts about the morality of slavery may have served as a moderating influence among some southern white slave owners, Halliburton unequivocally states that "Cherokees never experienced the inner

conflict between slave-owning and conscience, never felt the need to justify slavery morally, never claimed slavery was in the best interest of blacks and never gave voice to the 'positive benefits' of Christianizing and civilizing their slaves."

He uses extensive quotations in the body of the text to flesh out the narrative and supplements these with two appendices. The first, extracted from the Foreman Papers at the Oklahoma Historical Society, contains transcripts of interviews conducted with elderly ex-slaves in the 1930s. The second contains statistical data on slaves and Cherokee slave holders. Thus, the study might best be called a documentary history.

David H. Miller
Cameron University

ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS ALONG THE WAURIKA PIPELINE, COMANCHE, COTTON, JEFFERSON, AND STEPHENS COUNTIES, OKLAHOMA. CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE MUSEUM OF THE GREAT PLAINS NUMBER 5. By Towana Spivey, C. Reid Ferring, Daniel J. Crouch and Kathy Franklin. (Lawton, Oklahoma: Museum of the Great Plains, 1977. Pp. xiv, 381. Illustrations. Maps. Charts. Bibliography. $10.20.)

This monograph presents the results of an archaeological survey and mitigation program centered on a pipeline route from Waurika reservoir northward. Although thirteen sites are discussed, virtually the entire report is devoted to three historic sites which are judged to be of special significance—a Fort Sill dump, the Bill Mathewson house and the store of the same trader. Artifact descriptions of materials from the dump will be of interest to those concerned with the military occupations of Oklahoma and will prove of special interest to archaeologists working in the same period.

Possibly more useful to both the archaeologist and historian is the portion of the monograph devoted to the house and store of Bill Mathewson. Mathewson was a well known frontiersman when he established his store, shortly after the Kiowa-Comanche reservation was opened in 1869. Although the store only remained active for several years (Mathewson sold out in 1874 and little is known of the subsequent trader, E. D. Smith) the Mathewson store is reasonably well documented and warranted the extensive attention devoted to it. Excavations centered on three questions: first, could the site be verified as the house and store of Bill Mathewson; second, what activities were conducted at the site; and third, what was the special distribution of the activities? A single structure was excavated at the house

site; however, although extensive testing was conducted, no structures were encountered at the store location. The house structure and all artifacts are described and discussed. Summaries at the end of each descriptive groupings and integration of the descriptive material into a framework focusing on the three questions posed makes this portion of the report anthropologically sound and the most interesting in the entire work. Three of the remaining sites have historic components; one, the Beef Issue Pens site, has considerable historical documentation. The small amount of prehistoric material from these sites is discussed; however, the treatment is somewhat superficial compared to the historic material.

While basically a report concerning the archaeological resources of a pipline right-of-way, this monograph has, through emphasis on historical sites, provided an excellent review of late historic archaeological manifestations in the region of Fort Sill. Profuse illustrations and concise descriptions of artifacts will make the volume useful for comparative purposes. Also these illustrations, in combination with historical backgrounds and summaries, make enjoyable reading for those interested from a less archaeologically technical standpoint. It should be noted that this report is but one in an outstanding series including *Domebo: A Paleo-Indian Mammoth Kill in the Prairie Plains* edited by Frank Leonhardy and *Early Indian Trade Guns: 1625–1775* by T. M. Hamilton.

Marshall Gettys
Fort Towson Historic Site

A FRONTIER LADY: RECOLLECTIONS OF THE GOLD RUSH AND EARLY CALIFORNIA. By Sarah Royce. Edited by Ralph Henry Gabriel. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1977. Pp. xiv, 140. Map. $8.95.)

Undoubtedly interest in women's history led to the reprinting of this book originally published in 1932. Writing in the 1880s for her son Josiah Royce, a professor at Harvard University, Sarah Royce developed the text from her old diary of the family's journey to California in 1849 and the first years of their stay in the gold fields. She chronicled their trip across Iowa to join a wagon train at Council Bluffs, their solitary trek across the Great Salt Desert, their rescue by members of a government relief company in the Sierra Nevada Mountains and their arrival at a mining camp six months after beginning the trip. The remainder of the book related the Royces' several moves from one "tent town" to another as they attempted to make

a living from mining and operating a store. They lived in San Francisco and Sacramento during the wildest days of the gold rush and finally settled in a town in the mountains.

This selection is more than a series of recollections jotted down by the author. Mrs. Royce prepared a narrative of the family's experiences, but she also included many thoughtful comments about her impressions during the journey. The last chapters contain valuable insights into the society of the mining camps, their members' moral and religious attitudes and her own feelings about being a lone female with small children in usually isolated dwellings. Mrs. Royce's strong and devout faith enabled her to remain calm in trying situations and brave in dangerous ones.

The manuscript, written more than thirty years after the Royces' journey, with the aid of Sarah's "pilgrimage diary" of notes taken along the way in 1849, was prepared at the request of her son who was compiling a study of early California. The editor has included portions at the beginning of each chapter which explain Professor Royce's philosophical system of loyalty. His mother's experiences exemplified Royce's philosophy, and inclusion of some of his ideas puts the book in a broader context than merely being another record of difficulties in the move west and settlement in a wild environment. This selection has value not only as a record of one woman's involvement in the westering experience but also as an example of nineteenth century religious and social attitudes.

Susan Peterson
Oklahoma State University

THE TRUTH ABOUT GERONIMO. By Britton Davis. Edited by M. M. Quaife, with a Foreword by Robert M. Utley. (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1976. Pp. xxix, 253. Illustrations. Maps. Index. $3.75.)

This study is more than a contemporary account of Geronimo for it depicts the final subjugation of the Chiricahua Apache. *The Truth About Geronimo*, furthermore, presents valuable insights into the Apache culture as well as providing a basis for understanding the Apache's restlessness and resistance to reservation life. Davis revealed the difficulties besetting the Apache such as widespread corruption of government officials and contractors, mismanagement of Indian affairs by local and national leaders and government officials forcing the ways of an alien white culture on the Apache.

Lieutenant Britton Davis served as the commander of the Indian scouts used by General George Crook in his attempt to settle peaceably the Apache problem in the 1880s. Because Davis lived among some of the Apache and participated in several campaigns to return the Chiricahuas to their reservation in Arizona, the author provides first hand information about the Apache situation. Although Davis did not participate in the final surrender of Geronimo, he used documentary evidence such as official army correspondence and army officers' written accounts to reveal the events as they unfolded.

Davis mainly dealt with the period from 1882–1886 but also provided introductory information about the Apache. Davis was objective in his reporting and evaluation of Apache customs and lifestyle. Davis along with his superior officer, Captain Emmet Crawford, tried to persuade the military and Federal government officials to allow the Apache to engage in pastoral activities rather than farming. Davis argued that as nomadic people living in an arid environment, the Chiricahuas would adapt better with a pastoral lifestyle. The officials, however, accepted the commonly prevalent belief that farming and Christianity provided the solution to the Indian problem and ordered the Apaches to become farmers. The officials then failed to provide adequate equipment and instructions for those Apache willing to try farming. The government officials tried to force the Chiricahuas to cease their age-old customs of wife beating and Tizwin drinking. This attempt led to increasing difficulty with the Apache and was one of the factors leading to Geronimo's final escape from the reservation. The Chiricahuas objected to the government's demand that they change their lifestyle and argued that the Apache never had agreed to allow the Federal government to interfere in tribal customs.

Writing in the late 1920s, Davis wrote the study as a corrective to the then commonly accepted belief that Geronimo was captured by General Nelson Miles and Captain Henry Lawton. Davis was incensed that General Crook and Lieutenant Charles Gatewood did not receive credit for Geronimo's surrender. Davis also contended that Geronimo was never captured but that he surrendered. Davis clarified the misconception that Miles and Lawton captured Geronimo in 1886. Since *The Truth About Geronimo* was first published in 1929, historians have tended to credit the surrender of Geronimo to all the major participants—Crook, Gatewood, Miles and Lawton.

Davis' portrayal is unusually objective except in his assessment of Geronimo. Davis stated that Geronimo was "a thoroughly vicious, intractable and treacherous man. His only redeeming traits were courage and determination. His word, no matter how earnestly pledged, was worth-

less." This evaluation of Geronimo seems somewhat slanted. Recent studies such as Angie Debo's *Geronimo* presents a more sympathetic and perhaps realistic characterization of the famed Apache leader.

Davis' account is an important contemporary source for the study of the Apach resistance and their final subjugation as well as Geronimo's surrender. *The Truth About Geronimo* provides enjoyable and interesting reading for the general reader, student, and scholar.

Linda S. Parker
University of Oklahoma

THE McMAN: THE LIVES OF ROBERT M. McFARLIN AND HAMES A. CHAPMAN. By Carl N. Tyson, James H. Thomas and Odie Faulk (Norman: Oklahoma Heritage Association by the University of Oklahoma Press, 1977, pp. xiii, 224. $7.75.)

> Bob McFarlin and I took the thirty-second degree of Scottish Rite Masonry together, this was the first class to take the work in the new temple at Guthrie. We were friends for many years and he was a fine, generous fellow and did a great deal with his immense fortune.

That is Charles F. Colcord's estimate of Robert McFarlin's career written in 1934, as a part of his *Autobiography*. The Tyson, Thomas and Faulk thorough, full length study of these men and their times endorses Colcord's position. *The McMan* illuminates Oklahoma's economic growth in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century and the development of oil production during its early stages. More important, it traces with care and understanding the lives of two Texans who came to Oklahoma to grow with the new territory.

Few men of their generation were such good examples of independent management, with credit to themselves and their state. Both outgoing McFarlin and quiet Chapman personified the early Southwestern qualities of character and notions of business. After hard work they judiciously invested $700 on a first oil lease which became an aggregate of leases, wells, stored oil and pipelines worth $35,000,000 in eleven years makes these producers extraordinary.

With style, the biographers have included a wealth of incidents, numerous anecdotes and much corporate data, as well as an account of the times during which the McMan Oil Company and later the McMan Oil and Gas Company grew and performed. Here the reader can trace the relations of McFarlin and Chapman with Oklahoma oilmen from J. Paul Getty to

Harry Sinclair to Tom Slick, as well as the Rockefeller family. Although the authors never use the Rockefeller name in the book, the family's many arms—the Prairie Oil and Gas Company, the Magnolia Petroleum Company, the Humble Oil Corporation, the Standard Oil of Indiana and Standard Oil of New Jersey—force crude prices up and down, control the common carriers and ultimately buy both the McMan Oil Company and the McMan Oil and Gas Company.

Tyson, Thomas and Faulk have done their work well. This is a book that transcends the differences between the generations who were contemporary with McFarlin and Chapman and the new breed of the present. It holds more than antiquarian interest for all who read it. The format is of a quality that upholds the dignity of the Oklahoma Trackmaker Series.

Howard L. Meredith
Oklahoma Historical Society

AMERICAN INDIAN POLICY IN THE JACKSONIAN ERA. By Ronald N. Satz (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1975. Pp. xii, 343. Preface. Introduction. Maps. Illustrations. Index. Bibliography. Notes. $14.95. Paperback. 1976. $4.25.)

The Indian policy of the Jacksonians has become the subject of conflicting interpretations in recent years. The standard view, growing out of the works of Oklahoma historians like Grant Foreman, points to avaricious, land-hungry whites who were encouraged by state governments to encroach on Indian lands. This scenario has the Federal government ignoring white abuses or actively working to deprive the Indians of their natural and legal rights. More recent opinions, expressed forcefully by Francis Paul Prucha, discover a humanitarian impulse. The intent of the Jacksonians, Prucha would say, was to move the Indians beyond the reach of Anglo influence and thus control the evils of liquor, the scheming of traders and the intrusions of squatters. Ronald Satz's work will by no means end this controversy but will bring together for the first time a comprehensive overview of this era's Indian policy.

Satz's study is an excellent blend of chronological and topical approaches to historical writing. He briefly traces "Old Hickory's" accession to the presidency before detailing the intricate political maneuvers of Jackson's followers as they steered the Indian Removal Bill through Congress. I found his description of factional fights in Congress over the Removal Bill especially interesting. Satz has added a chapter to the usual story of Indian removal by showing that the controversy did not end in the halls of Congress. The National Republicans, Jackson's political foes, reasoned that this

act would be the perfect vehicle to prove the President's ruthlessness and to propel their party into political office. Americans, however, were anxious to justify the dispossession of the Indians and looked instead to persons who painted removal in humanitarian terms.

After reading the sections on the office of Indian affairs and the Indian field service, the reader might wonder that Indian affairs ran as smoothly as they did, considering the misdirection from Washington and the inadequacies on the frontier. Underpaid, overworked, understaffed and facing the threat of losing their jobs with every election, the clerks, agents, superintendents and commissioners found much to trouble them besides the plight of their wards.

Perhaps Satz has discovered a middle course between the varying positions on the Jacksonian Indian policy. The policy as planned may well have been altruistic, but the policy as implemented became distressing to the Native Americans involved. Moreover, the envisioned "permanent Indian frontier" had a life span of barely fifty years. Hopefully this book will encourage further study of nineteenth century Indian policy. It certainly shows a field ripe for harvest.

Gary E. Moulton
Southwestern Oklahoma State University

CITIES ON STONE: NINETEENTH CENTURY LITHOGRAPH IMAGES OF THE URBAN WEST. By John W. Reps. (Fort Worth: Amon Carter Museum, 1976. Pp. 99. Illustrations. Color Plates. Bibliography. Notes. $14.95 (cloth), $9.95 (paper).

Between 1825 and 1900 an estimated 2,000 lithographs of urban views of varying accuracy were published. Numerous people collected them just as they later did post cards with city views.

The Amon Carter Museum has assembled an exhibition of 144 of these lithographs of the West for display at six museums. This book, with fifty color plates, was designed as a catalog for that exhibit; however, it is so sufficiently informative, and the plates so beautifully presented, that the book has value apart from its original function. The sprightly history of urban views and their producers augmented by copious notes introduces the grand vistas from the 1840 Austin, Texas, to the 1890 Quanah, Texas, with views of Oklahoma, Colorado, Utah and other Western states' towns in between.

These views say more about the look of the young West than many, many pages of words and are valuable to urban and architectural historians and

anyone who writes about or studies the period because, as the author states, "Decoration, technology, history, business, and geography are thus uniquely combined in this endlessly fascinating form of American popular art."

Mary Ellen Meredith
Cookson Institute, Inc.

THE SWENSON SAGA AND THE SMS RANCHES. By Mary Whatley Clarke. (Austin: Jenkins Publishing Company, 1976. Pp. 346. Illustrations. Bibliography. Index. $12.50.)

Swante Magnus Swenson, reputedly "the first native of Sweden to set foot on Texas soil" landed at New York in 1836 and arrived in the Republic two years later. Although a traditional "penniless immigrant," young Swenson possessed a handsome appearance, an ingratiating personality and an acute sense of business enterprise. Capitalizing upon a brief mercantile apprenticeship in his homeland, Swenson found employment with a merchant at Columbia and became a highly successful peddler. Shortly thereafter, however, he acquired interests in plantation agriculture, made a fortune and eventually built his own flourishing mercantile firm at Austin, Texas. From his Austin base, the Swede invested in a diversity of business interests in a fashion suggestive of the finance capitalists of the latter nineteenth century and established powerful connections in the New York banking community.

As a respected citizen and civic leader, Swenson became the confidant of Texas' leading men, including Sam Houston; opposed the Know Nothing Party; sold his plantations because of his aversion to slavery; and fearful that his Unionist convictions might cost him his life, spent the Civil War years in self-imposed exile in Mexico. Though retaining strong emotional ties with Texas, Swenson moved his family to New York after the war and established a Wall Street banking firm with his sons, Eric Pierson and Swen Albin.

Early on, the sagacious Swede realized the potential value of cheap Texas lands. By buying railroad land scrip and alternate sections of school lands in Jones, Throckmorton, Shackelford, Haskell and Stonewall counties, he acquired the basis of the SMS ranches which were first developed by Eric and Albin Swenson with the financial backing of their father—at six percent—beginning in 1882.

The legendary SMS ranches are more successful than most comparably large ranches, surely in part because of the solid foundation laid by the genius of Frank Hastings, and they remain major latter twentieth century ranching enterprises managed mostly by Swenson family members.

This book devotes about one third of its pages to S. M. Swenson's biography and the remainder to the ranches. Although there are occasional citations to documents and somewhat more to personal interviews, the work is based largely upon secondary and even tertiary materials. The latter chapters contain frequent references to the author's own articles in *The Cattleman*, and it is apparently from these shorter pieces that the book grew. It seems a fair inference, therefore, that the author's intent was to produce a work in the genre of trade magazine journalism. Judged by that standard, it is an acceptable treatment of one of Texas' truly significant personal and institutional success stories.

The publisher would do well to attend more carefully to editorial details, but the book is generally attractive and greatly enhanced by the inclusion of excellent photographs of various persons important to the Swenson story and especially of range scenes.

Frederick W. Rathjen
West Texas State University

THE PRAIRIE PEOPLE: CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN POTAWATOMI INDIAN CULTURE 1665–1965. By James A. Clifton. (Lawrence: The Regents Press of Kansas, 1977. Pp. xx, 529. Illustrations. Maps. Notes. Bibliography. Index. Appendices. $22.50.)

An Algonquian-speaking people who originally settled around the Great Lakes region, the Potawatomis were principal figures in the fur trade, serving as middlemen for both the French and English fur traders. Their adjustments and reactions to European and later American intrusions upon their culture provides a fascinating account. As with most tribes, the Potawatomis became dependent on the advanced technology of the Euro-Americans and eagerly sought their trade goods which brought about significant changes in their culture. As the years passed, white contact ultimately resulted in the Indians losing their lands and being placed on reservations.

James A. Clifton, professor of humanism and cultural change at the University of Wisconsin, Green Bay, has spent many years researching the Potawatomis. His latest contribution, *The Prairie People*, is a massive study detailing 300 years of Potawatomi history from 1665 to 1965. Clifton provides valuable information regarding such subjects as migration and resettlement, leadership and governance, patterns of feuding and warfare and religion. Equally as important, the author presents material on the Potawatomis during the twentieth century—a heretofore rather neglected area of focus.

On the negative side, Clifton has devoted too much space (over 300 pages) to the Potawatomis in general, and too little space (approximately 125 pages) to the Prairie People in Kansas. This reviewer would like to have seen more development concerning the reservation years and the efforts and devices employed by the railroads and white settlers in Kansas to rob the Prairie People of their land base and timber resources. Moreover, additional material on the Indian New Deal would have enhanced the work. In other words, the book should have been structured perhaps more along the lines of Donald Berthrong's studies of the Cheyennes and Arapahoes, William Hagan's work on the Comanches, or Donald Parman's book on the Navajos.

The Prairie People is well written and contains helpful maps, photographs and appendices. It is based largely on primary source material. The book's price, however, may cause potential readers to shy away from purchasing it.

Raymond Wilson
Sam Houston State University

PLATT NATIONAL PARK: ENVIRONMENT AND ECOLOGY. By Ballard M. Barker and William Carl Jameson. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1975. Pp. xii, 127. Maps. Illustrations. Photographs. Bibliography. Index. Appendix. $5.95.)

In its seventy years of existence Platt National Park has changed from a local health spa to one of the most popular of all national parks. The natural beauty of the Arbuckle Mountains, the abundance of mineral springs and the clear flowing streams have over the years attracted Indians, ranchers and tourists. Much of the virgin landscape which provided a palacial camp site for the Native American, year around grazing for the rancher's cattle and soothing mineral waters for the health seekers of Indian Territory still exists today.

The park owes much of its popularity to a unique combination which allows maximum public accessibility and, at the same time, minimum destruction of the environment. Although the park provides camping, hiking and water recreation for the public to enjoy, its major attraction is its geographical location. Neither the phenomenon of Yellowstone's geysers nor the grandeur of Grand Canyon grace this small park. However, each year enough travel weary tourists leave their monotonous journeys on Interstate highways 35 or 40 to visit the park, making it one of the most heavily used facilities in the national park system.

The authors provide an excellent volume not only for those interested in

the recreational aspects of Platt National Park but also for those interested in geological and ecological knowledge of the area. The bulk of this scholarly yet readable narrative details the physical aspects of the park, but one-fourth of the work is devoted to historical development and description of the park facilities. The pleasant mixture of scientific inquiry meshed with an easy flowing style provides a work which will attract the layman and the scholar.

James H. Thomas
Wichita State University

THE TARAHUMARA: AN INDIAN TRIBE OF NORTHERN MEXICO. By Wendell C. Bennett and Robert M. Zingg. Foreword by Louis G. Verplancken, S.J. Introduction by Thomas B. Hinton. (Glorieta, New Mexico: The Rio Grande Press, Inc., 1976. Pp. 412. Maps. Publisher's Preface. Bibliography. Authors' Preface. Contents. List of Illustrations. Photos. Appendix. Chart. Bibliography. Index. $35.00.)

The recent revival of interest in the Indians of Mexico has prompted the editors of the Rio Grande Press to reprint the most comprehensive study of one of Mexico's least known indigenous groups, the Tarahumara of Northern Mexico. First published in 1935 by the University of Chicago Press, this work has been enriched by the addition of a new introduction by Thomas B. Hinton; a new foreword by Luis G. Verplancken, a missioner at Creel, Chihuahua; 375 new color photographs; and new maps.

In October, 1930, Bennett, primarily an anthropologist, and Zingg, an ethnologist, spent nine months in Chihuahua studying systematically the fundamental patterns of highland Tarahumara culture. Utilizing the small village of Samachique, located in the high sierras between the Rio Urique and the Rio Batopilas, as their focal area, the authors intensively investigated the region around their base for a radius of twenty kilometers.

The book is divided into three main parts. The first section, written by Zingg, is a detailed discussion of the natural environment, agriculture, animal raising, lumbering and woodworking activities, costumes and the ethnobotany and ethnozoology of the region. In the second section, Bennett examines the social and cultural aspects of Tarahumara life, including their economics, politics, kinship, marriage relationships, family structure and religious rites and beliefs. The third part summarizes Tarahumara culture as it exists today, emphasizing those elements which have disappeared from traditional Tarahumara culture since its contact with Spaniards and Mexicans, old traits which have persisted relatively unchanged and the snycretic elements of the Tarahumara culture.

Bennett and Zingg's work, with the pioneering effort of Carl Lumholz's *Unknown Mexico* (1902), comprises the most definitive examination of this still virtually unknown culture. Although more recent studies, notably Campbell Pennington's *The Tarahumara of Mexico, Their Environment and Material Culture*, have added measurably to our knowledge of the high sierra group, Bennett and Zingg's study still remains the standard work on the subject. While the book is not for the casual reader, this landmark in Mexican Indian studies should be of great interest to specialists.

Michael M. Smith
Oklahoma State University

THE CIVIL WAR IN THE INDIAN TERRITORY. By Donald L. and Larry C. Rampp. (Austin: Presidial Press, 1975. Pp. vii, 210. Illustrations. Notes. Bibliography. Index. $9.95.)

This is a brief history describing the Civil War activities that took place in the Indian Territory during the Civil War. The Rampps are prominent scholars who have done extensive research in relation to Indian Territory during the Civil War. They argue that the engagements which took place in the Indian Territory were important and that the Five Civilized Tribes, although they were divided in their decision to serve the North and South, were deeply involved in the Civil War.

In the first year of the war, there was an effort by the North and South to obtain the support of the Indians. Both sections felt that the Indians were important to their strategies of war. However, the Indians tried to remain neutral. For example, John Ross, chief of the Cherokees stated that the Cherokees did not want to interfere with the affairs between the rival governments. Nevertheless, the Indians soon realized that it was difficult to remain neutral. When the Union forces began to mobilize their units, the Indian Territory was left defenseless. Moreover, the Federal Government had failed in its duties concerning the welfare of the Indians. On October 7, 1861, the Cherokees signed a treaty of alliance with the Confederacy.

Following the Confederate-Cherokee treaty, Albert Pike, who later became brigadier general, received command of the Confederate Indian Territory. When Pike made an attempt to persuade the other Indians to join the Confederacy, he met opposition especially from the Creeks, who found it more beneficial to side with the Union. Though the Creeks sided with the Union, a small faction supported the South. There was also a split between the Cherokees and the Seminoles while the Choctaws and the Chickasaws gave almost all their support to the Confederacy. As the fighting ensued, the South enjoyed an advantage between the years 1861 and 1862. But be-

tween the years 1862 and 1863, the Union launched a counter attack that stopped the Confederate offense.

Early in 1861, Senator James H. Lane of Kansas asked President Abraham Lincoln for permission to invade Indian Territory. Lane's strategy was to isolate Indian Territory from Texas and to separate it from the other Confederate states. Likewise, he had intentions of liberating the slaves that were owned by the Indian tribes. Lincoln approved the plan solely as a political campaign. As the Union operations intensified in Indian Territory, the South lost in several engagements. In the midst of these defeats, many of the Indians deserted the Confederacy. In the last months of 1862, the Union carried on individual expeditions in an effort to accomplish their plan.

Meanwhile, the South had to resort to guerrilla warfare to halt the Union advance. These tactics were carried on by such men as William Clarke Quantrill, who defected to the Confederacy, and Stand Watie, the most able leader in Indian Territory. Although these tactics proved effective especially by the Indians, some of the Confederate leaders disapproved of these methods. Furthermore, the Indians were given little priority during the war by the Confederate leaders. They were not allowed to fight their kind of war, and they had problems of adjusting to the Confederate way of fighting. These and other problems proved fatal. Although the Confederacy was defeated, the Indians fought courageously, and they were the last to surrender. They could have been much more effective if they had been allowed to fight their own way and if the South had given them more attention.

The authors have used sound facts in support of their thesis. The book has ample documentation and is well organized. There is an excellent section containing a biographical sketch of several individuals who participated in the war. The book is invaluable in that it can be utilized by anyone who would like to obtain knowledge of the Indians and the role they played in the Civil War.

Buford Satcher
De Ridder, Louisiana

BEDROCK: IMAGES FROM THE WAYSIDE. Photographs by Del Smith. Odes by Michael Cauthron. Foreword by Carl Albert. Introduction by Bill Moyers. (Austin: Madrona Press, Inc., 1975. Pp. 128. $10.50.)

The pitfalls that can accompany a literary venture between a poet and photographer are numerous. A complementary alliance that proves successful must be a unique composite of diverse artistic abilities, with mutually discerning appreciation for their subject. The photography of Del Smith, in company with the poetry of Michael Cauthron, both native Oklahomans,

capture penetrating impressions of life in rural Oklahoma as only those who are acquainted with the rural experience can. Although of particular interest to those familiar with the southeastern region of the state; what emerges is a reflection of life analogous to most rural communities. The expressions, thoughts and reactions of everyday people in their native surroundings are transfixed, allowing the reader an opportunity to glimpse what is vital about America. An article by Bill Moyers, originally appearing in *Newsweek*, serves as an appropriate introduction to the book. Inspired by a recent trip with his father through this region of Oklahoma, Moyers recounts his family's indelible ties with the area.

Smith's pictorial essay is a collection of nearly sixty photographs; the absence of color reiterates what is primary and elemental about rural life. Smith is a man of considerable talent and brings his uncommon abilities to bear on both the animate and inanimate alike. A sense of photographic intrusion into the lives of the people does not exist in even what would seem the most intimate of circumstances. This brings the reader so disarmingly close to some of the subjects that occasionally it is good to remind oneself of the interposing presence of the photographer.

The corresponding odes by Cauthron are written in the vernacular of rural Oklahoma. His understanding of these people and their surroundings and his intuitive ability to glean a thought from behind an expression, or make more tangible our response to a still-life, enhances every photograph. Cauthron uses an informal verse form that proves to be highly adaptable to the varying poetic demands each picture makes on him. The poet does not shy away from any aspect of the rural experience, even if it's not complementary. A portrait that captures emptiness and strain on the face of an old man reminds us that life in a small town can be exceptionally cruel for some; so Cauthron's accompanying ode suggests that you know little about the agony of alienation unless you have seen the ". . . carcasses of gentle victims/after years of/picking and tearing/by wanton vultures/that nightly roost/in the better homes/of small towns." Yet, this in no way conveys the general temperament of the poetry, for upon occasion Cauthron will introduce us to a character whose sentiments may echo our own. "Ole Tad Grey's" advice to someone who wanted to become a plumber is, ". . . you don't haveta know but two thangs: You git paid ever' Fridee/and/that stuff don't run uphill."

Bedrock will give most readers a glimpse of our rural heritage. For some it will be an opportunity to get acquainted, for others, a chance to reminisce.

Michael S. Wilson
Wichita State University

ADVENTURES IN THE APACHE COUNTRY: A TOUR THROUGH ARIZONA AND SONORA, 1864. By J. Ross Browne. Edited by Donald M. Powell. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1974. Pp. xv, 297. Illustrations. Map. Index. Appendix. $4.25.)

Among America's wanderers in the nineteenth century, J. Ross Browne occupies a prominent place. His *Adventures in the Apache Country* (1869), which first appeared in *Harper's Monthly* in 1864–1865, represents a unique contribution to the descriptive literature of Arizona. The post of special revenue agent for the Federal government provided him with the opportunity to travel much of the Pacific Coast states and territories. But Browne, born in Ireland in 1821 and raised in Louisville, Kentucky, did not confine his travels to the Frontier. He visited and described, as well as illustrated, Scandanavia, the Holy Land and even Zanzibar.

Browne journeyed to Arizona and Sonora at the invitation of Charles D. Poston, a pioneer entrepreneur, in order to examine the progress of the Southwestern mining business. The author left his home in Oakland, California, on December 6, 1863 and returned early in the following year. His itinerary took him to Yuma, Tucson, Tubac, Calabasas and then into Mexico to Magdalena. On the return trip, Browne's party visited various mines: Santa Cruz, the Mowry (Patagonia), Santa Rita and others. But his status report on the Arizona mines is only one aspect of the book. He portrays a society, one that is fighting to survive against the predatory Apaches. Browne encountered industrious agricultural Indians, struggling Hispanos and frustrated American capitalists, all of whom wore a fatalistic countenance now that the army had withdrawn to engage in the Civil War. A host of fascinating characters dot the book: Chief Pascual of the Yumas, for whom Browne prescribes snuff for a cold; an exiled Sonoran official ("an ex-Governor is an outlaw in Sonora"); the unfortunate "fast woman," an errant American girl whom a male partner had stranded in Sonora and the unforgettable "Bull," the faithful watchdog and victim of a bullet from a skittish guard. Browne's party gave the dog a four gun salute.

While the author provides the reader with a glimpse into a forgotten society, he possessed a sarcastic and cynical attitude toward his subjects. He demeaned the Hispano laborers of Arizona and Sonora as treacherous, dishonest and lazy and blamed miscegenation for the conditions of the region. He bemoaned the absence of "a higher and more intelligent class" of American laborers, but he predicted a rejuvenated economy, once "the spirit of American enterprise" returned. These comments should not discourage the reader, since many of Browne's observations and illustrations are delightful. Donald M. Powell, head of the Special Collections Division of the University of Arizona Library, has added a useful introduction,

annotations and an index. The University of Arizona Press is to be applauded for the publication of an attractive and substantially bound paper edition of this classic volume.

Larry D. Ball
Arkansas State University

JUDGE LEGETT OF ABILENE: A TEXAS FRONTIER PROFILE. By Vernon Gladden Spence. (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 1977. Pp. xviii, 264. Photographs. Notes. Bibliography. Index. $11.75.)

As yet the state of Texas has no organization sponsoring the publication of a Trackmaker Series of biographies of prominent citizens, as is the case in Oklahoma. However, the Lone Star State is extremely fortunate to have several university and commercial publishers willing to publish biographical studies. Rapidly assuming a position of dominance in this area is the Texas A & M University Press, the publisher of this work.

Kirvin Kade Legett, Jr., was a descendant of a pioneer family which, in typical frontier fashion, moved westward by stages: from North Carolina to Tennessee, then to Arkansas, and finally in 1869 to Texas where it settled in what developed into the town of Denison. Eleven years old when he arrived there, Legett completed his formal education in the local public schools, after which he studied law in the office of an attorney in Cleburne. Without benefit of any school of higher education, Legett absorbed sufficient knowledge to pass the bar exam and secure a license as an attorney. Then, at age twenty-one, he followed the family tradition and moved west. He settled in Buffalo Gap in Taylor County and opened his law office. Shortly afterward he discovered that the Texas and Pacific Railroad, then building toward El Paso, would miss Buffalo Gap, whereupon he moved north in Taylor County to the borning town of Abilene. This would be his home for the rest of his life.

In Abilene Legett developed a reputation as an able lawyer, one capable of rousing public opinion to help him win cases. In addition to his growing law practice, he bought land and became both rancher and farmer. To those who would listen, he argued for farm diversification, encouraging everyone in local agriculture to own at least three milk cows, two hogs, and 200 chickens; this, he said, would free them from fluctuating cotton prices and the vagaries of West Texas' weather. Legett shunned public office, although he did accept appointment as a federal referee under the Bankruptcy Act of 1898. A referee had judicial duties and generally was called "judge."

Probably because he received so little formal education, Legett had an

extraordinary reverence for colleges. This led him to aid in the founding of Simmons College in Abilene (now Hardin-Simmons University), on whose board of trustees he served for a quarter of a century, and he labored on the Texas A & M board of regents for eight years, four of them as president of the board. To these educational institutions he gave more than money, for he was unselfish with his time and his ideas.

This biography is uncritical, but it does much to focus attention on the impact of one life on regional history. Thoroughly researched and engagingly written, Spence's book will be of intense interest to anyone concerned with the history of West Texas.

Odie B. Faulk
Oklahoma Heritage Association

☆ OKLAHOMA BOOKS

By Vicki Sullivan & Mac R. Harris

The compilers, Mac R. Harris and Vicki Sullivan, Historical Society Librarians, urge authors and publishers of Oklahoma related materials to send information about (or copies of) their books to be included in this section. Of particular interest are those books which do not ordinarily receive widespread publicity, such as family histories and genealogies, institutional and church histories and county and local histories. In lieu of a book, each citation should include the following information: author, title, name and location of publisher, pagination, and price.

BLUE SKIES AND PRAIRIE: Okeene Family Histories. By Okeene Historical Committee. (Oklahoma City: Barc Curtis and Associates, 1978. Pp. 272. No price given.)

THE AMERICAN INDIAN CRAFT BOOK. By Marz and Nono Minor. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1977. Pp. 416. $15.00.)

DANCE AROUND THE SUN. By Alice Marriott and Carol K. Rachlin. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1978. $12.95.)

GHOST TOWNS OF OKLAHOMA. By John W. Morris. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1977. Pp. x, 229. No price given.)

GUIDE TO AMERICAN INDIAN DOCUMENTS IN THE CONGRESSIONAL SERIAL SET: 1817–1899. By Steven L. Johnson. (New York: Clearwater Publishing Company, Inc., 1977. Pp. xviii, 503. $30.00.)

HISTORICAL HIGHLIGHTS OF MAYES COUNTY. By Mayes County Historical Society. (Privately published by author, P.O. Box 36, Pryor, Oklahoma 74361. No price given.)

THE LOST UNIVERSE: PAWNEE LIFE AND CULTURE. By Gene Weltfish. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1977. Pp. xx, 506. $16.95.)

OKLAHOMA'S HISTORICAL EDITION VOLUME II. Edited by Dessie M. Ritter. (Oklahoma City: Cecil E. Ritter, 1977. Pp. 120. $7.50. Available from Oklahoma Statehouse Reporter, P.O. Box 53182, State Capitol Station, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73105.)

PRAIRIES OF SONG. By Cecil Chesser. (Privately published by author. Pp. 77. $4.95. Available from Altus Printing Company, Altus, Oklahoma.)

SMOKE SIGNALS FROM INDIAN TERRITORY, VOLUME II. By Frances Imon. (Privately published by author. $7.85. Available from Palace Drug Store, Hugo, Oklahoma 74743.)

SUNSHINE AND SHADOWS. By Cecil Chesser. (Privately published by author. Pp. 85. $4.95. Available from Altus Printing Company, Altus, Oklahoma.)

TALES THEY TOLD. By O. B. Campbell. (Privately published by author. Available from Eastern Trails Historical Society, Box 437, Vinita, Oklahoma 74301.)

TALL TALES FROM SHORT GRASS. By Elmer Fraker. (Edmond, Oklahoma: Territorial Press. $4.95.)

THEIR STORY: A PIONEER DAYS ALBUM OF THE BLAINE COUNTY AREA. By Darrell Rice and Merle Rinehart. (Oklahoma City: Metro Press. $15.50—postpaid from the Heritage Book Committee, Box 1892, Geary, Oklahoma 73040.)

URBAN BUILDER; The life and times of Stanley Draper. By James M. Smallwood. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1977. Pp. xvii, 334. $7.75.)

☆ FOR THE RECORD

MINUTES OF THE QUARTERLY MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

January 26, 1978

President Pro Tempore W. D. Finney called to order the regular meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society at 1:30 p.m. in the Board Room of the Historical Building.

Executive Director Jack Wettengel called the roll. Those present were Mrs. George L. Bowman, Q. B. Boydstun, Dr. Odie B. Faulk, W. D. Finney, Dr. LeRoy H. Fischer, Bob Foresman, Col. C. Forest Himes, H. Milt Phillips, Earl Boyd Pierce, Jordan B. Reaves, Genevieve Seger and H. Merle Woods. Those asking to be excused were O. B. Campbell; Jack T. Conn; Joe E. Curtis; Harry L. Deupree, M.D.; Mrs. Mark R. Everett; E. Moses Frye; Nolen J. Fuqua; Denzil D. Garrison; Dr. A. M. Gibson; John E. Kirkpatrick; Mrs. Charles R. Nesbitt; and Britton D. Tabor. Miss Seger moved to excuse the absent members; Mrs. Bowman seconded and the motion passed without dissent.

Mr. Finney announced that notification was mailed January 9 to all members of the Society of the unusual situation of having four directors whose terms would expire in January 1978, but who were willing to serve another term, and one nominee to fill the vacancy left by the death of Dr. James Morrison in October, 1977, whose term also expired, thus resulting in no contest for the five seats. A valid petition for the nomination of Mrs. L. E. Hodge, Jr., Hammon, had been received by the Executive Director prior to January 1, 1978, as required by the constitution. Mr. Pierce moved and Mr. Woods seconded a motion that Mrs. Hodge fill the vacancy of Dr. Morrison. The approval vote was unanimous.

In accordance with Article IV, Section 3, of the constitution which states, "If no additional nominations are received, thus resulting in no contest, the Executive Director at the meeting of the Board of Directors where such ballots otherwise would be canvassed shall cast one vote and declare the five nominees elected." Executive Director Wettengel then cast one vote declaring the five nominees elected. Mr. Pierce moved that the action of the Executive Director be approved. Mr. Phillips seconded the motion, which carried unanimously.

Colonel Himes moved that as soon as a revised constitution is printed a copy be sent to all members of the Oklahoma Historical Society. Mrs. Bowman seconded and the motion carried unanimously. Dr. Faulk suggested that the constitution be printed or inserted in a future issue of *The Chroni-*

cles of Oklahoma. Colonel Himes requested that members joining the Society after such issue of *The Chronicles* is published be forwarded a copy of the constitution as a part of their membership.

The election of officers was held, with Mr. Pierce moving that Mr. Finney be nominated as President, seconded by Mr. Reaves. Motion passed unanimously. Mr. Boydstun moved, seconded by Mr. Reaves, that nominating cease and that Mr. Finney be legally voted President by acclamation. Those voting in favor were Bowman, Boydstun, Faulk, Fischer, Foresman, Himes, Phillips, Pierce, Reaves, Seger and Woods. Mr. Finney abstained.

Mr. Pierce and Mr. Phillips moved, seconded by Mr. Phillips, that Mr. Conn be nominated and elected by acclamation as First Vice President. All present voted in favor.

Mr. Reaves and Mr. Phillips moved, Miss Seger seconded, that Mr. Boydstun be nominated and elected by acclamation as Second Vice President. Those voting in favor were Bowman, Faulk, Finney, Fischer, Foresman, Himes, Phillips, Pierce, Reaves, Seger and Woods. Mr. Boydstun abstained.

Miss Seger and Mr. Pierce moved, seconded by Mr. Woods, that Mrs. Bowman be nominated and elected by acclamation as Treasurer. Those voting in favor were Boydstun, Faulk, Finney, Fischer, Foresman, Himes, Phillips, Pierce, Reaves, Seger and Woods. Mrs. Bowman abstained.

Mr. Phillips moved and Dr. Fischer seconded that Mr. Wettengel be appointed Secretary by acclamation. All voted in favor.

Mr. Wettengel reported that eighty-nine persons had made application for membership in the Society and three annual members had applied for life membership. These three were Linda L. Edmondson, Muskogee; Donna M. Goodell, Boston, Massachusetts; and Patricia W. Lockwood, Alexandria, Virginia. Miss Seger moved and Dr. Faulk seconded to accept the new members. The motion carried unanimously.

Treasurer Mrs. Bowman reviewed the cash receipts and disbursements of the Society's Cash Revolving Fund 200. Mr. Phillips moved and Dr. Fischer seconded a motion to accept the report of the Treasurer. The motion carried unanimously.

Mr. Wettengel presented the quarterly report for the Indian Archives Division. He said the Archivist of the United States was ready to sign an agreement by which the archives will be accessioned as part of the National Archives and remain in the Historical Building.

Dr. Faulk, chairman of the Publications Committee, reported that *Railroads in Oklahoma* had been well received; that the Winter 1977–1978 issue of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, would feature Old Central on the Oklahoma State University campus which is being renovated as a historic site.

He said that *The Ranch and Range in Oklahoma* would be the next issue in The Oklahoma Series, to be released in the Spring.

Money is on hand, according to Dr. Faulk, to match federal funds for a historic preservation newsletter scheduled for publication in the spring.

Dr. Faulk spoke of the reorganization of the Publications Division in which Dr. Kenny Franks' position would be changed from Editor to Director of Publications and that of Ms. Martha L. Mobley from Administrative Technician to Associate Editor. Dr. Faulk noted that the motion by Mr. Phillips, seconded by Dr. Deupree, and passed unanimously, to upgrade these positions had been omitted in the minutes of the October 27, 1977, meeting and requested that these minutes reflect the omission.

A request had been received by Dr. Franks from the University of Oklahoma Press for permission to reprint certain titles of The Oklahoma Series, according to Dr. Faulk. He said the Society should receive at least a fifty percent profit from sales of the reprints. Mr. Pierce moved that the Executive Director be authorized to confer with the Press regarding reprinting. The motion was seconded by Colonel Himes and all voted in favor.

Discussion followed concerning publication requests received by the Publications Committee from the Indian Archives Division and the Historic Preservation Division. Archives Director Martha Blaine asked to publish one book a year in the Series in Anthropology and Historic Preservation Director Howard L. Meredith had presented a request for the publication of a preservation newsletter entitled, *Outlook*, which will receive federal funds. Dr. Faulk advised that the American Association of State and Local History had presented to the Society a National Award of Merit for its Oklahoma Series. He also said that letters had been mailed to the seven members of the Board of Reference asking their assistance in judging the worth of articles submitted to the Publication Division.

Dr. Fischer moved, seconded by Dr. Faulk, to accept all gifts presented to the Museum Division during the past quarter. The motion carried unanimously. Dr. Fischer reported that the Museum staff members had been responsible for the supervisory work and much of the labor for the renovation that had taken place during the past two quarters in the Administrative, Finance, Publications and Archives sections of the Historical Building. However, the attention of the museum staff now will again be directed to the installation of nine additional exhibit topics in the East Gallery; development of an interpretive exhibit centered around the tipi in the South Gallery; and the preparation of exhibits concerning the Five Civilized Tribes and the Plains Indians in the West Gallery.

Mr. Boydstun reported on the meeting of the Honey Springs Battlefield

Park Commission held December 4, 1977. The commission members visited the park area and decided that studies should be made to determine the location of the mass grave site.

According to Mr. Boydstun, Mr. Earle Metcalf, Historic Sites Director, reported having had a favorable response from owners of 80 acres of land in the Honey Springs area for acquisition by the Society and that attempts were being made to procure another eighty acres. Mr. Boydstun said the commission recommended that the Oklahoma Historical Society employ an architect to design the Old Station House.

Mr. Foresman reported on the varied programs which the Education Division presented to schools and visitors to the Museum during the past quarter. Miss Seger made several suggestions for bringing the Oklahoma history concept to younger grade school students by means of Statehood Day celebrations, art classes, large murals, historical quilts, collections of items used by grandparents or great-grandparents, etc. The committee hoped to work toward a master plan, Mr. Foresman said, and noted that the state's seventy-fifth anniversary would be observed in four years and perhaps the entire Board would consider various projects which could be developed for the year 1982, rather than one committee.

Mr. Woods commented on the Education Division sponsored Oklahoma Folk Lore Society, which was to have an organizational meeting January 27, 1978. Attention was also called to Mr. Campbell's newly published book on folklore of the Cherokee Nation.

Mr. Finney expressed the hope of cooperation between the Society, the Oklahoma Education Association and educational groups around the state to bring about a greater awareness of the history of the state to young people.

Mr. Wettengel reported that over 3,000 persons had used the facilities of the Society's library during the quarter. Mr. Phillips moved, Mr. Woods seconded, and the members voted unanimously to accept the library's gift list.

Mr. Robert L. Damm, director of the Society's self-study program, *Project; AWARE*, was introduced to the Board by Mr. Wettengel. He presented each member with a copy of the objectives and procedures to be followed in the project.

Mr. Finney announced that a check for $300 had been received from the Oklahoma City Community Foundation as interest income from the Muriel H. Wright Endowment Fund; that a thank-you card had been received from Mrs. James Morrison; that *Mistletoe Leaves*, the Society's monthly newsletter, had received an award from the American Association of State and Local History; that a Certificate of Commendation would be pre-

sented at the annual meeting to Dave Price for his gift of $10,000 to the Museum of the Western Prairie; that Indian Archivist Blaine and her husband Garland J. Blaine had written an article entitled, "Pa-re-su A-ri-ra-ke: the Hunters that were Massacred," a Pawnee account of the last major battle in 1873 between Indian tribes, appearing in the Fall, 1977 issue of *Nebraska History*.

Mr. Finney referred to an article appearing in the November 27, 1977, issue of "Orbit Magazine," *The Daily Oklahoman*, regarding the work Mr. Reaves had done with the Society's Gatling gun. Mr. Reaves said that when the restoration is complete and ready for display a brochure on the gun will be available.

Mr. Finney reported that Mr. Phillips had been honored by the Central Oklahoma Chamber of Commerce for his work in forming the group ten years ago.

Mr. Finney read a letter of resignation from Mr. Phillips for health reasons, and noted that he had been a member of the Board since 1950. The remaining members of the Board moved, seconded, and approved unanimously to accept Mr. Phillips' resignation and to install him as a Board Member Emeritus for life.

President Finney declared a vacancy on the Board and said that the vacancy would be filled at the next meeting of the Board.

Meeting adjourned.

Jack Wettengel
Executive Director

W. D. Finney
President

GIFT LIST

The Oklahoma Historical Society wishes to acknowledge the following people who donated gifts during the fourth quarter of 1977.

MUSEUMS AND HISTORIC SITES:

Ms. Melvena K. Thurman
Mrs. David (Marjorie) Durbin
Mark L. Cantrell
Oklahoma Division, United Daughters of Confederacy
Mike O'Neill
Ms. Helen G. Cole
William E. Shaklee
Don Odom
Ms. Ann Walker
Mrs. Walter G. Scott
Miss Dorothy Hansen
James W. Jackson
Mrs. Joseph T. Simpson
Mrs. Wanda McCreight
George W. Hall

Cherokee Strip Art Company
Mrs. Sabra E. Ware
Robert L. Klemme
Miss Christy Kay Dart
Ms. Nina Beth Bentley
Mrs. Jack Holman, In Memory of
Mr. and Mrs. Sam B. Holman
Ms. Irene E. Mitchell
Dr. Edward Scott Meadows
Miss Helen Biggers
Paul Boies
Kenne L. Locke
The Honorable Victor E. Wickersham
R. B. Downing

LIBRARY AND PHOTOGRAPH SECTION:

Homer S. Anderson
Mrs. Guy Logsdon
Donald Stewart Thornton
Mrs. Earl Loland Nelson
Mrs. Clarence C. Walker
Alice Clark Haubrich
Francois D. Uzes
Robert S. Schleppi
Mrs. Vallie Jo Fox Whitfield
Edmon Low Library
Richard M. Troxel
Col. James S. Hollingsworth
Jack D. Baker
Clem J. Hill
Ms. Nancy Nisbett
Frederick J. Dockstader
John Womack
Anthony C. Odom
by sister, Ms. Vicki Odom
Dr. K. C. Emerson
In Memory of Florence Graves
by Louise Finley Wilcox
Lewis Bunker Rohrbaugh
New York State Library
Ralph L. Evans
J. Walters McCarty
Indiana State Library
Howard E. Richardson
Roy A. Foulke
Roy P. Stewart
Oklahoma State Board of Affairs
Central Purchasing Division of
State Board of Affairs
William B. Hayes
Mrs. Onvia T. Tillinghast

INDIAN ARCHIVES

Sybil C. Barker
Patty W. Eubanks
Dorothy DeWitte Wilkinson
John W. Kincaid
Pamela Holcomb Oestreicher
Jack D. Baker
David A. Rennie
Garland J. Blaine
Dallas Ervin
G. Alton Adair
Larry Watson
Dr. M. D. Thurman
Harold Moore
Amos Hopkins - Dukes
Sharron Ashton
Ann Peaslee
J. G. Good Tracks
C. Earle Metcalf
Alvin O'Dell Turner

NEW ANNUAL MEMBERS*

October 28, 1977 to January 26, 1978

Adkins, Mike	Moore
Anderson, Harriett	Oklahoma City
Barnes, Mrs. Vurlen	Seminole
Barns, Mary Otjen	Enid
Barton, Dorothy B.	Tuscaloosa, Alabama
Barton, Margie P.	Newcastle
Beals, Bert, Jr.	Oklahoma City
Biard, Jean Easton	Bartlesville
Bixler, Claude	Hydro
Botts, Stanley E.	Drummond
Box, David Allen	Muskogee
Box, Maggie Helton	Muskogee
Bozarth, Howard J.	Oklahoma City
Britton, Charles W.	Oklahoma City
Bronstad, David	Oklahoma City
Bulla, Merton M.	Oklahoma City
Carey, Donald M.	Tulsa
Clanahan, Joe	Oklahoma City
Combes, M. J.	Tulsa
Currie, Robert F.	Shawnee
Daniel, Teresa Tyler	Oklahoma City
Denman, Rowland	Edmond
Dougherty, Charles F.	Alexandria, Virginia
Earsom, R. Eugene	Yukon
Eckel, Robert	Edmond
Elsener, Mrs. Ruth	Tipton
Fentress, R. E.	Oklahoma City
Gambulos, Byron	Oklahoma City
Goodbary, E. R.	Cardin
Gough, Connell A.	Oklahoma City
Haley, Jack D.	Norman
Hardee, Paul	Milburn
Hawley, Mrs. Tom	Bethany
Heath, Ronald W.	Norman
Hensley, Danny R.	Muskogee
Holbird, John P.	Bethany
Howe, Elliott H.	Tulsa
Huff, J. Roger	Siloam Springs, Arkansas
Hughes, Robert E.	Woonsocket, Rhode Island
Jackson, Edward L., Jr.	Washington, D.C.
Johnson, H. K.	Sayre
Kelly, Lewis B.	Del City
Kinzer, Cal C.	Muskogee
Kreymborg, J. K.	Oklahoma City
Lafferty, Van H.	Oklahoma City
Lambeth, David Mike	Okemah
Larsen, Mrs. Joyce G.	Tulsa

Lewallen, Robert David	Council Bluffs, Iowa
Livermon, Bill	Oklahoma City
Malone, Roy	Ardmore
Marsh, Thomas G.	Tulsa
McCullough, J. Milton	Oklahoma City
Mehl, Clara	Huntsville, Arkansas
Murguia, Patricia A.	Dewey
Murphy, R. R. "Pat"	Oklahoma City
Mysinger, Mrs. Billie	Oklahoma City
Nance, Clyde	Kingston
Offutt, Bonnie	Drumright
Page, William S. Sr.	Tulsa
Peabody, Kathleen L.	Piedmont, California
Perot, Rebecca	Ardmore
Resler, Donald R., M.D.	Midwest City
Rhoten, Kenneth	Choctaw
Sammons, Skeet	Tahlequah
Shorbe, Mrs. Howard B.	Oklahoma City
Siebert, Mrs. T. R.	Checotah
Sloan, Mrs. Garvin	Oklahoma City
Smith, Cecil	Hinton
Southerland, W. B.	Lososos, California
Staggers, Farnum	Lamont
Stark, Chris	Oklahoma City
Stark, Wanda	Oklahoma City
Steele, Rodrick	Moore
Stratton, Sandra S.	Edmond
Strickland, J. W.	Shawnee
Traska, June	Oklahoma City
Trimble, Rex Wayne	El Reno
Trojan, David	Arlington, Virginia
Turbeville, Mrs. David	Oklahoma City
Vascellaro, Frank J., Sr.	Bethany
Vineyard, Della	Wyandotte
Walden, Judith Ann	Oklahoma City
Walters, George W.	Muskogee
Ward, Mrs. Stephen C.	Ripley
Warren, L. Kay	Tecumseh
Webber, Richard M.	Oklahoma City
Welsh, Mrs. Albert L.	Oklahoma City
Zachritz, Don T.	Oklahoma City
Zimmerman, Mrs. Edith Williams	Watonga

NEW LIFE MEMBERS*

October 28, 1977 to January 26, 1978

Edmondson, Linda Larason	Muskogee
Goodell, Donna M.	Boston, Massachusetts
Lockwood, Patricia Wynngate	Alexandria, Virginia

THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Oklahoma Historical Society was organized by a group of Oklahoma Territory newspaper men interested in the history of Oklahoma who assembled in Kingfisher, May 27, 1893.

The major objective of the Society involves the promotion of interest and research in Oklahoma history, the collection and preservation of the State's historical records, pictures, and relics. The Society also seeks the co-operation of all citizens of Oklahoma in gathering these materials.

The Chronicles of Oklahoma, published quarterly by the Society in spring, summer, autumn, and winter, is distributed free to its members. Each issue contains scholarly articles as well as those of popular interest, together with book reviews, historical notes, and bibliographies. Such contributions will be considered for publication by the Editor and the Publications Committee.

Membership in the Oklahoma Historical Society is open to everyone interested. The quarterly is designed for college and university professors, for those engaged in research in Oklahoma and Indian history, for high school history teachers, for others interested in the State's history and for librarians. The annual dues are $5.00 and include a subscription to *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*. Life membership is $100.00. Regular subscription to *The Chronicles* is $6.00 annually; single copies of the magazine $1.50 unless otherwise stipulated by the Historical Society office. All dues and correspondence relating thereto should be sent direct to the Executive Director, Oklahoma Historical Society Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

EDITORIAL POLICY—"The Chronicles of Oklahoma shall . . . pursue an editorial policy of publication of worthy and scholarly manuscripts dealing with all aspects of Oklahoma or regional history. It shall not interest itself in the publication of manuscripts of a political or controversial nature." (Constitution Oklahoma Historical Society) Manuscripts submitted for consideration for publication should be typed on bond paper and double spaced. Footnotes should conform to *A Manual of Style* (The University of Chicago Press, 1975), be double spaced and be placed at the end of the manuscript. Appropriate photographs should be supplied with submitted manuscripts and will be returned upon author's request. The Publication Department reserves the right to make any editorial changes it deems necessary for the sake of clarity and conformity to its adopted style. No responsibility is assumed for unsolicited manuscripts, and such material will be returned to the author only if accompanied by postpaid envelope. All inquiries should be addressed to: Publication Department, Oklahoma Historical Society, Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, 73105. Telephone 405–521–2491 extension 34.

CONSTITUTION OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

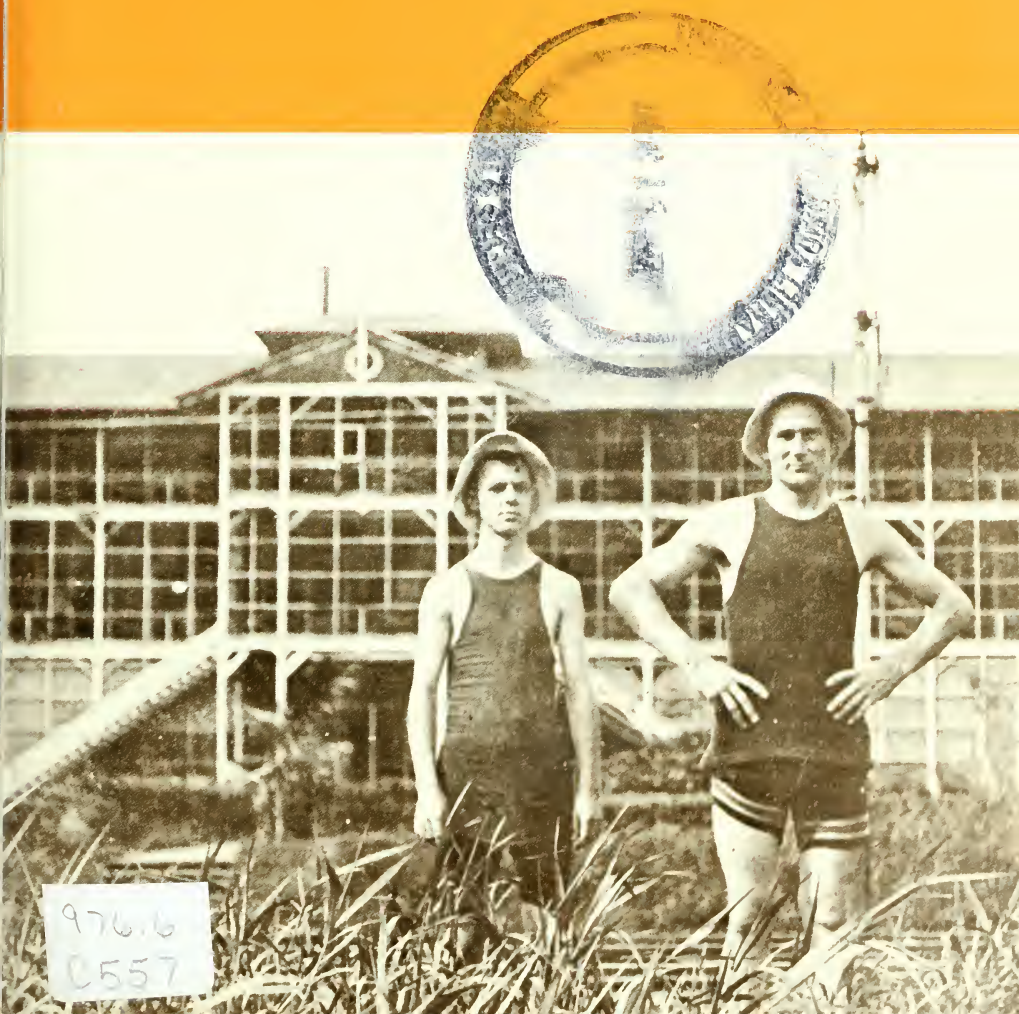
Article I, Section 2—The purposes for which the Oklahoma Historical Society is organized and conducted are to preserve and to perpetuate the history of Oklahoma and its people; to stimulate popular interest in historical study and research; and to promote and to disseminate historical knowledge. To further these ends and, as the trustee of the State of Oklahoma, it shall maintain a library and museum in which it shall collect, arrange, catalog, index and preserve books, pamphlets, newspapers, magazines, manuscripts, letters, diaries, journals, records, maps, charts, documents, photographs, engravings, etchings, pictures, portraits, busts, statuary and other objects of art and all other appropriate museum material with special regard to the history of Oklahoma. It shall perpetuate knowledge of the lives and deeds of the explorers and pioneers of this region; it shall collect and preserve the arts and crafts of the pioneering period, the legends, traditions, histories and cultural standards of the Indian tribes; it shall maintain a collection of the handiwork of the same, and an archaeological collection illustrating the life, customs and culture of the prehistoric peoples. It shall disseminate the knowledge thus gained by investigation and research through the medium of printed reports, bulletins, lectures, exhibits or other suitable means or methods. It shall discharge all other duties and responsibilities placed upon it by the Legislature of the State of Oklahoma.

VOLUME LVI NUMBER 3 FALL 1978

the chronicles

UBLISHED QUARTERLY BY THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

OF OKLAHOMA



976.6
C557

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

Published quarterly by the Oklahoma Historical Society
Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73105

OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY OFFICERS

W. D. Finney, President
Jack T. Conn, 1st Vice President
Q. B. Boydston, 2nd Vice President
Mrs. George L. Bowman, Treasurer
Jack Wettengel, Executive Director
Historical Building, Oklahoma City

OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY DIRECTORS

Term Expiring in January, 1979

O. B. Campbell, Vinita
E. Moses Frye, Stillwater
Denzil Garrison, Bartlesville
Nolen Fuqua, Duncan
Jack T. Conn, Oklahoma City

Term Expiring in January, 1980

LeRoy H. Fischer, Stillwater
Bob Foresman, Tulsa
Miss Genevieve Seger, Geary
Mrs. Charles R. Nesbitt, Oklahoma City
Britton D. Tabor, Checotah

Term Expiring in January, 1981

Mrs. Mark R. Everett, Oklahoma City
H. Merle Woods, El Reno
Odie B. Faulk, Stillwater
A. M. Gibson, Norman

Term Expiring in January, 1982

Joe W. Curtis, Pauls Valley
Mrs. George L. Bowman, Kingfisher
Harry L. Deupree, Oklahoma City
C. Forest Himes, Del City
Earl Boyd Pierce, Muskogee

Term Expiring in January, 1983

W. D. Finney, Fort Cobb
Jordan Reaves, Oklahoma City
Mrs. L. E. Hodge, Jr., Hammon
John E. Kirkpatrick, Oklahoma City
Q. B. Boydstun, Fort Gibson

Correspondence concerning contributions, books for reveiw, and all editorial matters should be sent to Editor, Oklahoma Historical Society, Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73105.

The Chronicles of Oklahoma is published quarterly in spring, summer, fall, and winter by the Oklaho Historical Society with its editorial office in the Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73105.

Annual membership in the Oklahoma Historical Society is $5.00 and each member receives *The Chronicles Oklahoma* free. The subscription rate for institutions and libraries is $6.00 a year. Single numbers of *Chronicles* are available for most years and the price will be supplied on request. In addition business memb ships are available at $25.00 per year; corporate memberships with annual dues of $100.00; and life memb ships priced at $100.00. Subscriptions, change of address, membership applications, orders for current issue *The Chronicles*, and non-current back issues should be sent to the Executive Director of the Oklahoma Histor Society.

Responsibility for statement of facts or opinions made by contributors in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* is assumed by the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Second-class postage paid at Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. Copyright 1978 by the Oklahoma Historical Soci

Publication Permit Number 110080.

the
chronicles
OF OKLAHOMA

VOLUME LVI *Fall, 1978* NUMBER 3

PUBLICATION COMMITTEE

DR. ODIE FAULK, *Chairman*

DR. LEROY H. FISCHER DR. A. M. GIBSON

DENZIL GARRISON

Associate Editor: MARTHA L. MOBLEY

CONTENTS

The Board of Indian Commissioners and the Delegates of the Five Tribes 247
By Francis Paul Prucha

Life and Labor on the Panama Canal: An Oklahoman's Personal Account 265
By William D. Pennington

Creek Nativism Since 1865 282
By Mark K. Megehee

Black Slavery in the Creek Nation 298
By Janet Halliburton

The Tuttle Trail 315
By Berenice Lloyd Jackson and Max Blau

The Botanical Itineraries of A. H. Van Vleet 322
By George J. Goodman and Cheryl A. Lawson

Cherokee Acculturation and Changing Land Use Practices 331
By Douglas C. Wilms

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS 344

Captain Frederick W. Benteen and the Kiowas
By Charles A. Bentley

BOOK REVIEWS 348

Seymour V. Connor and Jimmy M. Skaggs, *Broadcloth and Britches: The Santa Fe Trade*, by Donald E. Green

Thomas R. Wessel, ed., *Agriculture in the Great Plains, 1876–1936*, by J. P. Bischoff

Charles Cheek, *Honey Springs, Indian Territory: Search for a Confederate Powder House, An Ethnohistorical and Archaeological Report*, by Raymond A. Scott

Mari Sandoz, *The Beaver Men*, by Jack Lax

Joe Williams, *Bartlesville: Remembrances of Times Past, Reflections of Today*, by Odie B. Faulk
Garin Burbank, *When Farmers Voted Red: The Gospel of Socialism in the Oklahoma Countryside, 1910–1924*, by George O. Carney
William W. Savage, Jr., ed., *Indian Life: Transforming an American Myth*, by Davis D. Joyce
W. Eugene Hollon, *Frontier Violence: Another Look*, by Frank Parman
Donald E. Green, ed., *Rural Oklahoma*, by Robin Higham
Francis Haines, *The Nez Percés: Tribesmen of the Columbia Plateau*, by Robert E. Smith
Daniel F. Littlefield, Jr., *Africans and Seminoles: From Removal to Emancipation*, by Nudie E. Williams
Joseph A. Stout, ed., *Convention Articles of Will Rogers*, by Ed Cadenhead
Mathew Paul Bonnifield, *Oklahoma Innovator: The Life of Virgil Browne*, James Smallwood

OKLAHOMA BOOKS 365
by Vicki Sullivan and Mac Harris

FOR THE RECORD 367
Minutes
Gift List
New Members

THE COVER David Theodore Sherrard, an Oklahoman and one of 6,000 American workers in the Panama Canal Zone, is shown with a friend in front of bachelor's quarters in Gatun.

THE BOARD OF INDIAN COMMISSIONERS AND THE DELEGATES OF THE FIVE TRIBES

*By Francis Paul Prucha**

The goal of the United States government after the Civil War was to establish in the Indian Territory a new political arrangement, looking toward a confederation of the Indian nations into a single territorial government that would eventually become a state of the Union. The plan was explicitly proposed to the representatives of the tribes who met with United States commissioners at Fort Smith in September, 1865, to reestablish the old relationships that had been severed by the Indians' adherence to the Confederacy. In addition to giving up western lands and emancipating their slaves, the Five Civilized Tribes were asked to agree to the formation of "one consolidated government."[1] Although the Indian representatives rejected this proposal at Fort Smith, the treaties signed with the Seminoles, Choctaws and Chickasaws, Creeks and Cherokees the next year all made elaborate provision for a general legislative council composed of representatives from the Indian nations in the Indian Territory.[2]

These provisions fell short of a full territorial organization, but they indicated the direction in which the federal government intended to move. These intentions were explicitly set forth in the statements of Ely S. Parker, one of the United States commissioners at Fort Smith, who was appointed commissioner of Indian affairs by President Ulysses S. Grant in 1869. Parker urged that action be taken to organize the general council spoken of in the treaties. "The accomplishment of this much-desired object," he said, "will give the Indians a feeling of security in the permanent possession of their homes, and tend greatly to advance them in all the respects that constitute the character of an enlightened and civilized people. The next progressive step would be a territorial form of government, followed by their admission into the Union as a State."[3] Bills to organize the Indian

* The author is currently a member of the History faculty of Marquette University in Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

[1] There are accounts of the Fort Smith conference in Roy Gittinger, *The Formation of the State of Oklahoma, 1803–1906* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1939), pp. 71–78, and Annie Heloise Abel, *The American Indian under Reconstruction* (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1925), pp. 173–218. The report of Dennis N. Cooley, president of the treaty commission, is printed in *House Executive Document No. 1*, 39th Congress, 1st session, serial 1248, pp. 482–83.

[2] Charles J. Kappler, *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, 2 vols. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904), Vol. II, pp. 913–914, 921–922, 935–936 and 945–946.

[3] "Report of the Commission of Indian Affairs, 1869," United States House of Representatives, 41st Congress, 2d session, *Document 1* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1870), pp. 450–451.

Territory as a regular territory of the United States were repeatedly introduced in Congress.[4]

The Indians, it is true, made feints in the direction of the general council indicated in the treaties of 1866. They met at Okmulgee in 1867 and in 1870 drew up a constitution, which provided for some confederated action. It seemed to the federal administration that this document signaled implementation of the government's policy, and President Grant sent it to the United States Congress with the remark: "This is the first indication of the aboriginees desiring to adopt our form of government, and it is highly desirable that they become self-sustaining, self-relying, Christianized, and civilized. If successful in this their first attempt at territorial government, we may hope for a gradual concentration of other Indians in the new Territory."[5] Grant, however, wanted some changes that would give the federal government more control over the territory, and the Indians themselves ultimately did not support the consolidation. The Okmulgee Council continued to meet, but it accomplished little, and the United States government continued its drive to provide a territorial government for the Indian Territory by congressional action.[6]

The autonomy of the Five Tribes was severely threatened by these moves, and the Indians fought valiantly and for some decades effectively against them. As an important means to this end, the Cherokees, Creeks, Chickasaws, Choctaws and Seminoles, following a long-established custom, appointed important men as "delegates" to lobby in Washington for tribal interests. These men, astute and knowledgeable in the white man's world, made a significant impression on Washington officialdom. They missed no opportunity to present their position and argued it well on legal and moral grounds. They drew up and circulated memorials directed against specific territorial bills in Congress, appeared at committee hearings and sought aid from Indian reform organizations.[7]

---

[4] A list of the principal bills introduced between 1865 and 1879 to organize the Indian Territory or otherwise to extend federal jurisdiction over the area appears in Gittinger, *Formation of the State of Oklahoma*, pp. 221–223.

[5] Letter of Grant, January 30, 1871, United States Senate, 41st Congress, 3d session, *Document 26* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1871), p. 1.

[6] For a discussion of the Okmulgee Constitution and its failure, see Allen G. Applen, "An Attempted Indian State Government: The Okmulgee Constitution in Indian Territory, 1870–1876," *Kansas Quarterly* Vol. III, No. 3 (Fall 1971), pp. 89–99.

[7] The work of the delegates can be traced in the archives of the Five Civilized Tribes in the Oklahoma Historical Society and in the delegates' numerous printed memorials and statements, a great many of which are listed in Lester Hargrett, comp., *The Gilcrease-Hargrett Catalogue of Imprints* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1972). An informative study of the Cherokee delegates is Thomas M. Holm, "The Cherokee Delegates and the Opposition to the Allotment of Indian Lands," Master of Arts Thesis, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma, 1974.

The delegates were encouraged at the beginning of Grant's administration by the inauguration of the new president's "peace policy"—an earnest attempt to bring integrity to the Indian service and, by removing fraud and corruption, to promote peaceful relations with the Indian tribes of the plains and mountains. One element of this new policy was the Board of Indian Commissioners, a semi-official body of humanitarian and philanthropic men, created by Congress in April, 1869, to serve without pay in supervising the expenditure of Indian appropriations and in general to share in the administration of Indian affairs. The men who made up the first Board of Indian Commissioners were wealthy businessmen, most of whom had served with the Christian Commission during the Civil War, and who were motivated, indeed driven, by a sincere Christian philanthropic zeal. Chaired by Felix R. Brunot, who wrote their public reports, the Board vigorously condemned past injustices and promoted a program that it believed would lead to the civilization and Christianization of the Indians and their ultimate absorption into the body politic of the nation.[8]

It was to be expected that the delegates from the Five Tribes, ever alert to sources of aid for their cause, would not ignore the Board of Indian Commissioners. In fact, as early as January 17, 1870, Cherokee and Choctaw delegates appeared before a meeting of the board. The Cherokee spokesman, William P. Adair, indicated their happiness in meeting the board and their desire to invoke its aid in securing justice from the government. He discussed "with marked ability" pending treaties, proposed congressional actions, and the matter of territorial legislation. He was followed by Peter Pitchlynn, a Choctaw delegate, who asked for support for schools in his nation. Schools, he argued, "were the basis of civilization, and the gospel followed the path of the schools." The Indians were not an abandoned race, he insisted, for there were too many Christians among them to admit such an idea.[9]

More important to the delegates, however, than the formal business meetings of the board were the conferences it sponsored each winter in Washington. One function of the board was to act as liaison between the government and the missionary boards of the various churches who, at Grant's request, had agreed to provide agents and other personnel to manage the

---

[8] The composition and work of the board is described in Francis Paul Prucha, *American Indian Policy in Crisis: Christian Reformers and the Indian, 1865–1900* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976), pp. 30–46.

[9] Minutes of the Board of Indian Commissioners, January 17, 1870, typed transcript in Newberry Library, Chicago, pp. 23–24. The original minutes are in Records of the Board of Indian Commissioners, Record Group 75, National Archives, Washington, D.C. A full discussion of Pitchlynn's activities as delegate is found in W. David Baird, *Peter Pitchlynn: Chief of the Choctaws* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1972).

One of the many delegations of the Five Civilized Tribes sent to Washington, D.C. to lobby for tribal interest after the Civil War. In this instance it is a Cherokee delegation consisting of (left to right) Elias C. Boudinot, Saladin Watie, John Rollin Ridge, Richard Fields and William P. Adair

Indian reservations. In order to promote this cooperation and to provide a forum for discussion on Indian affairs, the board held a meeting each January, to which it invited the secretaries of the mission boards to report on their work, and at which also the commissioner of Indian Affairs and other government officials appeared. These annual meetings offered an important platform for the delegates of the Five Tribes.[10]

The Indians were right on hand for the first conference in January, 1872,

[10] The reports of the conferences, with the exception of the second one, are printed in the annual reports of the Board of Indian Commissioners. The report of the second conference was published separately as *Journal of the Second Annual Conference of the Board of Indian Commissioners with the Representatives of the Religious Societies Cooperating with the Government, and Reports of Their Work among the Indians* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1873). These missionary conferences, held in January, were included in the annual report for the previous year; thus the January, 1872, meeting was reported in the annual report for 1871.

and addressed the assembled philanthropists and missionary leaders. William P. Ross, a Cherokee delegate, presented a brief history of the Cherokees, emphasizing their progress in education and in Christianization. Then he spoke about the attempts of designing whites and their railroad interests to open the Indian Territory and spoke against the changes made by Congress in the Okmulgee Constitution, which entirely changed its character, he said, and made it "simply a territorial government of the United States." He also pointed to the good work being done by the Five Tribes to promote peace and civilization among the "wild brethren of the plains." Ross was followed by Samuel Checote, principal chief of the Creek Nation, speaking through an interpreter, who told of the progress of the Creeks in civilization and Christianity and who condemned the attempts in Congress to organize a territorial government for his country. Such an action, he said, would let in a large class of bad white men with whom the Creeks could not cope, and a territorial government would be considered "as a great judgment sent to afflict his people." But he expressed his confidence in the religious men present. Finally, the meeting heard Peter Pitchlynn, who touched the hearts of his audience by a recital of the good work of missionaries among the Choctaws, with special emphasis on work for temperance. "It is the politicians who ruin us," he said. "I shall always remember with gratitude the 'American Board' and the 'Presbyterian Board'; they saved me."[11]

The Indian delegates were well received, in large part no doubt because most of them had been trained by missionaries of the churches represented at the conference. They spoke in favor of schools and other civilizing and Christianizing forces in terms that were understood and applauded by the assembled missionaries and public officials. At any rate, their plea was heard in 1872 by the Board of Indian Commissioners. In its official report to the president of the United States in November, 1872, the board declared: "The convictions of the Board that it is the imperative duty of the Government to adhere to its treaty stipulations with the civilized tribes of the Indian Territory, and to protect them against the attempts being made upon their country for the settlement of the whites, have undergone no change." The board denied that "a barbarous, aboriginal race may shut out from the occupancy of civilization vast regions of country over which they may roam simply because they were first on the soil," but it argued that this principle did not apply to Indian reservations in general and especially not to the Indian Territory, where the lands were not held by aboriginal title but by a firm title conveyed by the United States by treaty. "If national honor

---

[11] *Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners, 1871*, pp. 170–72.

requires the observance of national obligations entered into with the strong, how much more with the weak," the board declared.

> To repudiate, either directly or by any indirection, our solemn treaty obligations with this feeble people, would be dishonor, meriting the scorn of the civilized world. The passage of any law for the organization of a territorial government not acceptable to the civilized tribes, (which have long since ably demonstrated their capacity for self-government,) and which would indirectly open their country for the ingress of the whites, would, in the opinion of the Board, be such an infraction of our obligations.

The board went out of its way to counter the arguments of proponents of territorial organization that the Indians in the Indian Territory were "a horde of savage nomads standing in the way of civilization" by supplying detailed statistics comparing the Indian Territory, most favorably, with other United States territories in population, schools, crop production and the like.[12]

The Indian delegates knew that they could not relax their vigilance, and they continued to attend the January meetings of the board in Washington. In 1873, when the secretary of the American Baptist Home Missionary Association suggested that the Indians in the Indian Territory had more land than they needed and that the territory should be opened to whites, William P. Ross immediately arose to counter those views with a well-reasoned and effective speech. Ross emphasized the rights of the Cherokees to the land in fee simple and argued that there could be no justification for limiting the amount of land any individual Indian could hold. And he noted again that the nations had been guaranteed the right of self-government when they were induced to move west in the 1830s.[13]

As the agitation in Congress for territorial organization increased, the Indian delegates became more outspoken. At the 1874 conference, Ross and Adair of the Cherokees and Pleasant Porter of the Creeks made explicit pleas for the support of the board. They reiterated their descriptions of the civilized status of their people and insisted that they wanted to be left alone to develop along their own lines, according to the treaty stipulations for self-government under which they had left their homes east of the Mississippi. The extension of territorial government over the Indian Territory, Porter declared, was the most dangerous experiment that could be conceived. "You may think the Indians love their country," he said, "which they do; but they love self-government. Love to control themselves according to their own notions is far greater than anything else. They will give up their homes. They have done so since the first time the white man

[12] *Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners, 1872*, pp. 11–13.

[13] *Journal of the Second Annual Conference*, pp. 57–60.

Samuel Checote, the Principal Chief of the Creek Nation, who condemned the efforts of the United States Congress to organize a territorial government in Indian Territory

met the Indians—have gone westward, westward. Why? To govern themselves. That is the first idea of an Indian."[14]

Adair was even more forceful and plain-spoken, as he rose to support Porter's remarks:

> . . . the great question with us Indians is—as it is with everybody else under similar circumstances—that of existence; the question of our salvation. I feel a great deal like my friend Colonel Porter. These other questions are good to talk about; they are essential; but the great question with us is, whether we shall be permitted to exist, or whether we shall be rubbed from the face of existence. This question is now involved here, is pending before this Congress, and we would like to have the help of this commission.

He thanked the members for past help, for reporting in the previous year against territorial measures and for their praise of Indian education and improvement. The Indians' situation had improved still more, he noted, and he wanted the board again to support their position.[15]

Adair praised the peace policy and its success. "It is based upon philanthropic ideas," he said, "upon ideas of justice. I know it has been assailed, but its assailants have been those opposed to the principles which lie at the foundation of the policy. A great many would like to see the policy abandoned, because they would like to see the Indians destroyed." After reciting

---

[14] *Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners, 1873*, pp. 211–212.
[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 213–214.

the facts of their removal from the East and the guarantees given of protection of their rights, he indicated clearly what territorial organization would mean. "You all know, gentlemen, that the very moment that country is made a Territory of the United States instead of being, as now, a confederation of Indian tribes, at that very moment Congress will turn its inhabitants into citizens of the United States. That would be the logical result. I do not see how it could be any other way." Because the Constitution declared that citizens of any state or territory had equal rights in all, he argued, as a regular territory the Indian Territory would necessarily be open to all. He ridiculed the provisions inserted into some of the bills in Congress which purported to protect the Indians' rights. "It is a bait, a deception, a myth," he said; "it means nothing in view of the Constitution."[16]

The Indian delegates won again in this assembly. The conference voted to reaffirm its former action in support of the "sacredness of the rights of the Indians to the territory they enjoy." The formal report of the Board of Indian Commissioners, dated January 20, 1874, strongly reconfirmed the position taken a year earlier.[17]

It was the delegates' last victory with the Board of Indian Commissioners, for the year 1874 brought a striking change in the composition of the board and with it a reversal of the board's official position on the question of territorial government for the Indian Territory. The first members of the Board of Indian Commissioners had begun their work with great enthusiasm and an optimism that looked for a rapid and successful elimination of fraud and corruption. They expected to have—and to a large extent at first did have—a strong voice in the spending of money for the purchase of Indian goods and the supplying of the agencies and in the general management of Indian affairs. But their goodness and their Christian outlook proved in the long run to be no match for unscrupulous politicians and spoilsmen in the Indian service. Little by little their recommendations and prescriptions were ignored; until in 1874, they gave up in disgust and resigned en masse. The board was not destroyed, for new members, with Clinton B. Fisk as chairman, were appointed to fill the posts vacated, but the new board seemed to lack the purpose and the strength of the old. Although ostensibly the replacements were similar men of Christian motivation and philanthropic spirit, they lacked the willingness or the ability to stand up to the currents of Indian policy that dominated much of the executive branch and the Congress. The new board was a more pliant

---

[16] *Ibid.*, pp. 214–215.
[17] *Ibid.*, pp. 4–5, 215.

group, considerably less heedful of the views of the Indian delegates from the Five Tribes, and willing to accept the arguments of the commissioner of Indian Affairs and the secretary of the interior that the Indian Territory was badly governed by the Indians.

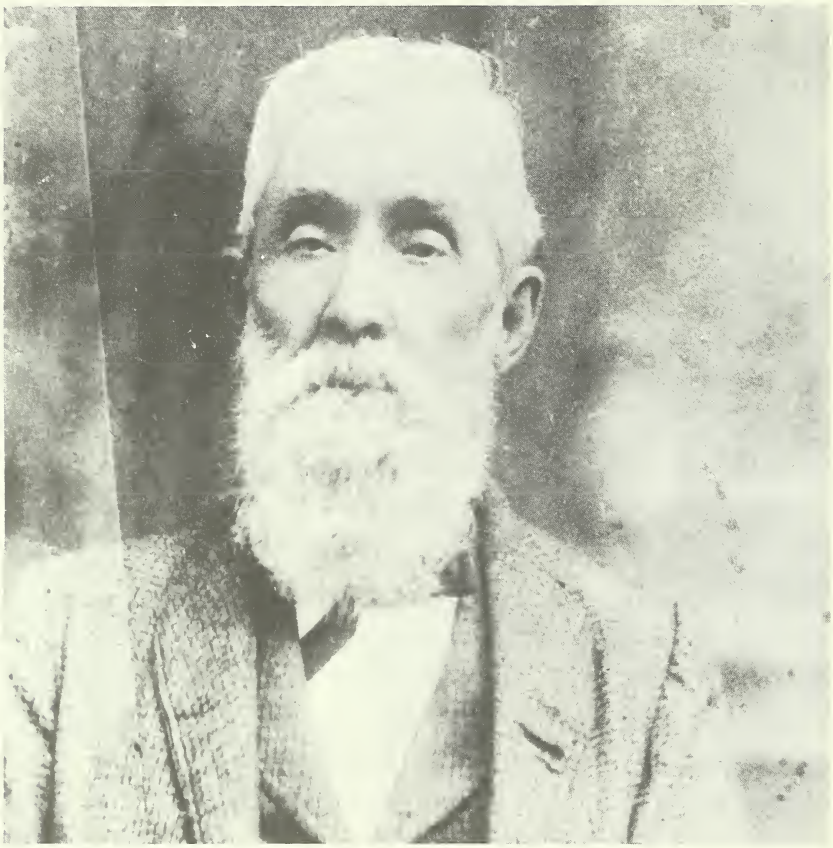
At its meeting in November, 1874, the board appointed a committee of its members to travel to the Indian Territory, in order to confer with the leaders of the Five Tribes and to investigate firsthand the conditions in the territory about which the advocates of territorial government and their Indian opponents were so much at odds. Assembling at St. Louis, Missouri, on December 9, 1874, the committee, led by Fisk, journeyed as a body to Muskogee, Indian Territory, to confer with the delegates from the Indian nations "touching the condition of the Territory, and such legislation in behalf thereof as might be deemed necessary to give better security to persons and property therein."[18] The committee members did not go as neutral observers, however, for they had already endorsed the views of the commissioner of Indian affairs and the secretary of the interior in their recent annual reports, which stressed the state of lawlessness in the Indian Territory. "The efforts of the Indians to organize a government which will enforce law and give security to persons and property," Secretary Delano had declared, "have thus far totally failed, and the lawlessness and violence that prevail in that Territory call for immediate legislation." He recommended a territorial government or if that was impossible, federal courts within the territory. It was a view, the committee noted, endorsed by President Grant in his annual message of December 7, 1874.[19]

After discussion and deliberation, the Indian delegations of the Cherokees, Creeks, Chickasaws and Seminoles who were present issued a joint response to the committee. They expressed their thanks and appreciation to the members of the Board of Indian Commissioners and to President Grant "for his benign Indian policy, and their admiration for his views on the Indian question, and their gratitude for his steady adherence to the same." But with these polite conventions out of the way, they flatly rejected the recommendations that had been presented to them. They reaffirmed "their adherence to the stipulations of their treaties with the United States," and asked that they "be fully carried out in good faith." They declared their unwillingness "to take the initiative or to participate in any movement that may lead to a change in their national condition or of their relations

---

[18] *Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners, 1874*, p. 97.

[19] Secretary Delano's report is in United States House of Representatives, 43d Congress, 2d session, *Document 1*, pp. xiv–xv; Grant's endorsement is in United States House of Representatives, 43d Congress, 2d session, *Document 1* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1875), p. xviii.



William P. Ross, a Cherokee, reminded the secretary of the American Baptist Home Missionary Association that the Indians had been guaranteed the right of self-government when they moved to the West in the 1830s

with the United States." Then they listed a series of grievances for which they sought redress "without endangering any rights now guaranteed to them, either in soil or self-government." Among the grievances were delays in paying moneys due to tribes, contingent grants of lands in the Indian Territory made to railroads by Congress, failure of the government to protect the Indians from intrusion and trespass on their lands, and the "injury done the people of this Territory by the constant agitation of measures in Congress, including bills to organize the Indian country into a Territory of the United States, which threaten the infraction of rights guaranteed to them, and which thus keep them unsettled as to their future, and which

entail upon them large and ruinous expense in the defense of their interests."[20]

This was an uncompromising stand, reaffirming the position taken by the official delegates of the tribes from the beginning of the agitation for territorial organization, but it was seriously weakened in the eyes of Fisk and his committee by the presentation at the conference of a minority report by a group of Cherokees, led by Elias Cornelius Boudinot. Boudinot, member of a distinguished Cherokee family, had opted for the territorial organization of the Indian Territory, for opening surplus lands there to whites, for United States citizenship for the Indians and in general for the incorporation of the territory and its inhabitants into the United States. He took it upon himself to publicly counter the arguments proposed by the official representatives of the nations. In a forceful statement Boudinot supported land in severalty, a territorial government, establishment of United States courts in the Indian Territory and a delegate from the territory in Congress. And he said, "We are so well satisfied that a majority of our people would indorse the propositions herein made, that we challenge those who oppose our views to consent that they shall be submitted to a fair vote of the people, under the authority and direction of the United States Government."[21]

The committee of the Board of Indian Commissioners came down firmly on the side of Boudinot. They recommended legislation that would provide a territorial government with an executive appointed by the President and a legislature elected by the people, establishment of United States courts in the territory and a delegate in Congress. Such action by Congress, they asserted "would receive the hearty indorsement of a great majority of the inhabitants of the Territory, and the applause of their constituency, who desire that these remnants of a once powerful people shall be accorded all the protection and benefits of a Christian civilization." The full board accepted the report of the committee and made the three-fold recommendation its own. It added the words "not inconsistent with existing treaties" to their proposal for a territorial government.[22]

The question of existing treaty obligations, of course, was the crux of the matter. The Indian delegates stressed the guarantees of self-government and exclusion from any state or territory, as well as the fee simple patent to the land provided by the removal treaties of the 1830s. The territorial advocates emphasized the protection that the federal government had promised and

[20] *Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners, 1874*, pp. 97–98.

[21] *Ibid.*, pp. 98–99. Boudinot thus continued a sharp division within the Cherokee Nation between Ross and Ridge-Watie-Boudinot factions, which had their origin in removal from Georgia and were renewed and exacerbated during the Civil War.

[22] *Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners, 1874*, pp. 13, 100.

the indication of a move toward territorial organization in the treaties of 1866. But it is hard to see how the recommendation of the Board of Indian Commissioners for establishment of a territorial government consistent with existing treaty rights was anything but internally inconsistent.

The Chickasaw and Creek delegates responded quickly to the Board's report with memorials to Congress refuting the assertion that a majority of the inhabitants of the Indian Territory were in favor of the advocated changes.[23] And delegates continued to attend the conferences of the board to fight for support of their rights. At the meeting of January 13–14, 1875, Cherokee, Creek and Choctaw spokesmen renewed their opposition to territorial government, but Boudinot was also on hand to speak in favor of the move.[24] The board relented a little in the stand it had taken in its official report, for it instructed its acting chairman to write to the House Committee on Indian Affairs, "explaining the intention of the Board in the views expressed in their annual report relative to the Indian Territory, as opposed to the establishment of any government for said territory which does not fully protect the Indians against the introduction of white persons and alienation of the lands; also expressing the wish of the Board that legislation for the establishment of courts be not endangered by connection with any other measure."[25]

The Board of Indian Commissioners had been well briefed by both sides, and in its 1875 report it included an admirable summary of the two positions. "In this radical conflict of views among the civilized Indians," it noted, "the path of duty may not seem entirely plain; but looking to the greatest good of the greatest number, this board would recommend the establishment of a territorial government *not inconsistent with existing treaties*, and that the lands be surveyed and allotted in severalty . . . , provided, however, that Congress repeal all railroad grants of land within said Territory, and forever annul such rights." In the following year it restated this recommendation in substantially the same terms.[26]

The question of territorial government faded somewhat in the face of the growing interest of the Board of Indian Commissioners and other reformers in the allotment of land in severalty to the Indians as a civilizing

---

[23] "Chickasaw Memorial," January 15, 1875, in United States Senate, 43rd Congress, 2d session, *Document 34* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1875); "Creek Memorial," January 26, 1875, United States Senate, 43d Congress, 2d session, *Document 71* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1875).

[24] "Minutes of the Board of Indian Commissioners," January 13–14, 1875, typed transcript, pp. 103–105; *Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners, 1874*, p. 122.

[25] Minutes of the Board of Indian Commissioners," January 15, 1875, typed transcript, p. 108.

[26] *Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners, 1875*, p. 14 (italics in original); "Minutes of the Board of Indian Commissioners," January 20, 1876, typed transcript, p. 128.

Pleasant Porter, Principal Chief of the Creeks, who in the 1880s declared that "Whether or not the Indian is to be preserved, depends upon what you do with his land."

panacea.[27] Although there had been severalty provisions in particular laws and treaties for many years, the year 1879 marked the beginning of a drive for a general allotment law that could be applied to all Indians, and the allotment of lands among the Five Tribes became a new crusade. Although the humanitarian reformers promoted allotment on the basis of principle—they saw no possibility of universal civilization of the Indians without individual ownership of land—it was also clear that allotment of limited parcels of land to individuals would open up considerable "surplus" land for whites. Allotment in the Indian Territory, furthermore, would break up land monopolies that the reformers saw developing there.

The Indian delegates were as quick to condemn allotment in severalty as they were to fight territorial organization, realizing the effect it would

---

[27] For a brief history of the movement for allotment, see Prucha, *American Indian Policy in Crisis*, pp. 227–257. There is a detailed account of the board's agitation for severalty in Henry E. Fritz, "The Board of Indian Commissioners and Ethnocentric Reform, 1878–1893," in Jane F. Smith and Robert V. Kvasnicka, eds., *Indian-White Relations: A Persistent Paradox* (Washington: Howard University Press, 1976), pp. 57–78.

have on the traditional arrangements in the Indian Territory, and they continued to use the meetings of the Board of Indian Commissioners as one forum in which to advance their cause and to protect their interests.

At the January, 1879, meeting of the missionary boards with the Board of Indian Commissioners, the committee of missionary leaders appointed to draw up the platform of resolutions for the conference presented a comprehensive statement reaffirming their "common convictions on several points deemed by them important to the progress of . . . [the] civilization [of the Indians]." These included opposition to transfer of the Indian Bureau to the War Department, extension of a system of law over the Indians and the establishment by the federal government of an adequate common-school system for Indian children. The second in the list of points called for allotment of land in severalty, with a title in fee and with temporary safeguards against alienation, as "indispensable to the progress of civilization." The Cherokee delegate, William P. Adair, immediately objected. The manner of alloting lands, he told the meeting, was left to the Indians in their treaties. He was willing to accept the rest of the resolutions. "But if the second proposition is to apply to our people," he insisted, "we shall interpose an objection and ask that our treaties be carried out." The resolutions committee weakly replied that their report was not intended to apply to cases where provision was made by treaty.[28]

Indian attendance at the January meetings dropped off in the early 1880s, as the Board of Indian Commissioners continued its strong advocacy of territorial government and allotment of lands in severalty. The secretary of the board, Eliphalet Whittlesey, made a special investigating tour of the Indian Territory in December, 1882, and returned with a report that strengthened the views of the board.[29] The board once again reaffirmed its belief in the necessity of more effective government for the territory. It repeated its recommendations of 1874 and added: "Such a measure [for territorial government] would contemplate the ultimate abolition of present tribal relations, the giving of lands in severalty to Indian citizens, and the sale for their benefit of the lands which they will never need and can never use. Under wise legislation the Indian Territory may soon become prosperous, and be admitted a strong and wealthy State into the American Union."[30]

The Board of Indian Commissioners, together with the voluntary organizations devoted to Indian reform that sprang up about 1880, was a firm supporter of the Dawes bill, legislation introduced by Senator Henry L.

[28] *Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners, 1878*, pp. 127–128.
[29] *Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners, 1882*, pp. 26–36.
[30] *Ibid.*, pp. 8–9.

Dawes of Massachusetts as the last in a series of bills that authorized the president to survey reservations and allot the land in severalty to the Indians. The Senate bill, after long delay, was finally passed by the House of Representatives on December 16, 1886, and sent to the conference committee to iron out amendments.[31] The board at its meeting of January 6, 1887, made the Dawes bill one of its important pieces of business. The key resolution proposed by the business committee of the conference was this:[32]

> *Resolved*, That we hail with much hope and pleasure the passage by the House of Representatives of the Senate bill providing for the allotment of lands in severalty under wise restrictions, the extension of the laws of the States and Territories over the Indians, giving the protection, rights, and immunities of citizens. That this conference memorialize the President with reference to the importance of making this bill a law by signing it after it has been amended so as to secure in the best way possible these ends. . . .

The severalty legislation was opposed by a small but articulate group at the conference. These were members of the National Indian Defense Association, founded in 1885 by Dr. Thomas A. Bland, editor of *The Council Fire*. Bland and members of his group were on hand to put forth their views, and they were accorded a place on the committee that drew up the resolutions. The Indian Defense Association relied heavily on the Indians from the Indian Territory for membership and for financial support, and the minority report of the resolutions committee was presented by the Creek delegate, Pleasant Porter. While accepting the other resolutions, Porter disagreed with the one on severalty. "I regard this last resolution as relating to the material question," he said. "Whether or not the Indian is to be preserved, depends upon what you do with his land; what laws you establish for his government." He gave a long and eloquent speech against imposing severalty upon the Indians, noting that where it had been tried, it had uniformly failed, and he submitted to the conference an alternate resolution, which read as follows:[33]

> *Resolved*, That the first thing necessary in the solution of the Indian question is to secure their confidence by fulfilling our treaty stipulations with them; second, to educate them mainly on their reservations in our literature and industrial arts; third, to respect their rights to hold their lands in their own way until we can teach them that our plan is better than theirs, and that full citizenship in the United States is better than membership in a tribe; fourth, to recommend that all bills to open Indian lands to white settlement be laid aside until a commission shall have visited the various

[31] See *Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners, 1884*, pp. 10–11; *Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners, 1886*, p. 9; *Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners, 1889*, p. 9.

[32] *Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners, 1886*, p. 134.

[33] *Ibid.*

Members of one of the several Choctaw delegations to Washington, D.C. (left to right) Alan Wright, Basil LeFlore, John Page, James Riley and Alfred Wade

> tribes, and reported to the Government what reservations can be reduced with safety to the Indians and with their consent.

In the discussion and vote that followed, Porter and his friends lost out. His resolution was overwhelmingly defeated by a vote of forty-seven to thirteen. Then the committee's resolutions were agreed to "by a large majority."[34]

The Board of Indian Commissioners in the next decade moved completely away from the position of the Indian delegates, and the missionary

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 136.

conference in 1895 listened complacently as Charles H. Mansur, former Congressman from Missouri, castigated the delegates from the Five Tribes as "white Indians" and asserted that "the whiter the Indian the more intolerant he was in his argument" and that "the thinner and more diluted the Indian blood, the more capable they become of deceit."[35] The board accepted the evidence and arguments presented by the commission to the Five Civilized Tribes—Dawes Commission—which was authorized by Congress in 1893 to negotiate with the tribes for allotment of land and establishment of a territorial government, that the territory was lawless and that the United States government had an obligation to step in.[36] The proviso of the board's 1874 proposal, "consistent with existing treaties," had disappeared, and the treaties on which the Indian delegates had rested their case were no longer a bulwark. The board expressed its views without reservation in early 1896:[37]

> The time has come when the United States must see to it that law, education, and possibilities of justice for white men, as well as black men and red men, shall be firmly established and maintained in that Territory. The Indians of the Five Civilized Tribes, under the influence of a few shrewd and selfish leading men, seem to oppose any change in their condition, and claim the right, under treaties with the United States, to be let alone and to manage their own affairs. But our clear conviction is that they have not faithfully observed the purpose and intent of those treaties. The language in which the original grant of the Indian Territory was made to the Five Civilized Tribes, as well as that by which they made subgrants to other tribes, provides plainly and emphatically that the lands "shall be secured to the whole people for their common use and benefit." That this has not been done is well known. A few enterprising and wealthy Indians have managed to occupy and use large tracts of fertile land, while the poor and ignorant have been pushed away into rough and almost barren corners. We believe it to be the duty of the United States Government to maintain its supreme sovereignty over every foot of land within the boundaries of our country, and that no treaties can rightfully alienate its legislative authority, and that it is under a sacred obligation to exercise its sovereignty by extending over all the inhabitants of the Indian Territory the same protection and restraints of government which other parts of our country enjoy.

[35] *Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners, 1894*, p. 65.

[36] See the *Annual Report of the Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes, 1894*. Similar criticisms of the conditions in the Indian Territory were contained in the report of a Senate Committee headed by Henry M. Teller, in United States Senate, 53d Congress, 2d session, *Report 377* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1894), and in Charles F. Meserve, *The Dawes Commission and the Five Civilized Tribes of Indian Territory* (Philadelphia: Indian Rights Association, 1896).

[37] *Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners, 1895*, p. 6.

When the Five Tribes, seeing that further resistance was futile, signed agreements with the Dawes Commission and when Congress in 1897 provided for courts and in 1898 destroyed the tribal governments by the Curtis Act, the board rejoiced. These actions, it said, "must work a complete revolution in the affairs of the Territory and place it practically under the Government of the United States."[38] And so it was. The "drift of civilization," accepted and encouraged by the Board of Indian Commissioners, proved too strong for the Indian nations and their leaders.[39]

---

[38] *Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners, 1898*, pp. 5–6.

[39] The quoted phrase is from *Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners, 1897*, p. 6.

LIFE AND LABOR ON THE PANAMA CANAL: AN OKLAHOMAN'S PERSONAL ACCOUNT

*By William D. Pennington**

The recent controversy over the Panama Canal Treaties has caused Americans to take another look not only at the manner in which it was obtained and the expense involved but also the contribution made by American technology and manpower. For example, as many as 5,000 American laborers and technicians were working in the canal at any one time during the construction stage between 1904 and 1914. One of these Americans was an Oklahoman whose life and labor in the Canal Zone during the final years of completion illustrate why so many Americans have such a personal attachment for the Canal.

David Theodore Sherrard died in 1973 and is buried in a small cemetery east of Perry, Oklahoma. He had spent over fifty years as a resident of Perry where he had retired from the United States Postal Service. Among his personal belongings was found an old trunk containing some 100 letters written to his mother, Anna G. Sherrard. Included were many letters related to his two-year employment as an electrical engineer working on the building of the Panama Canal. They reveal an experience of a lifetime.

Following a childhood in Winfield, Kansas, Ted Sherrard attended Kansas State University where he received an engineering degree in 1910. He then took an apprentice course with Westinghouse Electric Company in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. The first of June, 1912, he made application for a job to work on the Panama Canal. Later that month, Sherrard received a telegram from the Isthmian Canal Commission in Washington, D.C. telling him of his appointment. The position was assistant switchboard operator and the "General Conditions of Employment" included free rent in the Canal Zone, transportation to and from the Isthmus, six weeks annual vacation and in case of illness or injury, "free medical care and attendance at the hospitals." He was to be paid $112.50 per month which was based on an eight-hour day with time and a half for overtime. His foreman at the Westinghouse Plant said it was "the best thing in the world to do." Whenever he finished, the foreman told him, the government would find some other job for him providing he did well. "I will be on one

---

* The author is Coordinator of Student Activities at Tulsa Junior College, Tulsa, Oklahoma and an Adjunct Professor at the University of Tulsa. The material for this article was taken solely from the letters sent by the author's grandfather, D. T. Sherrard, to his mother while he worked on the completion of the Panama Canal. The letters and accompanying documents are planned to form a portion of the University of Tulsa Library.

of the healthiest chunks of soil that Uncle Sam owns," Sherrard wrote. "I have talked with fellows who have been down there and they say the conditions there are first rate."

The trip to Panama was an experience in itself. The ship *Alliance* left New York City, July 9, 1912, with about 100 passengers aboard. His "cozy little room about 6 x 6 feet" had an upper and lower birth but he was the only one staying in it. Besides being small, the room was located in the stern over the propeller which caused a noise which sounded "about like an empty lumber wagon on a rocky road." He ate his meals with four other men who were returning to Panama from their vacation. They indicated they liked "the place fine." The meals were first class but the menu, Sherrard said, was "Greek to me." He managed to get enough to eat by "ordering about the same as the other fellows." Quite a few of the passengers he noted became seasick. He felt dizzy several times but had not had to "feed the fish yet." While on board, he was vaccinated. The doctor told him they had to do it every three or four years in Panama.

On arriving in the Canal Zone, Sherrard was assigned to the Power Plant at the Miraflores Generating Station in the Pacific Division. The Canal Lock closest to the Pacific Ocean was the Miraflores Locks located about 200 yards from the Power House. The other two sets of locks were located at Pedro Migual only several miles northwest and the Gatun Locks on the Caribbean Ocean entrance into the Canal.

The power plant supplied electrical power to three or four surrounding villages as well as construction equipment like cement mixers and pump motors. Sherrard described the role electricity was going to play with regard to the total project. "Practically the entire operation of the locks will be done by electricity. The gates and valves will be opened and closed by motors and the boats will be towed through the locks by electric locomotives. The electricity will be made by a hydraulic plant taking the water from Gatun Lake."

The actual work he did in the power plant was relatively clean. "I could wear my Sunday clothes if I wanted to and not get them dirty," he commented. His job was to see that the machinery was running all right. "If the Turbines run a little slow we can speed them up by pressing a button. If a bit motor down on the canal is started up we signal to the fireman for more steam. Then we have to make a record of the amount of electricity being used every half hour and the amount used each day. There is enough to do to keep us wide awake all the time." He noted that one worker was fired there for sleeping.

After a week on the day shift, he was moved to nights since he was the last man on the job. Normally he worked with four white and four black

men on duty at the power house. In all, he mentioned there were 6,000 Americans and 25,000 blacks working on the Panama Canal.

One morning while walking along the canal, Sherrard met the superintendent for his area. "He wanted to know how I liked it here," he stated, "and if I thought I could handle the job alright." The superintendent told him he would get $125 per month before long. A final comment is typical, "The super is alright except he is a little stingy about giving us days off."

After five months on the isthmus, Sherrard liked it better than he had at first. "If it wasn't for the night work I couldn't have any kick at all, but I reckon there are some drawbacks to every job." He further explained, "One big advantage over Pittsburgh is that I can keep clean and have good air to breathe all the time. I don't believe I care for any more city life." In another letter he mentioned not really needing a vacation since he was "having a good time and am not doing very much work."

Sherrard could not get on a day shift in the Miraflores Power House, so in August he was able to get a transfer to the Caribbean end of the Canal Zone to do "test work on the Gatun Locks." He was one of five men in a gang who tested the "lock apparatus" as soon as it was installed to see that it was working properly. "All the gates, valves, etc. are electrically operated," he wrote, "so it comes right in my line." There were about 500 motors on the Gatun set of locks alone. His specific job in the beginning was to test the emergency dams at the Gatun Locks. These "big steel structures" swung out "over the locks like a drawbridge." The dam is then let down in sections. The emergency dam was to be used in case of an accident to the upper gates.

As a result of his transfer to Gatun, Sherrard was right in the middle of the many events leading to the opening of the canal. The Gatun Locks were the first to be tested. The middle of September water was going to be let into the locks, but the valves, keeping the water from Gatun Lake out of the locks, stuck. "They have been in place for a year and a half," he remarked, "and I guess they have rusted so much that they can't be moved." A repair gang was able to get them working by the end of the month so the first boat could go through the locks.

Concerning this first boat, Sherrard wrote that his test gang had been busy for a week, even working until midnight getting the machinery ready. The day the boat went through, September 26, 1913, he worked from 7:00 a.m. to 7:00 p.m. with only a half hour off for lunch. "The trial trip of the boat was a *Success* in every particular," he explained, "and marks a big step in the completion of the canal." The next morning the boat made the return trip from Gatun Lake to the Caribbean Ocean in one and one-half hours. He proudly said, "I operated the gates on one side of the locks all the way thru." This was his moment of glory.

The following month, Sherrard noted another milestone in the completion of the canal. The Gamboa Dike in the center of the Canal Zone was blown up. "That was the last connecting link between the 2 Americas," he remarked. "The Canal now has water in it thru its entire length tho it is not deep enough in some places to float a very big boat. This equalized the water from Gatun Lake and Culebra Cut in the center of the Canal Zone with water flowing South from the Chagres River." He later mentioned that a boat was put through the Miraflores Locks, and before long one would go through the Pedro Migual Locks.

In October and November, various dignitaries began to come to the canal to see how things were going. On October 29, President Woodrow Wilson's secretary of war, Lindley M. Garrison, came to the isthmus and "is riding around in special cars and motor cars inspecting the works. We put a boat thru the locks for his benefit today. He road thru on the boat. It took just another hour to put the boat from the sea to Gatun Lake. Some floating islands at the Lake entrance of the locks, nearly stalled the boat, but it finally got thru them. These floating islands are going to cause a lot of trouble to navigation in Gatun Lake." Next came the Congressional Appropriation Committee for the canal to do their own inspecting. "They made a trip thru the locks here yesterday on a small tug," he said.

The last of December, Sherrard tested the spillway gates at Gatun Dam for the first time. "I was the first time that water had flowed over the spillway," he commented, "and it certainly was a beautiful sight. The water drops about 65 ft. then strikes the solid concrete buffles and is thrown 50 or 60 feet into the air in a white cloud of spray and foam." The spillway, a "soft" dam consisting of mud, sand and clay was constructed to let out the surplus waters of the Chagres River whenever needed. "All 14 gates were raised and lowered smoothly and the tests were regarded as thoroughly satisfactory," he exclaimed.

After the spillway, the "test gang" was busy "testing the working of the lock apparatus." Sherrard was working at times nine to eleven hours. He told that most of the operation was on remote control with all the motors regulated from a control house in the center of the locks. He exclaimed that it was "some job." On Sunday, January 11, a tug was put through the locks on its way to Colon for repairs, making the complete trip from the Pacific Ocean to the Atlantic Ocean. However, he noted that no boat had yet made the entire trip through the canal in one journey. He also put the tug, *Reliance*, through the locks. Two years before it had made the trip around Cape Horn and was considered the first boat to entirely circumnavigate South America.

The first towing locomotives arrived on the isthmus the first of February.

Located on each side of the locks, the job of these locomotives was to pull the ships through. They worked on electricity like the locks. A total of forty locomotives were to be needed on the three sets of locks. Sherrard noted that he worked on the new locomotives. "One weighs 50 tons and has two speeds of 2 and 5 miles an hour," he said. "It climbs right up the inclines without any trouble. The steepest part of the incline is at a 45° angle."

By March, 1914, Sherrard was ready to take a vacation. He said he was leaving April 1 to "see if I can't get a job in the States." He went on to explain, "the best of the work is about done here now and I don't want to take an operating job if I can help it." He said in passing, "I will be almost sorry to leave here tho, I have certainly enjoyed the work and the life here in Gatun."

In addition to describing his role in the construction of the canal, Sherrard told about living conditions, the role played by the Y.M.C.A. and life in general in the Canal Zone. The living quarters provided for the American employees were quite adequate. Sherrard lived in the married quarters in Corozal for the first week he was in Panama. It was a building constructed by the French about twenty-five years before. He then moved into a hotel which was the bachelor quarters housing about 125 other men.

One of his roommates there was a "big two-fisted Irishman named Pat Maloney," who was married but had sent his family back to the states. He was in charge of the dirt car dumping with about 200 laborers under him. Maloney was in the hospital for a week with malarial fever in February. This gave Sherrard an opportunity to explain the problem of malaria. "There is a lot of fever this time of the year," he said. "It is mostly the men who have been here 3 or 4 years who suffer from it. They got it in their blood before the mosquitoes were killed off. We see a mosquito once in a while at the power house but they don't give us much bother."

Aside from his job and living quarters, Sherrard, like most other Americans, spent most of his time at the Y.M.C.A. After being in Panama only a week, he wrote that the "Y" was the "only source of amusement." The "Y's" or Isthmian Commission Clubhouses were built and furnished by the commission but were managed by "Y" secretaries. There were six on the isthmus, each having a reading room, parlor, pool room, barber shop, bowling alley and a gymnasium. Sherrard explained, "The gymnasium is kept busy every night with games, motion pictures, or lectures. A dance is held about twice a month. Interest in various activities is stimulated by leagues and tournaments among the various clubhouses. Basketball, chess, and tenpen leagues are in progress at the present." He went on to say, "It would certainly be a dull life here if it wasn't for the Y.M.C.A.'s.

About ¾ of the young men in the village spend their evenings here. There is a circulating library of about 600 to 700 books too."

Soft drinks, sandwiches and other food could be bought at the "Y" and even smoking was permitted. "They wouldn't have very many members if they didn't allow smoking." Sherrard said the Y.M.C.A.'s were not as good there as those in the states, but "they undoubtedly do a lot of good in keeping the men out of Colon and Panama and furnishing a place for good wholesome amusement." The admission fee was $10.00 per year. This admitted the member to basketball games, motion pictures lectures and the such. Week-old newspapers were available in addition to a paper from Panama which came every morning giving the latest news by "wireless."

Sherrard got his money's worth at the "Y" participating on teams in such sports as basketball, bowling and indoor baseball. A typical weekly schedule was "basketball practice 2 nights and a game Saturday night, Spanish lessons 2 nights, and moving pictures one night."

In addition to the regularly scheduled activities, the "Y" sponsored special events such as lectures, concerts and "smokers." Sherrard described one smoker, "There was singing, speaking, wrestling, hypnotism and a few other stunts. Lemonade, sandwiches, and cigars were served." Another smoker had "singing, clog dancing, music by the Filipino string band and some athletic stunts."

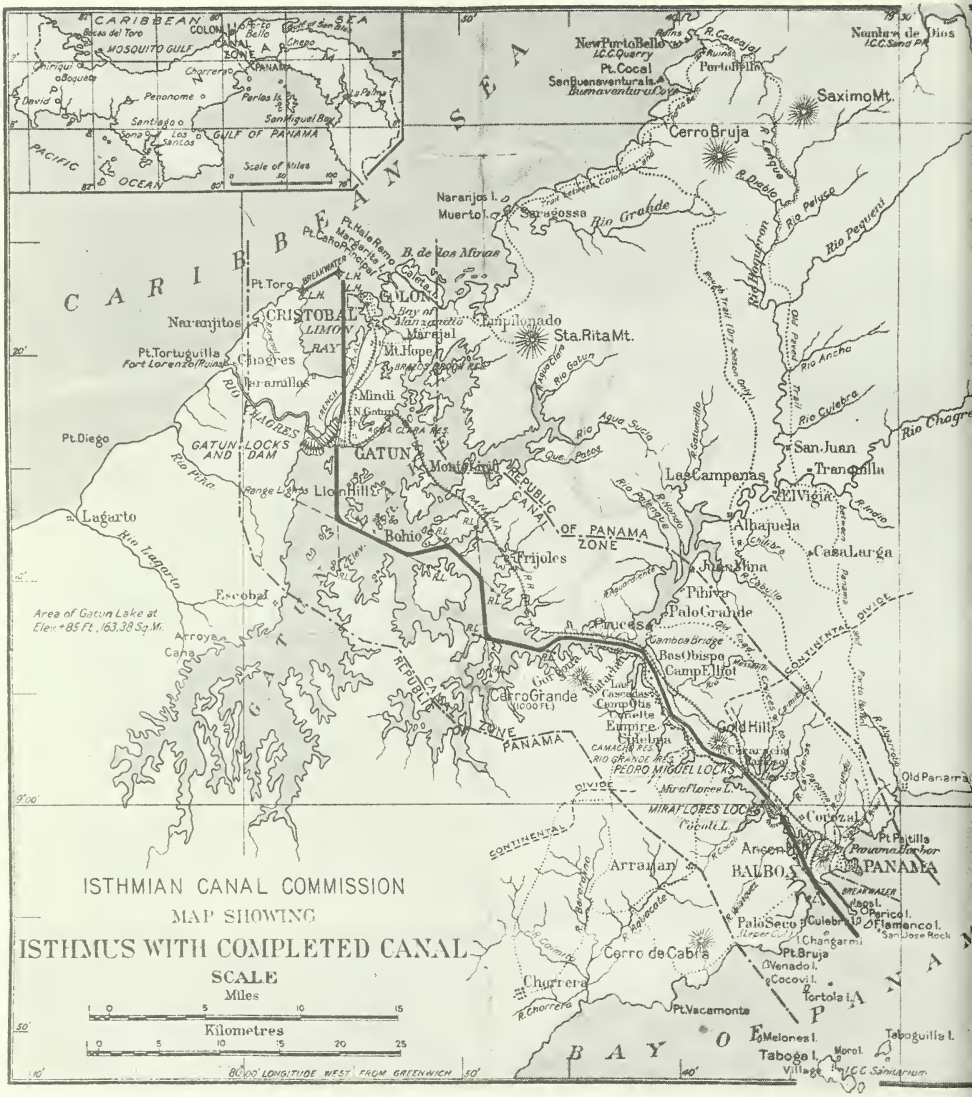
On holidays or special days, the "Y" sponsored some elaborate celebrations. For example, on election night in 1912, the gym of the "Y" was the site of quite an event. Sherrard described it as follows, "While waiting for the election returns there were stereographic viewer, speeches, a torchlight parade and a mock election. The suffragette party carried the town and Roosevelt the national ticket."

Another big holiday in the isthmus was Panama Independence Day in November. Sherrard and four other fellow employees spent the day on a sailboat on Gatun Lake. He wrote, "It was very interesting to sail along the shore and see the different kinds of tropical plants. We made one short trip into the jungle and that was enough. The undergrowth was so thick that we had to cut our way thru with a machet, then the mosquitos were pretty bad too."

Another popular activity in the Canal Zone was a lottery drawing held in Panama every Sunday. It cost 50¢ a chance with prizes varying from $10.00 to $1,500. It netted the owner $50,000 a year. Three-fourths of the people on the Isthmus took a chance at it. "Americans," Sherrard said, "have drawn the big prize several times."

A fitting conclusion to the life and labor of an Oklahoman's experience on one of history's greatest achievements would be to quote from the certifi-

cate presented to him on his leaving Panama. "This is to certify that Ted Sherrard . . . has rendered regular service to the Isthmian Canal Commission . . . in the building of the Panama Canal. This testimonial is evidence that the holder thereof has the distinction of having performed useful service in the accomplishment of the greatest engineering feat undertaken in the history of the world, uniting the nations of the earth in friendly commerce and thereby extending the bounds of civilization and strengthening the brotherhood of man."



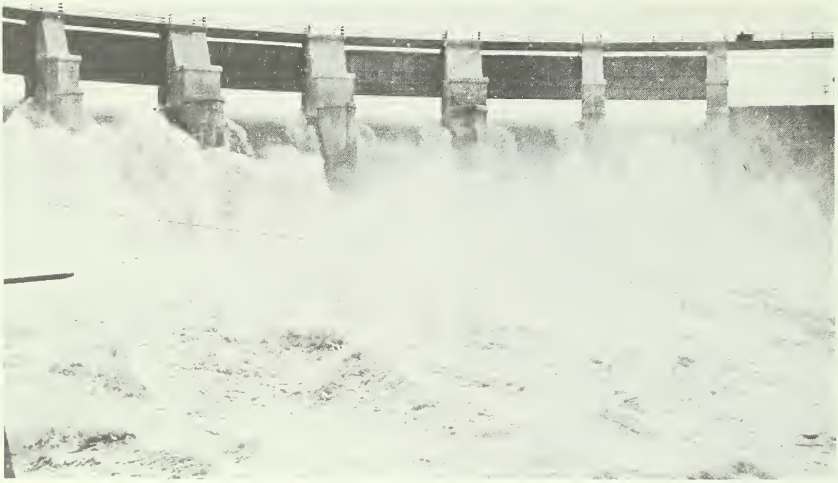
Above: Map of completed Panama Canal

Upper right: Electric locomotive which towed the boats through the canal at Gutun. Lock gates can be seen in the background. Sherrard is the gentleman in the middle of the photograph

Below right: Culebra Cut looking south. Right hill is 404 feet above sea level. Left hill is 532 feet above sea level

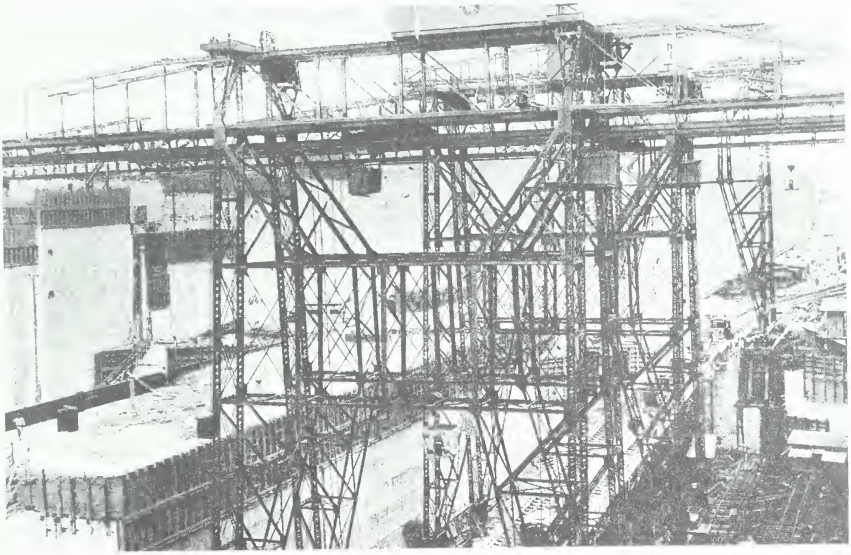
Culebra Cut Looking South. Right Hill 404 Ft. above Sea Level.
Left Hill 532 Ft. above Sea Level, Panama.

Left and above: Filling Gatun locks for the first time. The building in the upper left corner is the control house from which all the machines on the locks were controlled

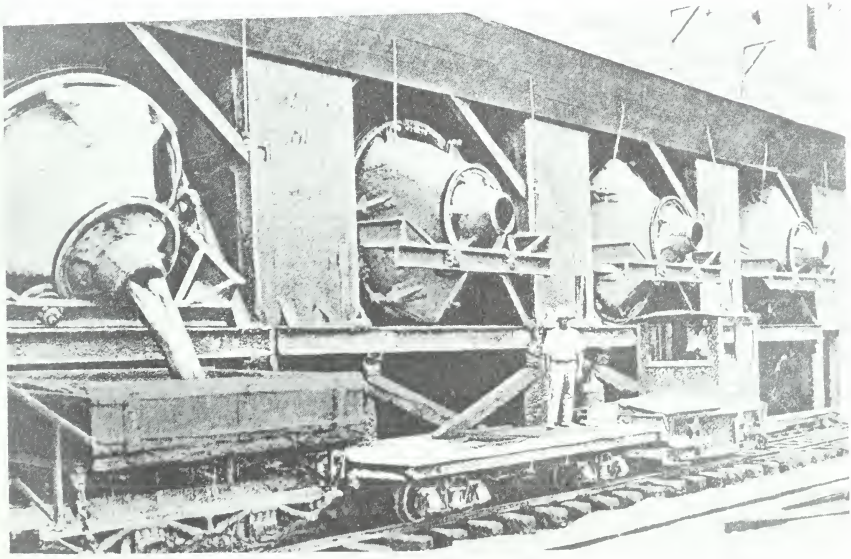


Gatun spillway, with seven of the fourteen gates up

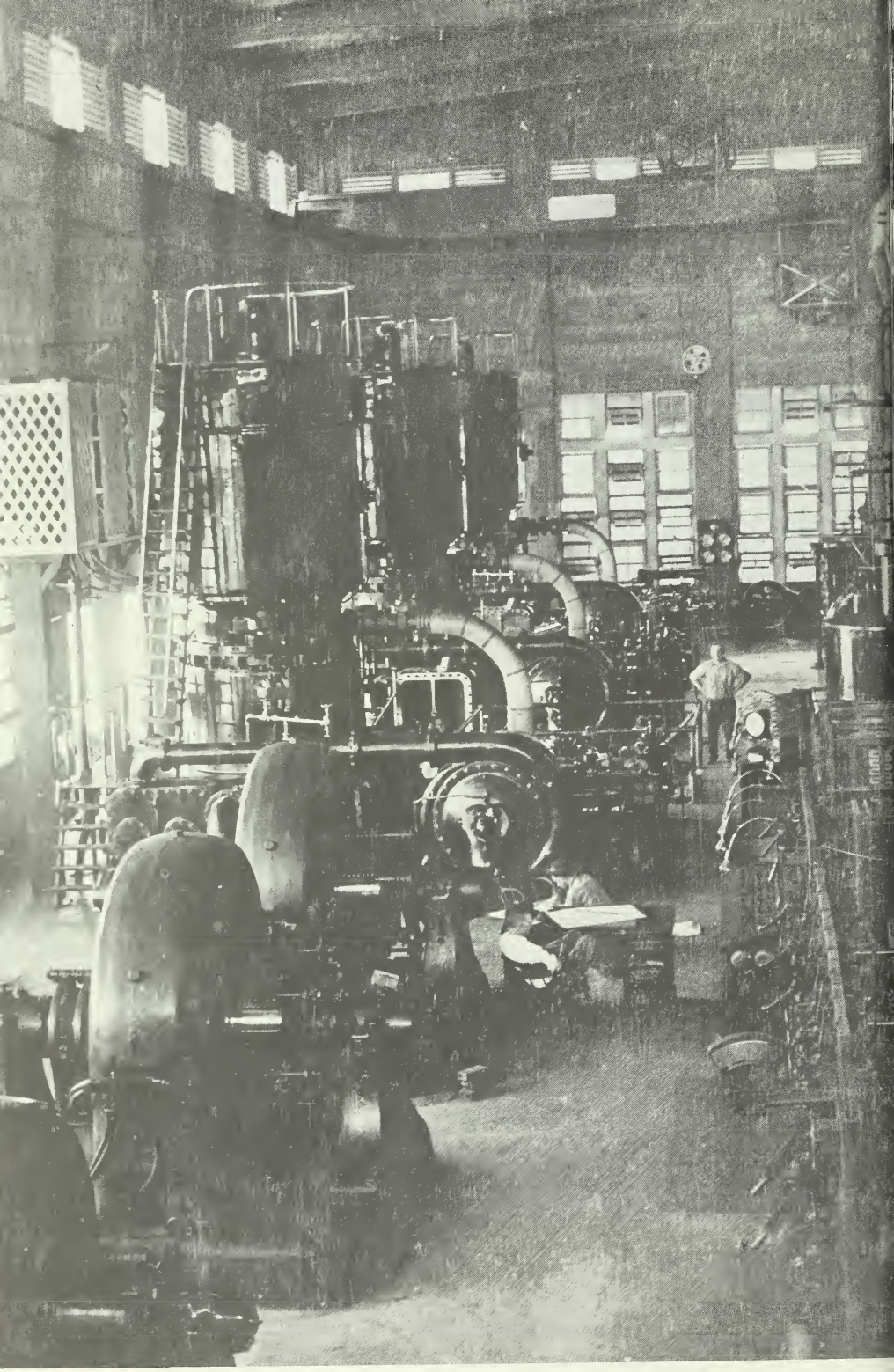
General view of the upper locks looking north from the lighthouse, Gatun



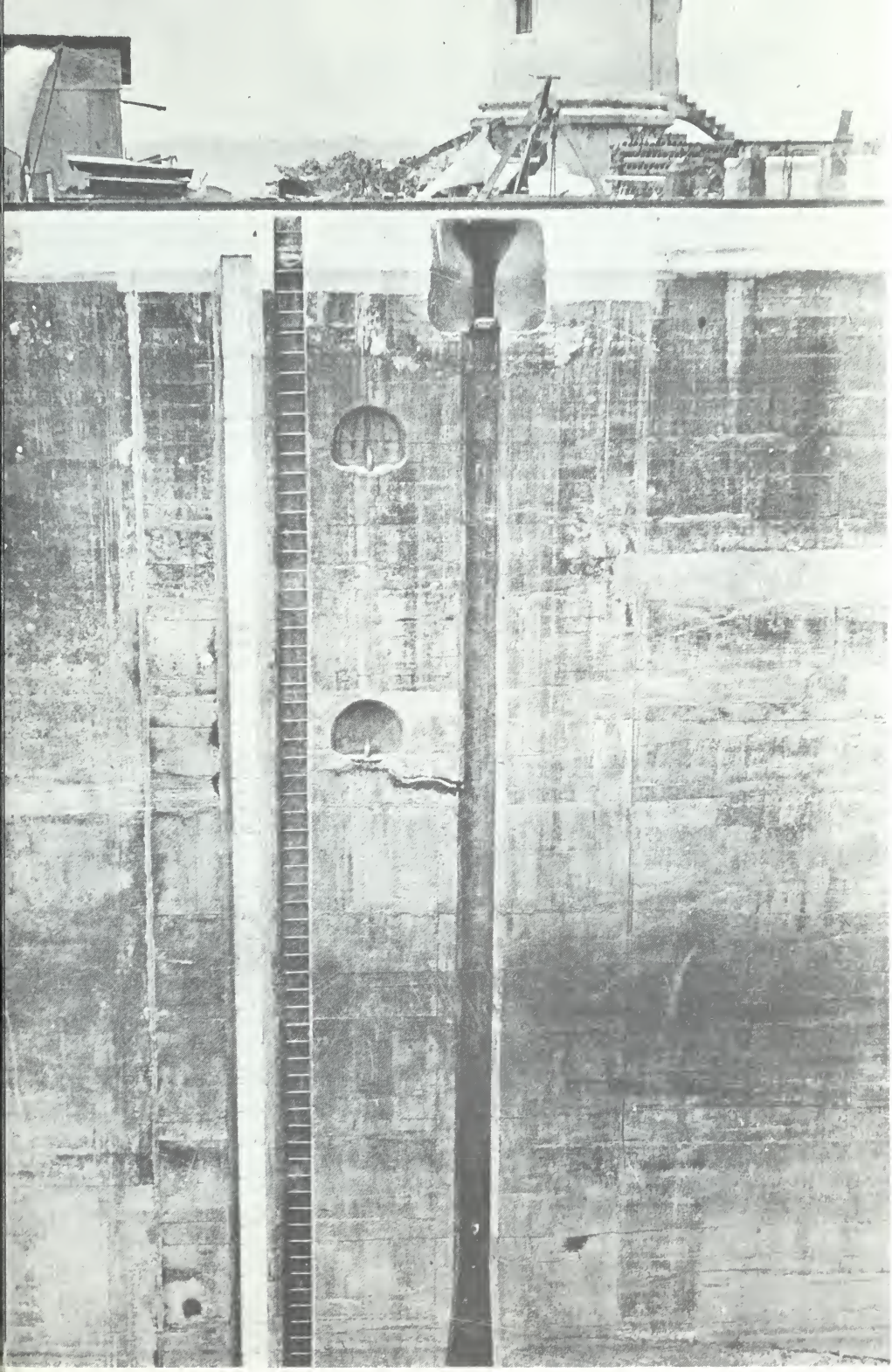
Upper and lower locks, showing chamber cranes



West side of concrete mixing plant, Gatun



Miraflores powerplant. Sherrard can be seen in the far end

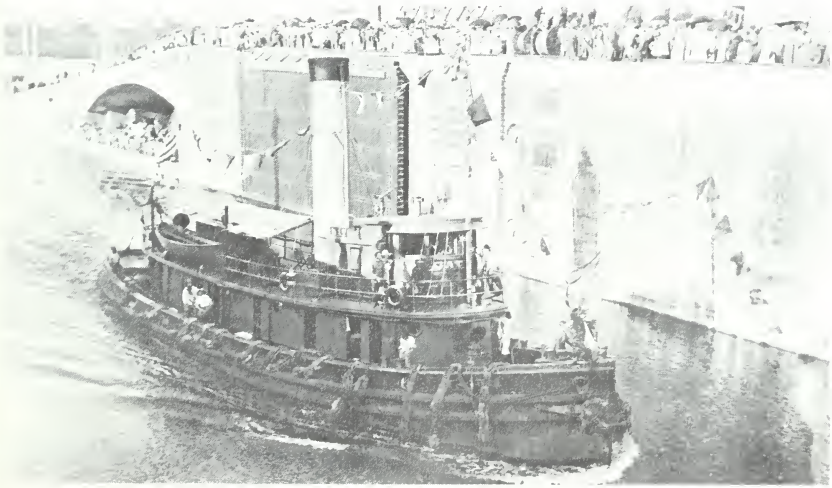


Locks at Gatun showing water levels

A typical native street of interior of Panama

Panama police at Colon

High tide in Bay of Panama



The first boat to pass through the Gatun locks on September 26, 1913, observed by an enthusiastic, cheering throng

CREEK NATIVISM SINCE 1865

*By Mark K. Megehee**

During the past century, the Creek Indian Nation has seen much of its tribal way of life gradually disappear. Yet, simultaneously with the erosion of Creek culture, there has been a movement usually championed by the fullbloods, to revive and preserve the traditional Creek life-style. In the early 1800s, Opothleyaholo, a Creek orator, inspired many of his kinsmen to remember their Indian heritage. After his death during the Civil War, other Creek leaders perpetuated his cause. The Creek traditionalists maintained a constant struggle for control of the tribal government as well as opposition to allotment and other threats to Creek customs.

After the Civil War, Creeks of both Northern and Southern sympathies returned to their reduced tribal domain—the result of the 1866 Reconstruction Treaty—where they set about rebuilding houses, clearing and fencing the land and rounding up livestock from the open ranges. Although the Creeks regrouped into the old tribal towns, the ancient ceremonials never regained their former prestige and popularity. In 1867 the Creeks adopted a written constitution. Okmulgee was designated the capital of the Creek Nation, and Samuel Checote was elected principal chief.[1]

The constitution provided for a legislature, known as the National Council, composed of a House of Kings and a House of Warriors. Each town selected a member of the House of Kings while the House of Warriors' membership was apportioned on the basis of one member for each one hundred Indians in a district and an additional member for every two hundred people. The duties of the principal chief were similar to those of a governor. A second chief was to succeed in case of the incumbent's death, resignation or impeachment. The members of the National Council and the two chiefs were to be elected at four-year intervals by a majority of male citizens over eighteen.[2]

The Creek Nation was divided into six districts, each possessing a judge, prosecuting attorney and a light horse company consisting of a captain and four privates. These officers served two-year terms. All criminal cases and minor civil cases were tried before the district court, which permitted trial by jury. A Supreme Court was also established consisting of five justices

---

* The author received his M.A. in History at the University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma and prepared this paper under the direction of Dr. A. M. Gibson.

[1] Legus C. Perryman, *Constitution and Laws of the Muskogee Nation* (Muskogee, Indian Territory: Phoenix Printing Company, 1890).

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 3–5.

chosen by the National Council for four-year terms. This court tried all civil cases where an amount exceeding one hundred dollars was at issue.

The new criminal code differed only slightly from that used prior to the war. The offenses and their penalties were: for murder, the death penalty; rape, the first offense, fifty lashes and the second offense, death; theft required restitution to the injured party plus fifty lashes for the first offense, one hundred for the second and death for the third; for women who used drugs to cause abortion, a punishment of fifty lashes was provided.[3]

Before long, great displeasure arose over the cession of the western one-half of the tribal domain required by the 1866 treaty. Also, there was opposition to the new constitution. The fullbloods in particular believed that the tribal government was merely imitating the ways of the white men. Oktarharsars Harjo, or Sands, the principal chief during the final months of the Civil War, was a candidate at the first election under the 1867 constitution but was defeated by an ex-Confederate Creek officer, the Reverend Samuel Checote. Embittered, Sands became actively opposed to the Creek government and gathered support from the dissatisfied elements in the tribe. Political violence had reached alarming proportions when, in the fall of 1870, an attempt was made to overturn the Creek government and replace it with one that would operate on the traditional basis. On October 2, the day before the Creek National Council was to convene, 300 armed Creeks arrived in Okmulgee and promptly drove out all the officers of the Creek government, took possession of the council house, acclaimed a conservative Creek named Cothuchee as principal chief and set about organizing a new government. At this point Chief Checote ordered businesses closed and all the women and children to leave town. When Agent F. S. Lyon arrived the next morning, he found 700 men in town prepared to defend the constitutional government. Although the two camps were ready to do battle, Lyon persuaded the leaders of both camps to refrain from firing the first shot. Negotiations were commenced and after several days the two groups reached an arrangement in accordance with the constitution. The peace was short-lived, however, for some months later the rebellious spirit flared again in insurrectionary meetings. The traditionalist Creeks were at last overawed in 1872 by a large force raised by the tribal government. This occurrence, in addition to the death of Sands, leader of the rebellion, brought the disturbances to an end. Even so, the issues of resistance to the white man's customs and the preservation of the old tribal traditions were far from being resolved.

After the death of Sands one of his lieutenants, Lochar Harjo of Nuyaka, became leader of the Creek traditionalists. In the winter of 1871–1872,

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 5, 6, 37–39, 45.

dissatisfaction was again manifested as Lochar Harjo, or Crazy Turtle, set up a rival government and began signing documents as "Principal Chief of the Creek Nation." The tribal factions almost came to bloodshed but were prevented by the mediation of Colonel B. H. Grierson, who arranged a truce until the Department of the Interior decided the matter. In June, 1873, it was announced that the Checote government would be upheld, and this decision was respected by the Harjo party. The patience of the conservatives was rewarded in the election of 1875 as Lochar Harjo became principal chief. When Lochar was impeached and convicted after only a year in office, he tried to regain his former position, but his efforts were thwarted by the secretary of the interior and the Indian office. Nonetheless, Lochar Harjo maintained a considerable following until he became ill and died at his home in Nuyaka in February, 1878.[4]

During the postwar period, Christianity made steady progress among the creeks. In 1872–1873 the Baptists announced their desire to start Sunday schools throughout the Creek Nation. At the same time the Methodists reported a total of six missionaries working with the Creeks. The Presbyterians, in addition to operating eight missionaries, were also working to train Creek leaders at Tullahassee.[5]

Although the Creeks seemed increasingly willing to accept the white man's religion, they were now more cautious than ever in matters where their land was involved. As a result, non-Indians who attempted to acquire Creek land, whether through railroad companies or even church organizations, were repeatedly frustrated.

During the years 1880–1883 the Creek Nation was convulsed by the most serious political discontent in its history. The old protest against the constitutional government was revived at the same time other internal difficulties were plaguing the Creeks. Once more the traditionalists supported a rival government, using as a nucleus the organization for compensation of the loyal Creeks. The fullbloods were prominent in the uprising and established their capitol at Nuyaka Square. The alienation of these tribesmen had become apparent as early as the 1879 election, and by the fall of 1880 their prolonged councils in Nuyaka Square were becoming ominus. The first incidents resulted from court proceedings. It seems that the official Creek administration sought to use the courts as a means of punishing political opponents under the pretext of law enforcement. After some legal

---

[4] United States Department of Interior, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1872* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1872), pp. 35, 36, 239.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 240, United States Department of Interior, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1873* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1873), pp. 209, 210, 336, 337.

The original Creek Council House with members of the House of Kings and the House of Warriors

harassment and heightened displeasure over a land cession to the Seminoles, conflict became inevitable. The leader of the Creek traditionalists was Isparhecher, a fullblood who was prominent among the postwar loyal Creeks.[6]

Isparhecher, also referred to as Spiechee, was described by the Vinita *Indian Chieftain*, a contemporary newspaper:[7]

> born in the state of Alabama, while his tribe occupied that state. . . . He is a full blood Indian and uneducated in the English, but understands and speaks a little English and can read and write the Indian language quite fluently.
>
> He is about six feet tall and weighs 180 pounds and physically presents a dignified and commanding appearance. He is a man of strong convictions and great force of character—noted for his partriotism, honesty, and personal courage.

The Isparhecher War began in July 1882. While some of Isparhecher's armed supporters were holding a council, they were interrupted by Sam Scott, the lighthorse captain of the district and his deputy, Joe Barnett.

[6] Angie Debo, *The Road to Disappearance* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1941), pp. 199–225, 240–271.

[7] *Indian Chieftain* (Vinita), September 19, 1895, p. 2.

Together, these men disarmed the gathering and arrested Heneha Chupco for "resisting an officer." Before long, thirty of the opposition were in pursuit and not only rescued the prisoner but killed both of the lawmen. Warrants were promptly issued but when officers of Wewoka District attempted to make the arrests, they discovered that 300 Isparhecher men were armed and prepared to resist. Thus, the conflict was commenced as Chief Checote called out the militia and placed William Robison, a mixed blood ex-Confederate colonel, in command of 1,150 men. In addition, several independent volunteer companies took the field. The insurgents were decked in war paint and sported corn-shuck badges reminiscent of those worn by Opothleyaholo's followers during the Civil War.

In the battles which followed, the insurgents apparently possessed strong medicine, for there were few casualties. When constitutional troops invaded the peach orchards along Pecan Creek, the conflict was dubbed "The Green Peach War." By the middle of August the uprising was over, the leaders escaping to the Seminole and Cherokee nations. Although large numbers were tried for treason, most were released upon taking an oath of allegiance to the constitutional government. Isparhecher, together with many followers, fled to the Greenleaf settlement in the Cherokee Nation and there ignored Chief Checote's offer of amnesty on condition of an oath of allegiance. It was rumored that Isparhecher aspired to be another Tecumseh, a leader who would unite the Creek conservatives with the western tribes, overthrow the constitutional Creek government and establish an Indian league founded upon ancient customs.[8]

Whatever Isparhecher's dreams may have been at this time, the situation was altered when the United States Army intervened. Colonel J. C. Bates with cavalry and infantry forced the traditionalists to return to their homes. In August, a commission appointed by the Indian commissioner met Chief Checote and representatives of the Creek government in negotiations with Isparhecher and fifteen followers at Muskogee. Here it was decided that a special election was to be held the following month. The candidates in the election were Checote, Isparhecher and J. M. Perryman. Although Isparhecher claimed a plurality and temporarily acted as principal chief, the Department of Interior decided against him and appointed Perryman in his place.

The rest of Isparhecher's career was comparatively quiet, though he held several important positions in the tribe, including that of elected principal

[8] United States Department of Interior, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1882* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1882), p. 90; United States Department of Interior, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1883* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1883), pp. 72, 88.

chief in 1895. In 1896, Isparhecher was afflicted with a serious illness. His attitude toward medicine was reported in the *El Reno News*:[9]

> He is a fullblood Indian of much practical common sense and quaint wisdom, but he declines to be treated by any regular physician, his only attendant being a Creek medicine man, who is trying to cure him of "snakes and terrapin," whatever that is. The old medicine man is very queer acting, but is hard at work, and says that the "snakes" have about yielded to his remedies, but he has not yet been able to reach the terrapin!

When Isparhecher died as a result of an accident in 1902, *The Daily Oklahoman* commented on his influence:[10]

> Isparhecher was without doubt the most remarkable fullblood Indian in the territory. . . . Isparhecher was elected as chief justice of the supreme court of the Creek Nation, which position he held until he was elected chief of the nation in 1895. . . . He was strictly honest, and unearthed a number of frauds on the Creek Nation.

Isparhecher was a spokesman throughout his life for the fullblood Creeks and the old customs, particularly in regard to government. His was a positive contribution toward the preservation and revival of Creek traditions and tribal institutions. He is still remembered for his unflinching opposition to the sale or cession of any lands which properly belonged to the tribe. His personal hospitality recalls the conduct practiced by the Creeks in their ancestral homes. His attachment to Creek medicine in time of need was well publicized. Throughout his life he encouraged Creeks to cling to the richness of their tribal heritage.

Another striking personality of this period was a venerable fullblood of Okchiye Town named Hotulke (Wind) Emarthla. He was elected second chief in 1887, reelected to the same capacity in 1891 and acted as chief in the absence of Principal Chief L. C. Perryman. Also known as Edward Bullet, Emarthla had been the leader of Okchiye Town since the time of removal and had served as the town's judge, lawmaker and representative in the House of Kings prior to his election to second chief in 1887. He was a familiar figure throughout the Creek Nation, and although he was unable to read English or Creek and could speak only Creek, he was a statesman of outstanding native intelligence and integrity. When Perryman was impeached by the House of Warriors, Emarthla became principal chief, and for a while both men tried to be the Creek Nation's first executive. The House of Kings eventually convicted Perryman, and Hotulke Emarthla

---

[9] *El Reno News* (El Reno), October 16, 1896, p. 2.

[10] *The Daily Oklahoman* (Oklahoma City), December 26, 1902, p. 2.

The six divisions of the Creek Nation (Adapted from Morris, Goins and McReynolds, *Historical Atlas of Oklahoma*, 2nd ed., Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1976, map 40)

held undisputable constitutional authority during the remaining nine days of his term.[11] In this stormy political atmosphere, Emarthla's public career was concluded.

Around the turn of the nineteenth century there was evidence that many Creeks were still following ancient customs. Although chokofas had practically disappeared from the Creek towns, some communities designated a circular area in the proper place near the square and there kindled a fire on ceremonial occasions. The chunkey game had been discarded, but a form of the chunkey yard survived. Several towns constructed banks of earth, as in former times, around the space used for dancing and the ball game between men and women. The square continued to be an important meeting place in a typical town. For a while, the busk celebration was enjoyed throughout the Creek country. In 1893, a huge busk was held near

[11] Debo, *The Road to Disappearance*, pp. 325, 355–358.

the community of Nuyaka, about twenty-five miles southwest of Okmulgee. Many of those Creeks who attended still adhered to the ritual of the "black drink" and accompanying fast. In the dances, the women were still wearing terrapin shell rattles strapped to their ankles. At this busk, the clothes of the men and women were of bright colors, red, green, purple, etc., but were about the same in style as those of the whites of that time. Everyone wore their hair long, and many of the men adorned their hats with feathers. The food served at the busk, which lasted four or five days, included coffee, biscuits, pork, beef, Indian corncake called "bluebread," sofki and corn on the cob.[12] The respect shown to the old Creek customs on this occasion indicates there were many who still valued and practiced the traditional Indian way of life. It will also be noted that the greatest areas of change, regarding the busk, were the realms of dress and diet. With the growing acceptance of Christianity, however, the busk ceremony came to be neglected. By the early years of the twentieth century interest in the busk had so diminished that a large number of towns discontinued the observance. The ceremonials that were retained involved much medicine making and repeated bathings. Legends and superstitions were also tenacious.[13]

Fashions changed slowly among the Creeks. Creek dress of the early 1900s continued to resemble that of the whites. Both sexes had long hair. The women wore dresses cut like those of the pioneer whites, but added beads and fluttering ribbons. The men slowly adopted the boots, trousers, shirts and even the broad-brimmed hats of the white settlers. Some Creek boys wore only a long shirt, reaching almost to the heels and belted at the waist. For ceremonial purposes the men painted their faces with pulverized stone, pokeberries or dyes made from bark.[14]

Another wave of tribal unrest appeared at the turn of the century and represented the last attempt to re-establish and continue tribal ways. In 1897, the United States Congress passed a bill extending federal law to the citizens of the Five Civilized Tribes and requiring presidential approval of the acts of their councils. Contrary to the treaties of the United States with these tribes, the next year Congress passed the Curtis Act. This legislation authorized the termination of tribal governments, the allotment of tribal lands and the division of other property.[15] Although many Creeks

---

12 Walter Gray Interview, December 18, 1937, Grant Foreman, ed., *Indian-Pioneer History* (113 vols., Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma), Vol. LXIII, pp. 221–225.

13 Debo, *The Road to Disappearance*, pp. 292–299.

14 *Ibid.*, p. 302.

15 United States Government, *The Statutes at Large of the United States of America* (multi volumes), (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1899) Vol. XXX, pp. 514–519.

were strongly opposed to the allotment of tribal lands, an agreement was concluded with the Dawes Commission at Muskogee on September 27, 1897. Despite opposition by the chief and rejection by the National Council, this agreement was amended and included as "Section Thirty" of the Curtis Act in 1898. A Creek delegation made up of Pleasant Porter, George A. Alexander, David M. Hodge, Isparhecher, Albert P. McKellop and Cub McIntosh entered into a new agreement with the Dawes Commission at Washington, D.C. on March 8, 1900. This agreement stipulated that every man, woman and child, including Negro freedmen, should select 160 acres as an allotment from the Creek domain. The tribe at this time possessed 3,072,813 total surveyed acres. It was also declared that the tribal government should be dissolved no later than March, 1906.[16] These tidings produced distress among many Creeks, particularly the fullbloods.

At this time, many of the fullbloods had no understanding of English and were still unreconciled to the white man's control of so much of their affairs. This element of the Creek Nation refused to agree to the allotment and once more turned toward their old customs. The unhappy dissenters found a leader in one of their number, Chitto Harjo, or Crazy Snake, a fullblood who had already demonstrated qualities of leadership.

Chitto Harjo was born about 1854 and had joined the neutral Indians during the Civil War. He had been a follower of Isparhecher and first gained prominence among the conservative element during the "Green Peach War." When Congress passed the Curtis Act providing for the termination of tribal government and courts, Harjo became determined to preserve his tribe's autonomy and life-style. Thus, early in 1901 the traditionalist Creeks proclaimed Chitto Harjo their chief. He immediately convened a session of the National Council and solemnly declared the re-establishment of the ancient laws, courts and customs, which had been acknowledged by the United States in the treaty of February 12, 1825. Chitto Harjo also proclaimed Hickory Ground, a Creek gathering place six miles southeast of Henryetta, to be the Creek capitol instead of Okmulgee. He then organized a body of lighthorsemen to enforce whatever laws and regulations the fullblood government enacted. During January of 1901, these "Snakes," as the followers of Crazy Snake were called, roamed about the Creek country armed with Winchester rifles. They arrested, whipped or otherwise punished any Indians who had filed allotment papers. There were even threats to cut off the ears of those who complied with the allot-

[16] United States Senate, 53rd Congress, 2nd Session, *Senate Document Number 24* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1894), pp. 1–3; United States Senate, 53rd Congress, 2nd Session, *Senate Document Numbers 7–35* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1894), pp. 69, 70, 75.

ment arrangements.[17] On January 26, *The Cherokee Advocate* commented on the intentions of the Creek traditionalists:[18]

> Their leader, Crazy Snake, was in Checotah yesterday purchasing supplies and was heard to remark that 500 fullbloods are ready to fight for their old laws and customs, and were going to oppose to the end all schemes to deprive them of their independence.

During the "Snake Rebellion," Chitto Harjo was not the only fullblood leader who protested against allotment and the dissolution of his tribe's institutions. A contemporary newspaper, the Eufaula *Indian Journal*, gives a speech made by a minor Creek chief, Latah Mekko:[19]

> Do not give up your birthright. No white man can take it away from you. Never sign the allotment roll, for there is no power on earth that can compel you to give up your homes to the white men or to turn your fields over to renters, who are occupying the prairies and driving our game away and troubling the remnants of the ground of old Alabama. Give up your lives, but save your birthright.

Meanwhile, the constitutional chief of the Creeks, Pleasant Porter, called upon the United States marshal for assistance. Following a warning given by the marshal, the "Snakes" returned to their homes only to be once more aroused by the indefatigable Chitto Harjo. When conditions again became serious, a company of cavalry was ordered from Fort Reno in Oklahoma Territory, and with the assistance of United States deputy marshals arrested ninety-four of Chitto Harjo's followers. The dissidents were brought to the United States district court at Muskogee and arraigned before Judge John R. Thomas. He explained to them the impossibility of their plan and their liability to severe punishment. After being admonished by the judge they were released. Although many of them afterwards accepted their allotments, a stubborn core of resistance inspired by Chitto Harjo remained completely unreconciled and refused to make their selections. In time, these Indians were assigned allotments by the Dawes Commission. Even so, enmity continued for many years over what many Creeks considered a wanton use of force to deprive them of their rightful customs and institutions. The *Wagoner Record* commented on Chitto Harjo's failure to thwart the will of the white man:[20]

> And so Chitto Harjo (Crazy Snake) and his people are doomed. They cannot compete with this white civilization which is so mighty, so selfish and so natural.

---

[17] *The Daily Oklahoman*, January 28, 1934, p. 12.
[18] *The Cherokee Advocate* (Tahlequah), January 26, 1901, p. 2.
[19] *Indian Journal* (Eufaula), April 19, 1901, p. 1.
[20] *Wagoner Record* (Wagoner), February 7, 1901, p. 7.

The members of the Dawes Commission and the Creek delegation, which agreed to the end of tribal government for the Creeks no later than March, 1906

> A few Indians will survive and be absorbed but none of the Chitto Harjo elements. The decendants of those who trample these people under foot will mourn over them, even as many of us sorrow now at the cruelty of the thing; but that is all.

On March 4, 1906, the tribal governments of the Five Civilized Tribes were dissolved. Tribal officials and Indians now looked to the United States for political guidance and awaited the formation of a state government to inform them of their new status.[21]

The last principal chief of the Creeks, Pleasant Porter, described the plight of many of his people during this crucial time:[22]

> The Indians . . . haven't had time to grow to that individuality which is necessary to merge them with the American citizen. The change came too soon for them. . . . There will be a remnant that will survive, but the balance is bound to perish, do what you may for them . . . there is no life in the people that have lost their institutions.

[21] Luther B. Hill, *A History of the State of Oklahoma* (2 vols., Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1909), Vol. I, p. 238.

[22] Angie Debo, *And Still the Waters Run* (New York: Gordian Press, 1966), p. 132.

Although Creeks of every economic situation suffered as a result of allotment and the dissolution of tribal government, those most adversely affected were the ones who refused to accept allotments, typically the fullbloods. In such cases where the Dawes Commission had peremptorily allotted land to them, they were often unaware of the fact and continued to live in their little cabins in constant fear of being dispossessed. In other instances mistakes were made; their property was delivered to someone else and frequently leased or sold to white people. If the new tenant was tolerant, the Indians might continue to occupy their houses temporarily. All too often, the Indians were left destitute. The tragedy was compounded by the fact that although many of these unfortunates owned land somewhere else that was suitable for settlement, they were yet unable to benefit; they had not consented to the division of their property and were determined not to accept allotments.[23] The Creek Indians, particularly the fullbloods, were loyal to their ancient custom of communal land ownership until the white man forced them to surrender this vestige of their life-style.

In the years following the dissolution of the Creek tribal government, recurrent evidences of Creek cultural survival have appeared. In 1912, a Pauls Valley newspaper printed an article regarding an unusual custom of the Creeks:[24]

> Because a white man who recently purchased the Indian land, destroying the bones of their paposes, the Indian women of the Euches band of the Creek tribe are now in mourning, undergoing several weeks' period of weeping. Since earliest times the Euches have always deposited the bodies of their dead children in hollow trees and fastened boards of bark over the openings. Recently white men bought Euches land . . . and while clearing the land also cut down the grave trees and burned them.

Although the tribal government was liquidated in 1906, there were some "Snakes" who continued an underground organization that eluded agency officials and remained obscure to most of the new citizenry of the state. In 1924 approximately sixty Creek families were reported living in small cabins at the old Hickory Stomp Ground. These people were determined to continue the old tribal communal life. As late as 1930 they were still sending delegations to Washington, D.C., imploring Congress to erase the thriving state of Oklahoma from the map and place in its stead an Indian community free to reestablish its own customs and tribal traditions.[25] Needless to say, these entreaties fell upon deaf ears.

---

[23] *Ibid.*, pp. 126–128.

[24] *Pauls Valley Enterprise and Valley News* (Pauls Valley), May 16, 1912, p. 8.

[25] Debo, *And Still the Waters Run*, pp. 295, 296.

During the 1930s, numerous interviews were arranged with members of the Creek tribe and these have contributed to the present knowledge of Creek cultural survivals. In certain parts of the Creek country, customs regarding marriage underwent a surprisingly small degree of change:[26]

> A man desiring a woman for a wife would make a visit to the home of the woman in mind. There was no spoken word between the man and woman. While at the home of the woman, the man would throw his hat or coat on the floor. . . . If the woman picked up these articles of clothing and hung them up, it was a sure sign that the proposal had been accepted. . . . If the acts of the woman seemed encouraging . . . the man would go out on a hunt. He brought whatever he had killed to the woman. . . . After this, the man and woman would go to take part in the tribal dances. . . . Thus the marriage was taken as being completed.

An important development affecting the lives of the fullbloods took place on June 26, 1936. The Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act represented a revised federal policy for dealing with the Creeks and other Indians. This measure was devised to eliminate the local exploitation of Indian property, and to allow the unassimilated Indians to exercise a degree of local self-government and communal land tenure resembling that of their old tribal arrangement. Although the ulterior motive was to release all of the Indians into the general citizenship of the state, it brought hope to many and was enthusiastically received by the Creeks, particularly the traditionalists. Of the Five Civilized Tribes, these people were the most tenacious in preserving their native ways and on this occasion took the lead in implementing the new program. Their ancient organization by towns, continued following removal, persisted during the era of constitutional development prior to allotment and survived the crucial years of the allotment period. In modern times the Creek town still provides an efficient unit for community action.

There are numerous examples of Creek implementation of the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act. In 1939, the Creek towns Thlopthlocco and Alabama-Quassarte took advantage of the opportunity presented. Residents in these two towns adopted constitutions and articles of incorporation so that they might acquire communal land, borrow money for town projects and care for the impoverished among them. Kialigee Town has undertaken similar action and the Euchees—one of the most conservative groups—at this juncture sought to reestablish their identity as a separate tribe. It is encouraging to observe that the constitutions these towns adopted were not simply superimposed by white men, for they were in harmony with Creek institutions and ideology.[27]

[26] Robert Severs Interview, May 10, 1937, Foreman, ed., *Indian-Pioneer History*, Vol. IX, pp. 208–209.

[27] Debo, *And Still the Waters Run*, pp. 371–374.

The new Creek Council House located in Okmulgee

In recent years there are traces of the ancient customs still to be found among the Creeks. Today some of the fullbloods, although Christianized, still continue to observe the annual busk or Green Corn Dance during mid-summer. The old skills of making pottery and basketry have virtually disappeared. Even though corn is no longer ground with a wooden mortar and pestle, hominy—called sofki by the Creeks—is still prepared in a number of homes. The traditional popularity of ball games continues. Games are played both informally and on special occasions, formally, in which the old style of tribal ball games is reenacted.[28]

Another custom which has descended to the present day is the continued use of the "black drink," particularly in connection with the revived busks and ball games. The shrub earlier used for brewing the concoction has now been replaced by the Oklahoma "red root" plant. Creek traditionalists of today now encourage both men and women to participate in taking the "black drink." This is done on the second day of the current two-day celebration. The leading women dancers of today wear the traditional terrapin shell rattles strapped to their ankles during the dances, while the ever popular long ribbons stream down from their hair. The busks are

[28] Muriel H. Wright, *A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1951), pp. 143.

still held at "stomp grounds" throughout the old Creek Nation. Some of the better known locations are: Hickory Ground, about six miles southeast of Henryetta; Greenleaf, about four miles southwest of Okemah; Little River Tulsa, about six miles southeast of Holdenville; and Nuyaka, about seven miles northeast of Okemah. These celebrations are well attended by mixed-bloods, fullbloods and curious spectators.[29]

Many Creeks continue to dwell in eastern Oklahoma. Some, mostly mixed-bloods, have entered the professions such as law, education, medicine and the ministry, or have prospered in other vocations. There are some fullblood families who have gained wealth, by the discovery of oil on their allotments, but most fullbloods today live in rural communities and make their livelihood by manual labor, farming and raising livestock. They generally belong to the Baptist, Methodist or Presbyterian churches and most Creek young people attend public school. One exception to this rule is the Eufaula Boarding School for girls. This institution perpetuates the proud tradition of the tribal schools which have preceded it.[30]

Though the majority of Creeks presently reside in Oklahoma, there are several in Alabama descended from those who managed to avoid removal. Employment for these Creeks is found in lumbering, pulp mills and other industries and farming. A few are self-employed, managing their own bait and fish supply shops or running motels. There are about 1,000 Creeks living today in the vicinity of Atmore, Alabama. This community represents the largest gathering of self-identified Indians in Alabama. These Creeks are currently compiling their tribal roll according to government specifications in order that they may win federal recognition.[31]

Regardless of white pressure to alter Creek cultural ways, there has been an unremitting determination, particularly among the fullbloods, to preserve and transmit the ancient customs. Opothleyaholo's example of unwavering commitment to the Creek heritage has been followed by great chiefs, minor chiefs, other tribal officers and every class of Creek men, women and children. The career of Opothleyaholo witnessed the development of a schism between Upper Creeks and Lower Creeks. In one way, this made Creek cultural survival easier, for the mixed-bloods, who were inclined to adopt the white man's ways, were separated further from the fullbloods who tended to cling to their tribal customs.

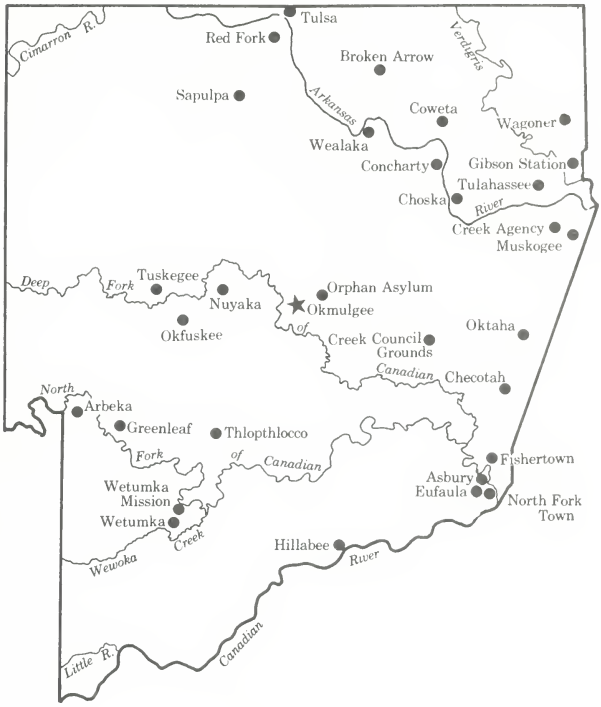
Thus, Opothleyaholo began a trend, the purpose of which was to return the Creeks to their old paths of life and shelter them from white acculturа-

---

[29] *Ibid.*, pp. 144, 145.

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 142.

[31] Jesse Burt and Robert B. Ferguson, *Indians of the Southeast: Then and Now* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1973), p. 258.



Some of the more important locations in the Creek Nation around the beginning of the twentieth century (Adapted from Morris, Goins and McReynolds, *Historical Atlas of Oklahoma*, 2nd ed., Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1976, map 41)

tion. That this trend was recurrent is seen in the experience of various full-blood leaders and their followers over the past century. Like Opothleyaholo, the Creek traditionalists in dealing with land hungry whites pointed back to the Treaty of 1825, which assured the Creeks that the land they held would remain in their possession for "as long as the grass grows and the water flows." This argument they employed repeatedly in order to impede the allotment proceedings and perpetuate communal life and land ownership. Christianity's effect upon the Creeks was to reduce their society from polygamy to monogamy and cause the warrior nation to bury deeply the war club. Only a few Creeks today adhere to the old tribal religion, yet all Creeks are proud of their heritage and enjoy social gatherings, especially the summer "stomp dances" and green corn ceremonies.

Opothleyaholo believed in and practiced the Creek virtues of honesty, courage, oratory, piety, hospitality and possessed a tenacious zeal for the traditional religion and life-style of the Creeks. His legacy which has been faithfully delivered to each succeeding generation is this nativist zeal. His example of reviving all that was good and beneficial in the old Creek ways persists.

BLACK SLAVERY IN THE CREEK NATION

*By Janet Halliburton**

The Creek Indians experienced a long history of black slaveholding. The early Creeks practiced aggression as a reason for living and were frequently at war with other southeastern Indians. As a result, it was customary for warriors to take captives, especially young men and women. These prisoners were often adopted into the Creek tribe for a strategic reason—to increase its population—but were usually treated as menial laborers, seldom capable of achieving true citizenship.[1]

As with other American Indian tribes, it cannot be determined when the Creeks first engaged in black slavery; however, there are records of the first Negro to enter Creek territory. In March, 1540, Hernando De Soto marched into the region in search of gold. Plundering Creek villages, the Spaniards enslaved many Indians to serve as bearers. Everywhere De Soto's army marched, it left great suffering among the Creeks, but besides "starvation and bereft homes," the Spaniards left behind in the Creek country two or three deserters and strays, one of them a Negro.[2] Setting up housekeeping in the Creek manner, this black probably fathered Creek children and evidently was accepted as an equal, if only for the reason of his relationship to the "child of the sun"—De Soto had claimed to be descended from the sun.[3]

Because of their close proximity with the colonies, the Creeks readily observed the usefulness of black slaves, and this prompted bands of Creek warriors to make regular incursions into white settlements to bring back slaves.[4]

> [In 1721] Governor Nicolson of Carolina issued a proclamation which declared Carolina settlements out of bounds for uninvited Creeks, who, coming to the settlements under color of seeking trade, destroyed cattle and encouraged Negro slaves to run away with them. . . . It developed that the principal offenders were a party of Creeks who wandered the islands near Port Royal.

---

* This article is an adaptation of a research paper read at the 1974 session of the Oklahoma College History Professors Association at Ada, Oklahoma. The author is a graduate of the University of Oklahoma Law School.

[1] Sigmund Sameth, "Creek Negroes: A Study of Race Relations," Doctor of Philosophy Dissertation, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma, 1940, p. 5.

[2] David H. Corkran, *The Creek Frontier, 1540–1783* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967), p. 42.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 46.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 68–69.

At this time slavery was not an important part of life in the Creek Nation, however. It was probably not until the twenty years of annexation of Florida by the British in 1763, after its return to the Spanish in 1783 "and particularly during the confusion of the Revolutionary War . . . that Negroes became an important element among the Creek Indians. . . ." Observing that the most powerful white men owned many black slaves and that the possession of these slaves was looked upon as prestigeous, many Creek chiefs purchased blacks for themselves. The usual means of procurement was in trade for cattle—the mean ratio was forty head of cattle per slave.[5]

Fighting as mercenaries for the English during the American Revolution, the Creeks sometimes received black slaves for their services.[6] In 1798, Benjamin Hawkins, agent to the Creek Nation, described the growth of slavery:[7]

> Several of the Indians have negroes taken during the revolutionary war, and where they are there is more industry and better farms. These negroes were, many of them, given by agents of Great Britain to the Indians, in payment for their services, and they generally call themselves "Kings Gifts."

During the Revolutionary War, the Creeks also acquired a large number of black slaves by theft from white plantations during their numerous raids while other [blacks] "probably joined the British and their Indian allies on the promise of freedom."[8]

By the 1780s, the institution of slavery had become an important part of life in the Creek Nation. Alexander McGillivray was a Creek chief of such stature that his obituary notice in August, 1793, was carried by the *London Gentleman's Magazine*. During his time in power, McGillivray had occasion to correspond with the Spanish government, which then had official ownership of the Creek land in Florida. On March 10, 1783, in a letter to the Spanish commandant at Pensacola, Florida, he declared that:[9]

> I am Informed that one of our traders, named Ambrose Grizzard is now in Confinement in Pensacola, for what offense I have not learned. If tis on Suspicion of his being a Spy, tis Without foundation, he being encouraged by the report of other traders that have been at Pensacola Selling Negroes, he asked & obtained my permission not doubting if any Intercourse of

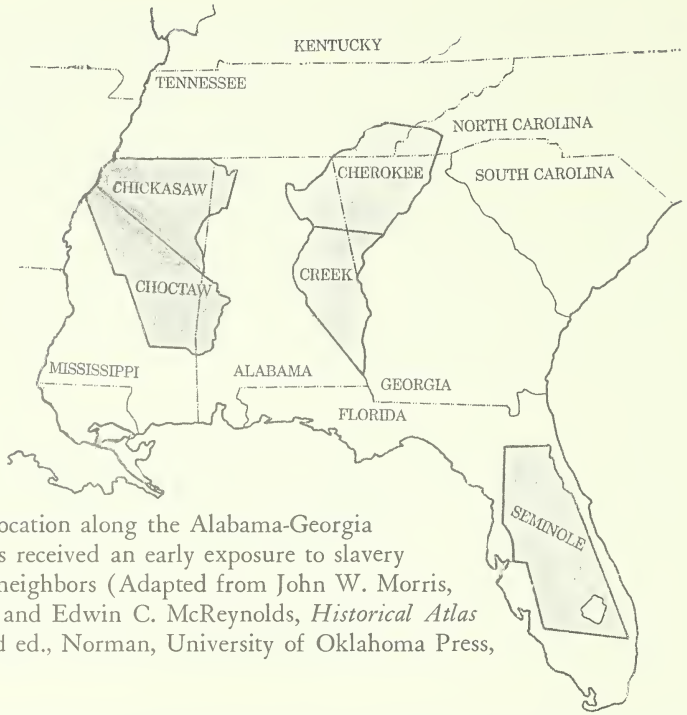
[5] Kenneth Wiggins Porter, "Negroes and the Seminole Indian War, 1817–1818," *Journal of Negro History*, Vol. XXXVI, No. 3, pp. 251–252.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 252.

[7] Benjamin Hawkins, *A Sketch of Creek Country in 1788—1789*, quoted in Sameth, "Creek Negroes: A Study of Race Relations," p. 8.

[8] Porter, "Negroes and the Seminole Indian War, 1817–1818," *Journal of Negro History*, Vol. XXXVI, p. 252.

[9] John Walton Caughey, *McGillivray of the Creeks* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1959), p. 61.



Because of their location along the Alabama-Georgia border, the Creeks received an early exposure to slavery from their white neighbors (Adapted from John W. Morris, Charles R. Goins and Edwin C. McReynolds, *Historical Atlas of Oklahoma*, 2nd ed., Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1976, map 20)

> traffic had been at any time allowed to an Indian trader he would meet with the same Indulgence. I am now Senseible of my error in permitting the Man to go: The bearer of this is Brother to Grizzard's wife. I have taken this opportunity of demanding the Immediate Liberation of Grizzard & that he may be Shewn an Indulgence equal to any that Have before him been there, on the Contrary the King of Spains Garrisons, cannot be Suffered to enjoy the tranquillity, they have hitherto done from the Creek Nations. Such usage must rather make them be Considered Enemys.

Again on February 5, 1784, McGillivray wrote to Arturo O'Neill, a Spanish official in Florida, that:[10]

> I have Information given to me that two men of the name of Tally & Ballard was seen passing thro the lower nation from Georgia to pensacola with some negroes. Tis needfull to Inform you that these men are the most noted Villains that ever was, murdering fellows & great thieves. I hope Your Excellency will cause them & negroes to be seized; they must in all probability belong to some unfortunate person whom they have murdered, & Stolen the Negroes. They would not Show themselves here as they knew that I would seize them.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 69.

However, regardless of the efforts of Creek officials to end the theft of black slaves, raids on white plantations continued to be a major source of slaves for the tribe. During a series of raids by Indians in Georgia in 1789, 101 whites were killed or wounded, while only 30 were taken prisoner, but at that same time 110 blacks were taken prisoner and only 10 were killed.[11]

The problem of the Creek slave raids into Georgia became so acute that the newly formed government of the United States was forced to act, and in 1790, negotiated its first treaty with a foreign state—the Creek Nation. The agreement, which was concluded in New York City with thirty-six Creek delegates in attendance, called for an immediate end to the Creek raids in Georgia and for all prisoners—Negro and white—to be returned. Article VII of this document stipulated:[12]

> The Creek nation shall deliver, as soon as practicable, to the superintendent of Indian affairs, at such place as he may direct, all citizens of the United States; white inhabitants and negroes who are now prisoners in any part of the said nation, agreeably to the treaty at New York, and also all citizens, white inhabitants, negroes and property taken since the signing of that treaty. And if any such prisoners, negroes or property should not be delivered, on or before the first day of January next, the governor of Georgia may empower three persons to repair to the said nation, in order to claim and receive such prisoners, negroes and property, under the direction of the President of the United States.

The treaty did not meet with immediate success, however, for raids on plantations did not stop altogether, and few of the slaves captured by the Creeks were returned. Easily hidden from officials in the Florida wilds, the slaves even if found and identified, often had passed through many hands and had been purchased legitimately by the present owner. Soon after the consummation of this treaty, the Creek Nation sent a communication addressed to the "beloved men of Georgia" which stated that:[13]

> The negroes cause great dispute among us, in our land, with respect to returning them, as some are sold and bartered from one to the other, and the property paid for them consumed by those who got it, which makes it a difficult matter for us to obtain negroes under those circumstances; however, there is still some in our land which can be got at, and we, the chiefs, will do everything we can to return them.

The impact of the introduction of black slavery into the Creek Nation soon became evident. Hunter-gatherer Indians in the beginning and later

---

11 Sameth, "Creek Negroes: A Study of Race Relations," pp. 8–9.

12 Charles J. Kappler, Editor, *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties* (5 vols., Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904–1941), Vol. II, p. 48.

13 Sameth, "Creek Negroes: A Study of Race Relations," p. 10.

agricultural, they were gradually being transformed into proprietors with the addition of slavery. Creek leaders, who disdained labor as beneath their station in life, were eager to acquire more and more slaves. Bordered by the large plantations of Georgia and Carolina, with their multitudes of slaves, the plantation system itself was borrowed by some of the wealthier Creeks, including McGillivray. Owning two large plantations, one in Georgia and one in Carolina, which were operated by overseers and worked by slaves, McGillivray, at his death, owned sixty black slaves, three hundred head of cattle and a large herd of horses.[14] In regard to daily occurrences at one of his plantations, McGillivray recalled that:[15]

> I found here on my return from the Lower Towns my overseer Mr. Walker, who Informed me that the occasion of his Visit to me is owing to a process which You are commencing in Law against him on account of a Certain Molatto wench who calls herself Rachel now at my plantation under his management, which Molattoe wench I claim in Virtue of an american Bill of Sale. If You have any grounds for Such a proceedure, You ought to direct Your attack at me personally & not at my Substitute, who has no right or claim in her. However a regard to my own Interest obliges me to advise You to drop this affair as You may rest assured that You must be responsible for the consequences of a Contrary Conduct. I am given to understand that You have enterd on this affair at the Instigation of another Molatto wench called Pegy Evans, who pretends to be a relation to the other & this Peggy was brought Some Years ago into this Country from Georgia by a William Oates, as an Indented Slave. She was detaind by the then Brittish agent Mr. Taitt, & after he went away, at least when he was at Strachans plantation near Tensaw, he Consented to & saw a bill of Sale executed for Peg Evans, from the Said Oates to Cor. Sullivan, So that She is hereself at this time the property of the Sullivans & the Bill of Sale for her I have seen & is now in some part of this Nation. Upon enquiry I have no doubt to find it out when she shall be restord to her proper owner.
>
> * * *
>
> As to the Mollattoes their Ingratitude Justifys me in the determination to Suffer the claims on them to take effect, & Instances of the Same from those who better was expected from will prove a Caution to me in future for whom I will Interest myself for. So that on the whole I conclude that my Settlements are in the way of Sinister designs, which they have formd . . . . I remain with wishing a more honest disposition to those Who Stand in Need.

McGillivray's sister and brother-in-law also were slave owners—his sister

[14] Caughey, *McGillivray of the Creeks*, p. 363.
[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 212–213.

had married a man named Durand—and in one letter concerning the slaves of his brother-in-law, McGillivray wrote:[16]

> Durant [Durand] Stands in need of Your Excellencys good offices to recover his Negro at Mobile. Mr. Favrot didn't do him Justice, he was very partial in his Government. Durant has a likely Young Negro Man & Indian Wench his wife. Now he owes a great deal of Money, & Mrs. Durant don't desire to part with them. Yet We advised Durant to get Your leave to Sell them to clear his other Negroes, whatever his wife may Say against the Contrary.

The introduction of black slavery created a class system in the Creek Nation. On the lower plane were the average tribal members which were neither slaveholders nor rich. The average Creek lived in a village and farmed a large common field—all land was held in common except that set aside for chiefs, traders and other important persons. The village Creeks were usually uneducated and had little desire to emulate "white man's ways."

The upper class Creeks, however, had adopted the way of life of the whites. Frequently wealthy, commercially ambitious and owning many slaves, they lived in plantation homes which were sometimes pretentious and dressed in the fashions of the white populace of the southern states. In fact, the introduction of slavery had produced a dividing line in the Creek Nation, which was described as:[17]

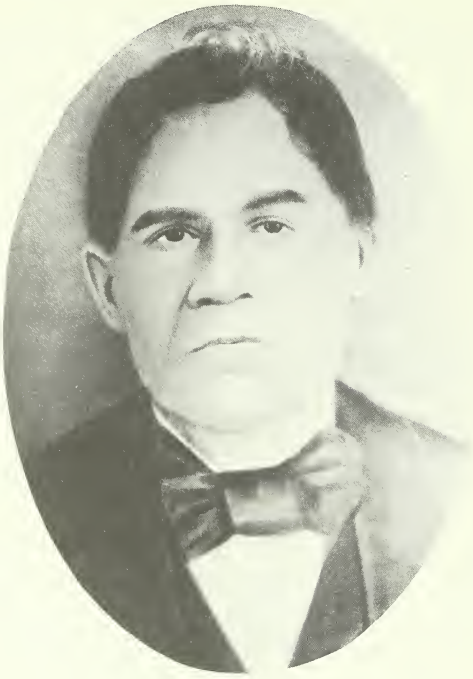
> The disparity which took place in habits of labor and in wealth also impressed itself on education, dress, manners, and information. This development together with the admixture of white blood enabled this and a few other Southern tribes to send intelligent chiefs to Washington to transact their business, who astonished officials there with their sagacity and self-confidence. These intelligent and affluent individuals did most of the thinking for the other class that came to bear the name of "common Indians."

The laws of the Creek Nation had never been codified up to this time, and they had been subject to change each time a chief decided to preside over a dispute. However, the federal government pressured the Creeks into formalizing these laws into written form. The reasons for this are obscure, although it could have been a step toward a removal treaty. Nonetheless, on March 15, 1824, Chilly McIntosh formulated the then current laws into a Creek Nation constitution which included many references pertaining to black slavery. None of these laws made slavery among the Creeks more lenient than that of the whites.

---

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 159.

[17] Grant Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970), pp. 207–208.



Chilly McIntosh, who formulated the Creek Constitution and incorporated law governing black slavery into the code

One of the first laws recorded concerned the penalty for the murder of a Negro or murder committed by a Negro which stated: "If a negro Kill an Indian the negro shall suffer death. and if an Indian Kill a negro he shall pay the owner the value. If person not able to pay the value shall suffer death."[18]

This indicates the importance of a slave to the Creeks as the death penalty for killing a black was not practiced by white people, even if the value could not be paid.

Penalties were also provided for intermarriage of Creeks and Negroes—a contradiction to the popular belief that Creeks had no qualms about marrying blacks. Law 20 states:[19]

> If any of our people have children and Negroes and either of the children should take a Negro as a husband or wife—and should Said child have a property given to it by his or her parent the property shall be taken from

[18] Antonio J. Waring, ed., *Laws of the Creek Nation* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1960), p. 17.

[19] *Ibid.*, pp. 20–21.

them and divide among the rest of the children as it is a disgrace to our Nation for our people to marry a Negro.

It was also ruled that slaves had no right to hold property in a law that declared slaves "shall not raise property of any kind. If the master does not take it from them the law makers shall and they may do as they please with the property."[20]

However, emancipation of slaves was provided for when the Creek code declared "If any man should think proper to Sett his Negroe free he shall be considered a freeman by the Nation."[21] But the law said nothing about citizenship rights for the freedman.

Although the problem at this time was not as severe as it had been earlier, Creek raids on Southern plantations were still occurring, and "Law 23" dealt with this problem when it declared that, "Prisoners taken in War shall not be Considered or traded as slave and it shall be the tudy [duty] of the law makers to make them a free of ourselfs."[22]

Concerning Creek Indians being defrauded by slaves, the legal code stated that "No Master Shall be bound for any trade or bargain made by his slave,"[23] and order among the slaves was maintained by a law declaring that "if any slave should Kill a slave such punishment shall be death."[24]

Though they were not warmly greeted, missionaries had begun to enter the Creek Nation by this time. Ostracized for their abolitionist preachings, the missionaries did impress upon the Creeks the opportunities that education offered. Eventually the federal government was asked for help, and, in 1827, it granted $1,000 for Creek education. However, the Creeks had no schools to utilize the money, and, consequently, the funds were given to the missionary schools. However, these institutions did not prosper due to lack of support from the Creeks, because, although they wanted education, they did not want it tinged with abolitionist teachings. Several of the Creeks' black slaves were severely beaten for attending services at the missions. By late 1828, it was clear the missions had failed, and most were abandoned.[25]

In 1826, a small group of Creeks signed a treaty with the United States to give up their land in the East and move to new territory west of the Mississippi River. Though removal meant abandoning all the plantations and improvements that had marked the change in Creek civilization,

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 21.
[21] *Ibid.*
[22] *Ibid.*
[23] *Ibid.*, p. 23.
[24] *Ibid.*
[25] Roland Hinds, "Early Creek Missions," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XVII, No. 1 (March, 1939), p. 49.

nevertheless the Creeks took their slaves with them on their "Trail of Tears"—some even buying slaves for the trip. By 1829, many Creeks had relocated in present-day Oklahoma on the Arkansas River near the mouth of the Verdigris River. Faced with disease, starvation and Osage Indians—the threat of attack figured foremost in the minds of the Creeks—many took great precautions against a surprise attack and as one observer declared:[26]

> With plenty of tools, oxen, wagons and supplies which were brought with them, they immediately began to build log cabins for the slaves as well as one for their master Joe.
>
> Back east cabins were built about ¼ to ½ mile from each other on the plantations but when they built here, thye were all close together as they sensed that an intrusion of wild Indians might occur at any time. In this way, they could all be together and fight it out with them.

Following another removal treaty signed by the remaining Creeks on March 24, 1832, a census was taken of those still in the East. It reported that the Upper Creek Nation owned 445 Negro slaves, and the Lower Creek Nation had 457 Negro slaves.[27] Those Creeks still in the East also brought their slaves to the new country in the West. Jane Hawkins, the daughter of Chief William McIntosh, who had been assassinated during the disagreement about the Creek removal, and her brother D. N. McIntosh were among those who first moved into the new territory, and they brought with them the slaves they had inherited from their father.[28]

In addition, not all of those who traveled the Creek's "Trail of Tears" were Creek, or even Indian. John and Kendall Lewis, who were intermarried into the Creek tribe, were among the numerous whites, and both of their wives owned several slaves.[29]

Roley McIntosh, who was destined to become an important chief of the Creeks, also removed his slaves to Indian Territory. McIntosh, who was extremely wealthy, eventually established two plantations in the new land—one was McIntosh's home and private residence, while the other was where the slaves were quartered.[30] The widow of Chief William McIntosh, Susannah McIntosh, also brought two families of black slaves who worked on her farm located on a high hill overlooking the Verdigris River.[31]

---

[26] George McIntosh, "Life and Customs of the Slaves Before the Civil War," Ex-Slaves File, Library, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

[27] Angie Debo, *The Road to Disappearance* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1941), p. 99.

[28] Interview, Philip A. Lewis, Ex-Slaves File, Library, Oklahoma Historical Society.

[29] *Ibid.*

[30] *Ibid.*

[31] Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "A Creek Pioneer, Notes Concerning "Aunt Sue" Rogers and Her Family," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXI, No. 3 (September, 1942), pp. 272–273.

Among the wealthiest Creeks to make the change from the eastern land to the new Indian Territory were Ben and Lafyette Marshal, who were cousins. Establishing a plantation northwest of the site of present-day Wybark, Oklahoma,[32] their extensive holdings were described as:[33]

> three large farms [which by] farming on a large scale, raised wheat, oats, rice, corn and cotton with the aid of one hundred or more slaves that he owned. He bought hides, corn, oats, wheat, wood and pecans from the Indians on the Verdigris River where he had a warehouse eight miles north of Muskogee.
>
> The small steamers would come by way of the Arkansas and Verdigris Rivers to Mr. Marshall's warehouse and he would ship his produce to Fort Smith, Arkansas, selling the produce at a nice profit.
>
> He also bought and sold slaves until the Civil War. After the Civil War started, Mr. Marshall, his wife, two daughters and his grandson, Richard Adkins, started south with six or seven wagons and thirty slaves. The other slaves that Mr. Marshall owned escaped and went North.

Still not all of the Creeks moved to the new territory. There were many who refused to give up their eastern land until all hope was lost. One large group of Creeks did not move until 1846. One was Paddy Carr, who arrived in 1847 with his family and eight slaves.[34]

However, those remaining in the East posed a problem for the white citizens of the region, and the government which wanted the land evacuated as soon as possible, grew impatient. Eventually, Moses K. Wheat was hired to gather the remaining Creek stragglers and bring them west. He was startled to discover that some Creeks were being held captive as slaves of white people. The United States secretary of war reported in 1840, that a number of Creek Indians were being held as slaves by citizens of Irwington, Georgia—among those holding Creeks as slaves was a circuit judge.[35]

As the rumors of the Creeks being held in bondage spread, the job of Wheat and his associates became more difficult. Many Creeks believed that the soldiers had come to take them away to slavery, and Wheat wrote the commissioner of Indian affairs that:[36]

> . . . in Coosa and Talledega counties I collected some 57 in number and put them in charge of the wagoner to carry them to camp, and when on the

---

[32] Interview, Philip A. Lewis, Ex-Slaves File.

[33] Interview, Richard Adkins, Ex-Slaves File, Library, Oklahoma Historical Society.

[34] Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*, p. 174.

[35] *Ibid.*, p. 175.

[36] Moses K. Wheat to Commissioner, January 20, 1846, quoted in Grant Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*, pp. 174–175.

journey were persuaded to abscond by persons telling them that they were to be chained and carried off and sold as slaves. Genl. Blake writes me that in a scout in Barbour, Henry, Dale, Covington and Pike counties he found considerable but mostly females "held as slaves."

Once in their new homes, the Creeks not only continued black slavery but the institution grew in size and complexity. An 1831 bill of sale for a black slave illustrates the continued growth:[37]

Know all men by these presint that I Chilly McIntosh of the Creek Nation do bargain and sell unto Corsy Hordridge of the Same Nation a Certain Negro Woman by the name of Mary about twenty five years old for an incideration of the Sum of four hundred Dollars to me in hono hard. by Sara Corsy Hordridge. which property I warrent and defend from all claim or Claiments whatsoever given undir my hand above writin this 30th day of September 1831

Just at the time that the Creeks were reestablishing their normal life in the new country and improving their plantations, several missionaries entered the region without invitation. Openly hostile to them, many Creeks resented the intruders' preaching the abolition of slavery, and one missionary was nearly killed by irate Creeks.[38]

The problem of the missionaries became so bothersome, that in September, 1835, Roley McIntosh filed charges of misconduct against them. This Indian agent ordered all missionaries out of the area. Complaining that the missionaries not only preached abolition, but allowed Negroes in their churches and encouraged the creation of slave churches, the Creeks refused to admit missionaries into the Creek Nation.[39]

During the time that the missionaries were banished, some slaves still sought comfort from "prayer meetings," and one old Negro named Billy continued to preach Christianity. Teaching the precepts of his religion to an Indian named Joseph Islands, the two started to preach in 1842 to all who would listen—mostly slaves. Many Creeks severely whipped their slaves for attending these gospel services, and in one case a woman was given fifty lashes on her bare back for asserting her belief in Christ. It seemed to have little effect, however, as she washed her wounds in a spring near North Fork Town, and then walked ten miles to hear Joseph Islands preach."[40]

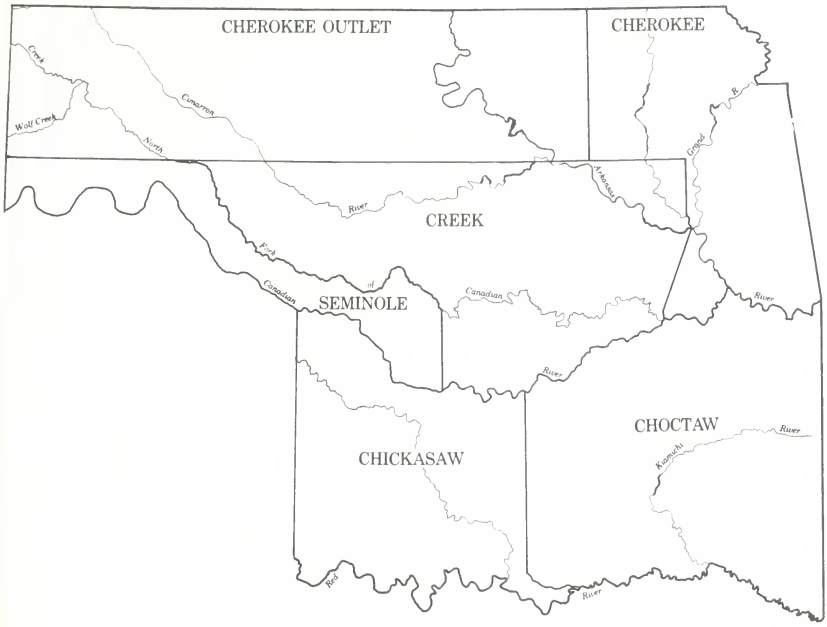
---

[37] Annie Heloise Abel, *The American Indian as Participant in the Civil War* (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1919), front plate.

[38] Grant Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*, p. 169.

[39] Hinds, "Early Creek Missions," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XVII, p. 51.

[40] Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "North Fork Town," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXIX (Spring, 1951), No. 1, pp. 80–81.



The new Creek homeland in Indian Territory gave the tribal members some of the richest farmland in the region, and the rivers flowing through the area provided them outlets to markets in Arkansas (Adapted from John W. Morris, Charles R. Goins and Edwin C. McReynolds, *Historical Atlas of Oklahoma*, 2nd ed., Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1976, map 28)

Many believed that the Creeks were very lenient masters, requiring little of their slaves. In some instances, as nearly every rule has exceptions, this was true. However, the evidence seems to indicate that the Creeks were no less demanding of their slaves than were white masters. Nonetheless, in some cases the strangeness of the Creeks' type of slavery may have been misconstrued as leniency. Slavery among the Lower Creeks—those who most usually used the plantation system—was almost exactly the same as the white plantation owners' system. The difference was among the Upper Creeks who maintained the communal system of farming longer than the Lower Creeks. Their slaves often lived in a small "slave village" near the Creek town and worked in the same large communal field that all Creeks tilled. Later, the Upper Creeks adapted their system to fit the use of slavery more readily. The owners of slaves still lived in the Creek town, but their slaves lived on and worked farms owned by their Creek masters and

were required to produce a given quota of a crop. In return, the slaves were given a portion of this for subsistence.[41]

During the 1850s, many Creek Negro slaves appeared in the towns of Brackettville, Texas, and Nacimiento, Mexico. Established by runaway slaves of the Seminole Nation, the towns were later populated by fleeing Creek slaves as well. However, apparently the Creek slaves did not blend in with the blacks from other tribes who had also journeyed to the "free" towns, and there was considerable argument about naming the Brackettville town cemetery the "Seminole Cemetary" [sic]. The Creek Negroes believed it should be the "Seminole-Creek Cemetery."[42]

The Creeks made several additions to their laws, probably during the 1850s, concerning the institution of black slavery within the nation. The second law enacted provided that if a slave killed another slave, the killer would receive 100 lashes on his bare back. The owner of the convicted slave, however, must pay the owner of the deceased half of the value of the dead slave. Other laws concerned all Negroes in the Creek territory.[43]

The existence of free Negroes in a slaveholding country nearly always posed serious problems. This was true in the Creek Nation as elsewhere, therefore, ostensibly as a source of revenue, but possibly also as a deterrent to emancipation, the Creek Nation exacted several taxes of free Negroes. One of which stated that:[44]

> Negroes so freed over twelve years of age should pay a tax of three dollars annually to the Creek Nation, except those who were recognized as members of the Nation. The freed Negroes should pay also a tax on their live stock and their wagons. Officials were appointed to take a census of all free Negroes in the Nation and collect the tax from them.

The Creeks believed that the free blacks within the nation were a bad influence on their slaves, as many Creek slaves would run away from their masters and hide among the free blacks. Thus, the Creek Council enacted legislation requiring a $50.00 fine or 100 lashes as a penalty for hiding a runaway slave.[45]

The existence of intermarriage among blacks and Creeks was also reflected in several laws passed by the council, which declared it unlawful for a Creek man to take a Negro woman as his wife.[46] In 1858, the question

---

41 Wyatt F. Jeltz, "The Relations of Negroes and Choctaw and Chickasaw Indians," *Journal of Negro History*, Vol. XXXIII, No. 1, p. 30.

42 Kenneth Wiggins, "The Hawkins Negroes Go to Mexico," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXIV, No. 1 (Spring, 1946), p. 55.

43 Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*, p. 213.

44 *Ibid.*

45 *Ibid.*

46 *Ibid.*

of citizenship qualifications was resolved by declaring all free persons, excluding those of Negro origin, "heretofore received and acknowledged by us as citizens of the Creek Nation are hereby declared bonafide members and citizens." Also, those persons who had Creek mothers and Negro fathers when the child of that union was not more than half Negro were considered members of the Creek Nation.[47]

No slave was allowed to own or be in possession of horses, cattle or guns. The members of the Creek Lighthorse were instructed to enforce this law and to confiscate all such property; any seized property was to be sold for the profit of the nation.[48]

In answer to the upsurge of Negro preachers in the Creek Nation, it was declared that no black slave or freedman could preach to an Indian congregation. In addition, slaves were allowed to have religious meetings only if they were conducted within two miles of their owner's premises, and at least one free person not of the Negro race had to be present at the meeting as an observer.[49]

Concerned about education for young Creeks, provisions by the council were made for a national education system. The system consisted of fourteen schools, divided into two equal districts. Each district was under the direction of a superintendent of schools, and the superintendent was responsible for hiring teachers. However, the law clearly stipulated that under no circumstances was the superintendent to hire anyone who advocated abolition of slavery.[50]

The census of 1860 shows the Creek Nation as holding 1,651 slaves.[51] Concerned about the effect of freedmen living in the nation, the Creek Council on March 1, 1861, passed legislation forcing all free blacks residing in the Creek Nation to choose masters among the Creeks. If they failed to do this within ten days, they would be put up for auction and sold to the highest Creek bidder.[52]

At the same time, more stringent slave laws were also enacted. No slave was allowed more than two miles away from his master's premises without a written pass, and no slaves were allowed any distance from their homes at night. In addition, they were prohibited from carrying weapons of any type and from carrying on a mercantile business with their own property.[53]

In 1861, emmissaries from the Confederate states of Arkansas and Texas

---

47 Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*, p. 216.
48 *Ibid.*, p. 215.
49 *Ibid.*, p. 216.
50 *Ibid.*, p. 215.
51 Hines, "Early Creek Missions," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XVII, p. 324.
52 Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*, p. 216.
53 *Ibid.*

Former slavers, now freedmen, living in the Creek Nation after the Civil War

visited the Creek Nation in an effort to convince the Creeks that they should become involved in the Civil War. However, the Creeks were deeply divided on the issue. Nonetheless, the Confederate representatives argued that the Creek Nation could expect no help from the United States government and pointed out that the geographical location of the Creeks dictated that they ally themselves with the South.[54] Later that year a delegation of Creeks journeyed to Washington, D.C. to discuss treaty terms with the United States. Taking advantage of their absence, the Confederacy concluded a treaty with the pro-South Creeks. At first there was still division. The main opponent of the treaty with the South was Chief Opothleyahola, but his reasons were related to the reluctance to go to war for a foreign nation instead of any moral question about slavery. "In fact, as far back as 1831, Chief Opothleyahola is credited with having made claim to and carried off, 7 negro slaves, belonging to the estate of the late Col. A. P. Chouteau."[55]

The treaty with the Confederate States of America made reference to

[54] Wiley Britton, "Reminiscences of the Cherokee People," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. VI, No. 2 (September, 1928), pp. 164–165.

[55] John Bartlett Meserve, "Chief Opothleyahola," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. IX, No. 4 (December, 1931), p. 446.

the existence of slavery in the Creek Nation. The Creeks were assured slavery would remain a legal institution, and provisions were made for returning fugitive slaves. The agreement stipulated, in part:[56]

> The provisions of all such acts of Congress of the Confederate States as may now be in force, or may hereafter be enacted, for the purpose of carrying into effect the provision of the constitution in regard to the re-delivery or return of fugtive slaves, or fugitives from labour and service, shall extend to, and be in full force within the said Creek Nation; and shall also apply to all cases of escape of fugitive slaves from the said Creek Nation into any other Indian nation or into one of the Confederate States, the obligation upon each such nation or State to re-deliver such slaves being in every case as complete as if they had escaped from another State, and the mode of procedure the same.

To insure the existence of slavery as a legal institution, the treaty also declared:[57]

> It is hereby declared and agreed that the institution of slavery in the said nation is legal and has existed from time immemorial; that slaves are taken and deemed to be personal property; that the title to slaves and other property having its origin in the said nation, shall be determined by the laws and customs thereof; and that the slaves and other personal property of every person domiciled in said nation shall pass and be distributed at his or her death, in accordance with the laws, usages and customs of the said nation, which may be proved like foreign laws, usages & customs, and shall everywhere be held valid and binding within the scope of their operation.

The Creeks served in both the Confederate and Union armies during the war, and as there were few available men who spoke both English and Creek, many slaves also served. Therefore, the strict rule of segregation had to be bent.

At the conclusion of the Civil War, the Creeks returned to their towns and plantations, and in 1866, the United States concluded a peace treaty with the Creek Nation. Included was a provision which effectively ended all slavery in the Creek Nation:[58]

> The Creeks hereby covenant and agree that henceforth neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes, whereof the parties shall have been duly convicted in accordance with laws applicable to all members of said tribe, shall ever exist in said nation; and inasmuch as there are among the Creeks many persons of African descent,

---

[56] Annie Heloise Abel, *The American Indian as Slaveholder and Secessionist* (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1915), pp. 166–167.

[57] *Ibid.*, p. 167.

[58] Kappler, *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, Vol. II, pp. 932–933.

> who have no interest in the soil, it is stipulated that hereafter these persons lawfully residing in said Creek country under their laws and usages, or who have been thus residing in said country, and may return within one year from the ratification of this treaty, and their descendants and such others of the same race as may be permitted by the laws of the said nation to settle within the limits of the jurisdiction of the Creek Nation as citizens [thereof,] shall have and enjoy all the rights and privileges of native citizens, including an equal interest in the soil and national funds, and the laws of the said nation shall be equally binding upon and give equal protection to all such persons, and all others, of whatsoever race or color, who may be adopted as citizens or members of said tribe.

After considerable deliberation, the Creeks adopted the terms of the treaty, and the long history of slavery ended in the Creek Nation.

THE TUTTLE TRAIL

*By Berenice Lloyd Jackson and Max Blau**

The Tuttle Trail started at the Springer Ranch located one-half mile east of Lake Marvin in Hemphill County, Texas. This location was on the Fort Supply–Fort Elliott Military Road and stage route. Oliver Nelson, in his book *The Cowman's Southwest* states that "A.G. (Jim) Springer came to Boggy Creek in the early 1870s to establish a trading post for the buffalo hunters, and a relay station for the stage and mail route." Building a stockade, including a blockhouse with loopholes on all sides, and an underground passageway leading to a covered fortified pit and to the corrals and stable, he believed he was secure from Indian attacks. In the fall of 1875, when the Indians were subdued, Springer bought three hundred head of cattle from a passing trail herd and turned them loose on the open range. Springer and an associate, Tom Ledbetter, were killed by some disgruntled soldiers in 1877 over a poker game.[1]

Two Dodge City, Kansas, men, John F. Tuttle and Frank Chapman bought the Springer Ranch in 1878 and began collecting cattle to drive to the railroad. Tuttle was a Civil War veteran having served with Company I, Second Michigan Cavalry. Chapman was a cowman, buffalo hunter and Indian trader. Using CT (Chapman and Tuttle) as their brand, the ranch was known thereafter as the CT ranch.

Tuttle and Chapman chose a more direct route to the shipping point at Dodge City, Kansas, than either the Jones and Plummer Trail or the military road from the ranch to Fort Supply, Indian Territory. The route they chose went almost between the above mentioned trails and later became known as "The Tuttle Trail." The first herd driven over this trail was cattle owned by Tuttle and Chapman in the spring of 1879, later the same year Chapman sold his interest in the CT Ranch to Tuttle. (Historic Trails and Landmarks of Hemphill County, Texas by Elmer Sparks)

Tom Conaster, the present owner of the Springer Ranch said, "the herd was driven along the military road approximately ten miles, turning directly north and staying east of the Dry Fork of Boggy Creek." The grass was luxuriant and there were watering places along the route where the cattle might be bedded down at night.

---

* Berenice Lloyd Jackson is a native of the Oklahoma Panhandle, and an organizer of the Panhandle Writer's Club. Max August Blau is the editor of "The History of the Northeast Corner of Texas," published as a part of *A History of Lipscomb County, 1876–1976.*

[1] Lipscomb County Historical Survey Committee, *A History of Lipscomb County, Texas 1876–1976* (n.p.: Lipscomb County Historical Survey Committee, 1976).

The Tuttle Trail entered Lipscomb County, Texas, on what is now section 83, block 43 according to the Houston and Texas Central Railroad Company Survey. Today, The Canadian River Cattle Company of Jones and Jones owns seven sections which the Tuttle Trail crossed. The greenery of the low rolling plains are cut with deep draws that project wild life and wild flowers. Indian blanket, Indian paint brush, creamy blossoms of the wild yucca or as the natives say "the soap weed," goldenrod, tiny purple aster, oxeye daisies, vetch, purple and yellow clover, sunflowers and the purple flower of loco weed are some of the native wild flowers, and cattle still enjoy the luxuriant grass.

One of the old landmarks which was a "look out" for the hunters was a high flat mesa located in section 358. It was used by the cowboys to wave herds in their turn up the trail. It was called "Flat Top" by the herdsman. Today it is being levelled, and the rich top soil is being spread over the sides and the owners are planning to raise crops on this land by irrigation. Another historical marker is lost.

This trail crossed Wolf Creek in section 622, then north near where George Wilkerson Walton settled in 1885, section 787. The present owner is Vernor Parker and his cattle stand knee deep in native grass. This portion of the trail is being irrigated and sunflowers bow their heads over the old Tuttle Trail. The herds moved on north crossing Mammoth Creek, passed by the Mammoth Post Office where the cowboys could send mail home and pick up any letters that may be waiting for them.

Mammoth Creek was named by J. C. Studer, a Kansas blacksmith. Studer and his sons had unearthed some mammoth fossils on the banks of this creek in the early 1880s. So "Mammoth Creek" was properly named.[2]

In May, 1879, the Tuttle outfit camped in a low sandy place that was called Sand Springs in section 1052. The Cullen outfit was camped in section 1061 near Willow Springs. Some cowboys from each camp got into an argument which ended in a "shoot-out" and two men were killed. The Cullen man was buried on the spot, and a crude marker was put on the grave with the inscription "Hawk Hanks" May 10 1879. Relatives claimed the grave, and the body was moved in 1941.[3]

The Tuttle man's body was carried to "Soddy Town" in No Man's Land and buried without any marker. Taking the cattle slowly from Texas to Dodge City, Kansas, meant grass along the entire route, and the cattle would reach their destination in good condition. In order for this to be accomplished, the second herd coming from the south would be moved over on grass that was not trampled or eaten close to the ground. This meant good

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Ben Montgomery, "Memoirs," W. H. Wilhite Collection, Higgens, Texas.

Ruts still visible, made by the chuck wagons on the Tuttle Trail

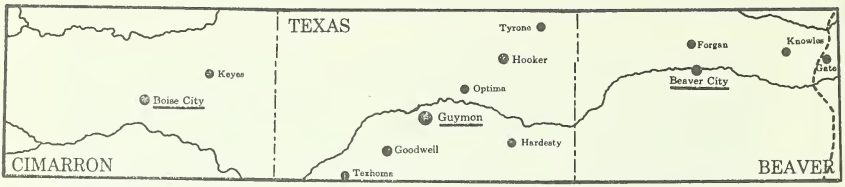
grass for their herd. By the end of the season, these trails sometimes would extend from six to ten miles wide.[4]

In Section 1149, two and one-half miles east of Follett, Texas, on the highway there is a roadside park with a marker commemorating the Tuttle Trail. In Section 172 of block 10 the trail is visible as it comes off the hill going north. It may also be seen in Section 93, Block 10 as it splits; part of the trail goes northwest to Soddy Town and part continues on north into old No Man's Land. The main herd entered No Man's Land at Section 31 Township 1 Range 28 while the wagon trail went by Soddy Town, a wild frontier place with a store and tavern located on the NE/4 of the NW/4 Section 26 Township 1 Range 27. Here the cowboys bought their supplies, liquor and the necessary articles for the trail.[5]

---

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] Beaver County Historical Society, *History of Beaver County* (2 vols., n.p.: Beaver County Historical Society, 1970–1971), Vol. II, p. 178.



Route of the Tuttle Trail through eastern Beaver County in the Oklahoma Panhandle (Adapted from Morris, Goins and McReynolds, *Historical Atlas of Oklahoma*, 2nd ed., Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1976, map 81)

The J. I. Lovell ranch was four miles east of Soddy Town, and Gertrude Paine stated "We lived about one-half mile from what was called the 'Tuttle Trail.' There were large herds of cattle driven from Texas up into Kansas for shipment." Recalling that "They would camp by our place on the trail, and the men would come to our house for eggs, butter and buttermilk. All the calves that were born on the night they were at our place were given to us. We got as high as eight at one time."[6]

Three miles northeast of Soddy Town, Clinton Hawk operated a blacksmith shop on the NE/4 of Section 12, Township 1, Range 27. One can still see where his dugout was located and the depression in the sod where his well had been dug. No doubt his place was a welcome haven to a wagon or stage coach driver in the hot, dry summer days when the wooden wheels had shrunk and the iron tires needed setting or a horse had lost a shoe.[7]

The trail continued on a northeasterly course keeping on high ground between Indian Creek and Camp Creek, the drivers watched the small butte called "Flat Top" and stayed west of that landmark. Should they have gone east of "Flat Top," they would have been in the Cherokee Outlet or Indian Territory.

"Flat Top" was not only a guide for the cattle coming from the south but later on for the herds coming from Fort Supply on the National Trail going west to the Colorado line (Lost Trails of the Cimarron, Harry E. Chrisman). Later, the United States Coast And Geodetic Survey used "Flat Top" as headquarters and placed a marker of cement with a bronze marker

---

[6] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 333.
[7] W. H. Wilhite, "Diary," W. H. Wilhite Collection.

imbedded with the inscription "Flat-Top—1927." It was from this point that the true survey of the One Hundredth Meridian was made.[8]

It is not unusual to find a small, high plateau or flat tableland with steep sides on the prairie in western Oklahoma. One such hill is called "Round Top" as the mound rises to a complete circle and is as high as "Flat Top." Ten miles west are two such mounds side by side which the early pioneer watched for as guides to their claims, and they were called the Twin Mounds.

Mrs. Raymond Nine related some of her mother's memoirs on the old cattle trail. She recalled:[9]

> Mae Petty's parents, George and Debrah Petty squatted on Camp Creek 1886 just one-half mile east of the crossing of the Tuttle Trail. She and her sisters would stand on a knoll west of their sod house watching the cattle pass by. Mr. Petty had built a fence on his west line and not one animal ever got onto his land. Sometimes it would take all day for the herd to pass and sometimes the cattle was bedded down between Camp Creek and the Kiowa Creek.

T. S. Judy recalled his early recollections of the Tuttle Trail:[10]

> Herd after herd passed over this tril while I lived here. These heards were from fifteen hundred to three thousand head.
>
> The boss of one of the larger herds told me that they had too many, that the herd was hard to handle at the water holes. I watched this particular herd water at Kiowa Creek. The cattle were stopped and held up about a mile south of the creek and then shoved forward in small bunches, each bunch brought to the creek just a little above the other and just a little later, thus giving each group a drink of water not riled and muddied as would have been the case if the cattle all reached the stream at the same time. The last group reached the river about a half mile above the leaders.
>
> The chuck wagon had come on ahead and the cowboys had their noon meal while the cattle were milling along the stream. There were eight men handling the cattle, two horse wranglers and one cook. The horses were good ones and each man had six in his mount. A rope corral was made by fastening one rope to the front wheel and one to the back wheel of the chuck wagon and then hand stretching the ropes out and around the bunch of horses where they were held until each man caught the particular horse he was to ride. As the men worked and ate in relays it took some time to get dinner over.
>
> I found out that the cook kept stocked with dry wood and fuel by having

---

[8] Beaver County Historical Society, *History of Beaver County*, Vol. II, p. 197.
[9] Mae Petty Slaven, "Memoirs," Beula Nine Collection, Laverne, Oklahoma.
[10] Beaver County Historical Society, *History of Beaver County*, Vol. II, p. 442.

a cow hide strung under the chuck wagon and picking up wood as he drove along placing it in this hide.

The cattle were not pushed away from the creek but were allowed to stand around in the water until they left of their own accord and began to graze. When that happened, the boss drove on ahead for about three miles and selected a camping place for the night and the cattle were grazed slowly forward to that place, arriving about sun down. They had their fill of grass and water and were bedded down for the night less than a quarter of a mile from camp. Two men went on guard and stayed on duty for two hours, then they were relieved by two others and so on through the night.

The cowboys would rest the cattle at Round Timber on the Beaver River, repeating the same procedure as Mr. Judy had witnessed on the Kiowa Creek. They crossed the Cimarron River at the mouth of Horse Creek. From there the herders would go to Neutral City, two miles west of Gate, to replenish their supplies.

The Tuttle Trail left Beaver County one mile west of the present Harper County line and three south of Englewood, Kansas. The herds were pushed on into Clark County, Kansas. The cattle were watered at Perry's West Lakes, Five Mile Creek and again at Big Sandy Creek. The chuck wagon cook laid in fresh supplies at Cash City. According to George McKinney, Englewood, Kansas, Cash City was built on the Tuttle Trail and was mostly supported by it. When the railroads came into existence and the trail was no longer used, Cash City became a ghost town.

The cowboys kept the cattle west of the Big Basin and Saint Jacob's Well continuing north within three miles west of the present location of Minneola, Kansas. The main trail was close to the Meade County, Kansas, line, and during the summer season the herds were spread out over an area six to ten miles wide. It is very probable they were sometimes grazed in Meade County, Kansas.

The Tuttle Trail entered Ford County, Kansas, in section 35 continuing north, moving slowly as the watering places were farther apart. The first real drink for the cattle was at Mulberry Creek. Then they were pushed on into Dodge City and into the corrals.

The last time the Tuttle Trail was used as a cattle trail was in the fall of 1919. The Theis Ranch and Cattle Company south of Englewood, Kansas, had contracted for two thousand yearling steers for delivery to the YL Ranch. The price was from forty-five to fifty dollars per head. Jim Wheat, who had leased the ranch at that time, received the cattle.

The Bowen boys, Raymond, Claude and Paul, V. M. Willis, L. W. Blau and Max Blau united their herds and drove them to a pasture west of Darrouzett, Texas, where they were penned. Later they were driven across

"Flat Top" a prominent geological feature along the Tuttle Trail

the Frass Ranch to the Young Ranch and on to the Kiowa Creek in Beaver County, Oklahoma. Here Dick Duke and Bill Wright joined the drive on to Englewood.

By 1919 most of the southern part of Beaver County had been fenced and cultivated. This last herd was kept between the fence lines, and the cattle had little to eat until they reached the Kiowa Creek. From this point they stayed as close to the old trail as possible all the way, and the cattle had plenty to eat.

Dick Duke declared on that day that "we were making history as this would probably be the last cattle drive on the Tuttle Trail." It was the end of another era.

THE BOTANICAL ITINERARIES OF A. H. VAN VLEET

*By George J. Goodman and Cheryl A. Lawson**

Dr. Albert Heald Van Vleet (1861–1925) began his career at the then infant University of the Territory of Oklahoma at Norman in 1898 as head of the new Department of Biology. His contributions to the university, to the state and to science were many in the twenty-seven years that followed.

Out of his management of the biology department grew the present-day departments of botany-microbiology, zoology and geology. Van Vleet was also responsible for the pre-medical curriculum at the university and, thus, for the medical school. In 1909 Van Vleet was appointed as the first dean of the Graduate School, a position that he held until his death.

State organizations such as the Oklahoma Historical Association were created with his active interest and assistance. Also, through his interest and efforts, a hard-surface road (now United States Highway 77) was constructed from the northern boundary of Cleveland County through the towns of Moore, Norman, Noble and the town of Lexington. On October 6, 1925, the county commissioners of Cleveland County passed a resolution declaring that this highway be named the Van Vleet Highway, in memory of the late A. H. Van Vleet. The south oval on the present-day campus also bears, and more obviously so, his name.

Several papers on birds and plants were published by Van Vleet, but of his many other attainments Van Vleet wrote little. At a memorial service held on November 20, 1925, the university's first president, Dr. David Ross Boyd, commented, "Dr. Van Vleet was a modest man. Some of his best friends have often thought at times he was too modest for his own interests."[1] It is, in part, this modesty that has made our search for information on Van Vleet difficult. Much of what we are able to report has been gleaned from newspapers, governmental reports, archival holdings and Territorial University publications of the time. Van Vleet, in addition to other endeavors, was a pioneer botanist, collector and curator. It is in these areas that we were interested.

Soon after his arrival at the university, he joined President Boyd in presenting a bill to the legislature providing for a Department of Geology and Natural History. On March 13, 1899, the Territorial Legislature established

---

* George J. Goodman is Regents Professor Emeritus of Botany at the University of Oklahoma and Cheryl A. Lawson is a Research Associate at the University of Oklahoma.

[1] David Ross Boyd, "In Memory of Albert Heald Van Vleet, Address of Dr. David Ross Boyd," *University of Oklahoma Bulletin No. 328* (March, 1926), p. 17.

this department "for the purpose of beginning and continuing the geological and scientific survey of this Territory. . . ."[2] Van Vleet was designated, without compensation, as Territorial Geologist and Chief of this department. An annual appropriation of two hundred dollars was made at that time "to be expended entirely in making such surveys and collections of specimens of minerals, organic remains and other objects of natural history peculiar to this Territory."[3] According to Boyd, "Dr. Van Vleet immediately began to plan to make a trip during the summer of 1899 for the purpose of making a topographical survey of the eastern and northern parts of the territory. . . . These trips of exploration and examination were kept up almost every season during my connection with the university—until 1908."[4]

It is known that by the summer of 1900 four men, Van Vleet, C. M. Gould (who was appointed to the staff, effective the following September), S. Roy Hadsell and Paul J. White, were in the field. The itinerary for this trip is described and mapped in Gould's *Covered Wagon Geologist*, and the following map is adapted from this work.[5]

Of the three men who accompanied Van Vleet on this trip, all remained academicians. Gould became the first director of the Oklahoma State Geological Survey, which was established in July, 1908, and was professor of geology at the University of Oklahoma. S. Roy Hadsell, then an undergraduate at the Territorial University, later received his Doctor of Philosophy from the University of Chicago and became long-time professor of English at the University of Oklahoma. Paul J. White received his master's degree from the Territorial University and his Doctor of Philosophy at Ithaca, New York. Soon after, he became an agronomy professor at Washington State College. Later he joined the science faculty at Pasadena College.

To date, very little has been known or reported of Van Vleet's travels in 1901 and those in the years that followed. The following is an account of those travels based on the uncovered information.

The fires which destroyed the university during Van Vleet's early tenure hindered the investigation. None of the plants collected on trips prior to 1903 is in the herbarium at the University of Oklahoma, as they, along with the rest of the university, were lost in the fire of January 6, 1903. The First Biennial Report of the Department of Geology and Natural History,

---

[2] Territory of Oklahoma, *Session Laws of 1899* (Guthrie: State Capital Printing Company, 1899), pp. 173–174.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 175.

[4] Boyd, "In Memory of Albert Heald Van Vleet, Address of Dr. David Ross Boyd," p. 14.

[5] Charles N. Gould, *Covered Wagon Geologist* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1959), pp. 75–100.

which Van Vleet was required by law to make to the governor, might have supplied helpful information, but the manuscript of the report, too, was lost in the fire. The *Second Biennial Report, 1901–1902* (i.e., the first printed report) stated that there were 838 different species of Oklahoma plants in the herbarium.[6] The report included Van Vleet's list of these plants. It is known that some of the duplicate specimens were sent to other institutions.

For example, Dr. Aven Nelson remarked when describing a new species, "The Natural History Survey of Oklahoma, so energetically conducted by Dr. Van Vleet, of the State University, has suffered the loss, by fire, of many very valuable collections, among them the plants of which these specimens were a part. Dr. Van Vleet is again in the field, and it is to be hoped that he may once more secure some of the rare species found on his first expedition."[7] An itinerary and information on the 1901 survey activities might be obtained by securing information on labels from duplicates sent to such universities as Wyoming and from occasional literature citations such as "P.J. White, Greer Co., 19 July 1901," which was given by Darlington.[8] The gathering of this type of information, while a future consideration, is beyond the scope of the present paper.

No specimens collected by Van Vleet in 1902 have been found in the herbarium or referred to in the literature. According to Gould, Van Vleet was not in the field in 1902.[9] Fortunately for us, the university fire of December, 1907, did not completely destroy the entire herbarium. It has been said that the specimens which were saved from this fire were literally thrown from the windows of the building. The information on the labels of these specimens is often scanty and sometimes puzzling. However, a list of 360 collections has been made of the Van Vleet plants now in the herbarium at the University of Oklahoma. The earliest was collected on April 14, 1903, and the last on October 25, 1924. Of the 360 specimens, slightly over 300 were collected in 1903 and 1905. Of these 1903 and 1905 plants, nearly thirty percent are composites, and ten percent are legumes. There are but four trees, and no grasses or sedges. It is very possible that these groups were lost in the fire of 1907. The data from the labels on the available 1903 and 1905 plants was the one source which enabled the reconstruction of the itinerary for the collecting trips made in those years.

---

[6] A. H. Van Vleet, "Plants of Oklahoma," Territory of Oklahoma, Department of Geology and Natural History, *Second Biennial Report* (Guthrie: State Capital Company, 1902), p. 12.

[7] Aven Nelson, "Contributions from the Rocky Mountain Herbarium. V.," *Botanical Gazette*, Vol. XXXVII (1904), p. 264.

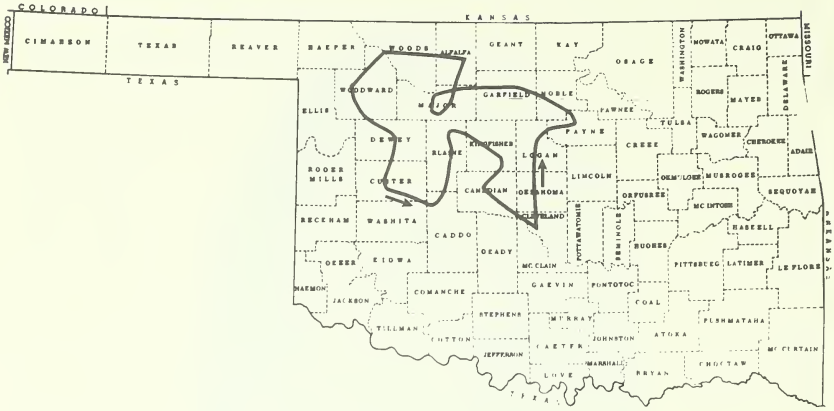
[8] Josephine Darlington, "A Monograph of the Genus *Mentzelia*," *Annals of the Missouri Botanical Garden*, Vol. XXI, No. 1 (1934), p. 144.

[9] Gould, *Covered Wagon Geologist*, p. 116.

Dr. A. H. Van Vleet

In the spring of 1903 after the disastrous fire, Van Vleet started rebuilding the herbarium. According to the *Norman Transcript*, "Prof. A. H. Van Vleet, C. D. Bunker and Earl Kline, with a cook and all the camping out paraphanalia [sic] necessary, got away, Wednesday, [June 24, 1903] on an overland trip to the Red river country. They will be gone about six weeks and expect to add materially to the geological, biological, floral and natural history exhibit of the University."[10] Botanically, Van Vleet was in almost virgin territory; only two collectors had preceded him: George G. Shumard who collected on the Marcy Expedition in 1852 and C. S. Sheldon who was commissioned by the United States Secretary of Agriculture in 1891 to make collections in Indian Territory. Concerning Van Vleet's companions, C. D. Bunker was a taxidermist from the University of Kansas who was employed by the Territorial University from 1901 to 1904 as collector and preparator for a biology museum. Interestingly, Earl Kline, a Rhodes

[10] *Norman Transcript* (Norman), June 25, 1903, p. 4.



Route of Van Vleet's 1900 collecting trip into northcentral Oklahoma

Scholar, was a German major and was reported by the *Daily Oklahoman* to be "one of its [class of 1906] most honored members."[11]

Tracing the route of the 1903 trip which Van Vleet and his party made to southwestern Oklahoma Territory clarified the location of the "Keechee Hills." Clearly, they are the hills near Cement, in Caddo County. These hills were named for the Kichai Indians, whose name is said to mean "red shield."[12]

The *Norman Transcript* indicates that Van Vleet's 1903 trip began on Wednesday, June 24, 1903. According to available herbarium specimens, Van Vleet was in the Chickasaw Nation on June 23, 1903. As the beginning of the Chickasaw Nation merely lay on the opposite side of the Canadian River south of Norman, it is possible that Van Vleet's one known collection on this day was made in advance of the official collecting trip. In any case, the one day's difference seems worthy of no further mention.

1903 ITINERARY

Date	Locale and/or County	Approximate Number of Collections*
June 24	Caddo Co.	12
June 26	Caddo Co.	19
June 27	Caddo Co.	8

11 *Daily Oklahoman* (Oklahoma City), March 10, 1907, p. 12.

12 Muriel H. Wright, *A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1951), p. 164.

June 30	Caddo Co. "Keechee Hills" "near Cement"	38
July 2	Comanche Co. "on Little Washita" "near Fletcher" "near Cache Creek" "near Richards"	31
July 3	Comanche Co. "foothills of Wichitas"	13
July 4	Comanche Co. "Top of Mt. Sheridan, Wichita Mts."	14
July 9	Kiowa Co. "Mountain Park"	11
July 10	Kiowa and Comanche Co. "between Mountain Park and Indiahoma"	13
July 11	Comanche Co. "near base of Mt. Sheridan, Wichita Mts."	12
July 12	Comanche Co. "on side of Mt. Sheridan, Wichita Mts."	3
July 14	Comanche Co. "near Mt. Sheridan, Wichita Mts."	8
July 15	Comanche Co. "near Richards"	5
July 17	Grady Co. "Chickasha"	14

* Based on the known beginning and ending collecting numbers for each day. All specimens in the numerical sequence were not available.

Between August 20 and 23, 1903, Van Vleet was again collecting near Norman around Little River and Denver. During these days he collected approximately sixty specimens. He was issued a check by the Territorial Treasurer in the amount of $105.06 for field expenses incurred on his 1903 trip. No 1904 collections have been found, and probably there were not any, as the first numbered collection in 1905 is not far from the last known numbered collection in 1903. Also, the university faculty prepared exhibits in 1904 to display at the World's Fair, which was held in St. Louis, Missouri, that summer.

Information on Van Vleet's 1905 collecting trip into Northeastern Okla-

Van Vleet's 1903 trip to southwestern Oklahoma to rebuild the herbarium destroyed by a disastrous fire

homa Territory was difficult to find. It has been hard to determine who, if anyone, accompanied Van Vleet on this trip. However, the itinerary, as determined by available herbarium specimens, helped to clarify at least three collecting stations. The "Dixie" that has caused plants known only in the northcentral and the northeast in Oklahoma to be cited in botanical literature from Stephens County, in southwestern Oklahoma, where the name appears on current maps, was in Pawnee County. The name was later changed to "Dix."[13]

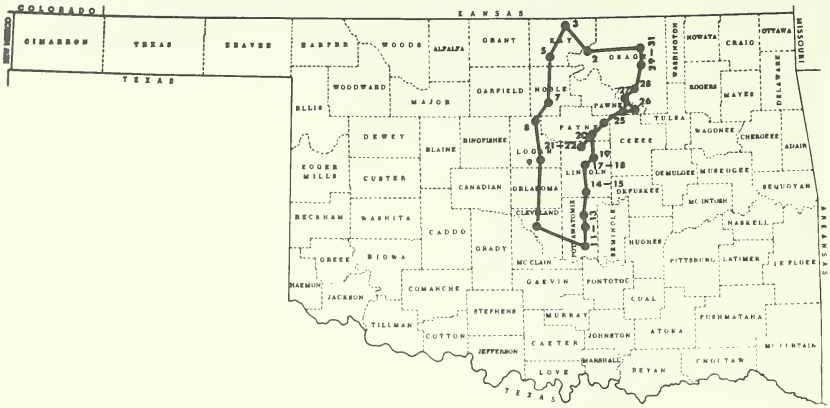
Similarly, when Van Vleet collected in "Adel" he was not in Pushmataha County, but in Adell in Pottawatomie County. "Rogers," a town finally pinpointed on an early territorial map, was located south of Pawhuska in Osage County. We have been told that Rogers was an early name of the present-day Wynona. As their locations seem to be the same, doubtless this information is correct.

A comparison of Van Vleet's itinerary in 1905 with railroads existing at that time suggests the interesting possibility that he made this trip by railroad. Each collecting location known lies along a railroad. The days between collecting spots affords plenty of time for railroad travel and strongly supports this hypothesis. Further supporting evidence is the increased field expenses, $170.12, which Van Vleet received from the Territorial Treasurer on August 17, 1905. The nearly $65.00 increase in field expenses over those of 1903, considerable in those times, could have been due to the increase in cost by traveling by railroad rather than wagon.

[13] George H. Shirk, *Oklahoma Place Names*, 2d. ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1974), p. 71.

Date	Locale and/or County	Approximate Number of Collections*
July 11–13	Pottawatomie Co.	
	"near Adel, Tecumseh, and Shawnee"	38
July 14–15	Lincoln Co.	
	"near Meeker"	11
July 17–18	Lincoln Co.	
	"near Meeker"	
	"near Chandler"	12
July 19	Lincoln Co.	
	"near Chandler"	
	"near Kendrick"	19
July 20	Payne Co.	
	"Cushing"	9
July 21–22	Lincoln and Payne Co.	
	"near Agra"	
	"near Yale"	9
July 25	Payne and Pawnee Co.	
	"near Yale"	
	"near Terlton"	11
July 26	Pawnee Co.	
	"near Dixie"	12
July 27	Pawnee Co.	
	"near Dixie"	
	"Cleveland"	10
July 28	Osage Co.	
	"south of Hominy"	8
July 29–31	Osage Co.	
	"Rogers and Pawhuska"	16
Aug. 2	Osage and Kay Co.	
	"between Rogers and Nowata"	
	"between Rogers and Kaw City"	
	"near Rogers"	10
Aug. 3	Kay Co.	
	"near Newkirk"	10
Aug. 5	Kay Co.	
	"near Tonkawa"	5
Aug. 7	Noble Co.	
	"near Perry"	3
Aug. 8	Logan Co.	
	"near Orlando"	1
Aug. 9	Logan Co.	
	"north of Guthrie"	3

* Based on the known beginning and ending collecting numbers for each day. All specimens in the numerical sequence were not available.



Route of Van Vleet's trip in 1905 that began on July 11 and ended on August 9

A few individual collections made by Van Vleet and his parties deserve comment:

Asclepias Sullivantii, collected in 1903 in the Wichita Mountains, has only been collected since by U. T. Waterfall from Osage County in 1957 and J. R. Massey from Cleveland County in 1967. *Phacelia congesta*, collected with the *Asclepias*, has been collected since by Eskew and Demaree, also in the Wichita Mountains in 1936, and by Waterfall in southern Caddo County in 1954. The more common plant, *Penthorum sedioides*, was collected in Cleveland County by Van Vleet in 1903 and has been collected in the county but twice since, once in 1936 and once in 1967. *Cannabis sativa*, collected on the 1905 trip in Lincoln County, has appeared in the herbarium from Oklahoma but three times since.

No major collecting trips were taken by Van Vleet after 1905. He did, however, in 1906 request Gould to take charge of the field party for the survey. Gould and two students spent the summer in eastern Oklahoma Territory and northern Indian Territory looking for oil fields and coal deposits of the region. Gould commented, "It was the last time that this Survey ever had a party in the field."[14]

In the years that followed, administrative duties doubtless took up much of Van Vleet's time, and these, together with his teaching, understandably left little time for extended trips. The occasional specimens collected during the remainder of his busy years are nearly all from Cleveland County.

---

[14] Gould, *Covered Wagon Geologist*, p. 137.

CHEROKEE ACCULTURATION AND CHANGING LAND USE PRACTICES

*By Douglas C. Wilms**

The earliest records indicate that the Cherokee Indians occupied vast stretches of land in an area bordered by the Ohio and Tennessee rivers on the north and west and by the eastern flank of the Appalachian Mountains on the east. In the south their territory extended to lands in present-day Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina.[1]

Prior to their first contacts with Europeans, Cherokees were mainly agriculturalists whose numerous towns and villages usually were located along streams scattered throughout the valleys of the southern Appalachians. In addition to agriculture, their subsistence economy included hunting, fishing and gathering. The extensive woodlands surrounding their settlements were used for hunting; buffalo, deer and bear were the principal large game in the area. Animal domestication was limited to the dog.[2]

Fields were prepared for cultivation by girdling and subsequent burning of trees and undergrowth. Corn, or maize, was the chief cultivated crop, with beans and squash being nearly as important. In addition, peas, pumpkins, melons, strawberries, potatoes and tobacco were raised. A limited number of hand tools, such as the hoe and pointed stick, were used for cultivation. The hoe blade usually consisted of animal bone, wood, stone or shell.[3]

Louis De Vorsey, in his work on the southern Indian boundary, noted that even as late as the mid-eighteenth century the Indian male often spoke unfavorably of agricultural pursuits in his public utterances ". . . and credited only warfare and hunting as fit undertakings for a man."[4] While Cherokee men may have preferred hunting and warfare, they did play an active role in agriculture. Normally they participated in the heavier aspects of clearing fields, planting and harvesting. Weeding and protection of plants from birds and scavengers were tasks assigned to women, children and older men. Most hunting took place during the summer after crops had been planted and during the fall and winter months after the harvest.

* The author is currently an Associate Professor of Geography at East Carolina University, Greenville, North Carolina.

[1] William H. Gilbert, "The Eastern Cherokees," *Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin Number 133* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1943), p. 178.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 184–185.

[3] Harold E. Driver, *Indians of North America* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1961), pp. 45–53.

[4] Louis De Vorsey, *The Indian Boundary in the Southern Colonies, 1763–1775* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1966), p. 17.

It has been suggested that the Cherokees' eventually successful assimilation of the white man's agricultural techniques stems from this early preadaptation to farming.[5]

Several significant changes in Cherokee land utilization began to occur when sustained contacts were begun with white men. Generally speaking, fur traders were the first Europeans to penetrate the wilderness in the seventeenth century and to act as agents of land use and cultural change. Although such trader-induced changes probably were not intentional, they had a profound effect upon the Cherokee economy.

One of the first changes to take place resulted from the trader's role as a supplier of manufactured goods. Some furs were traded between the Cherokees and Virginians east of the Appalachian mountains in the early seventeenth century. However, Virginia and Carolina traders greatly expanded their efforts during the eighteenth century and eventually penetrated the mountain barrier to their west, thereby giving an increasing number of Cherokees access to manufactured goods.[6]

European manufactures appear to have contributed substantially to alteration of the traditional subsistence economy of the Cherokees. In exchange for peltries, the Indian sought firearms, hatchets, knives, traps and other goods that increased his hunting efficiency.[7] These items not only permitted him to raise his standard of living and to support himself with less effort by gathering more furs and hides, but also led to a more rapid depletion of an area's game supply. For example, the number of pelts gathered increased from 50,000 per year in 1708 to nearly 1,000,000 in 1735.[8] Before long the supply of game was seriously depleted in some of the eastern parts of the Cherokee country. As a result, these areas tended to be hunted less often by the Indians. This, in turn, appears to have encouraged the advance of white settlers into these areas. As the settlement frontier advanced into the traditional hunting grounds, game was further diminished and purchases of Indian land sometimes could be made at reasonable prices and with little effort or coercion. As early as 1767, during negotiations between North Carolina and the Cherokees, one member of the tribe remarked, "True it is the deer, buffaloe and the turkeys are almost gone . . .

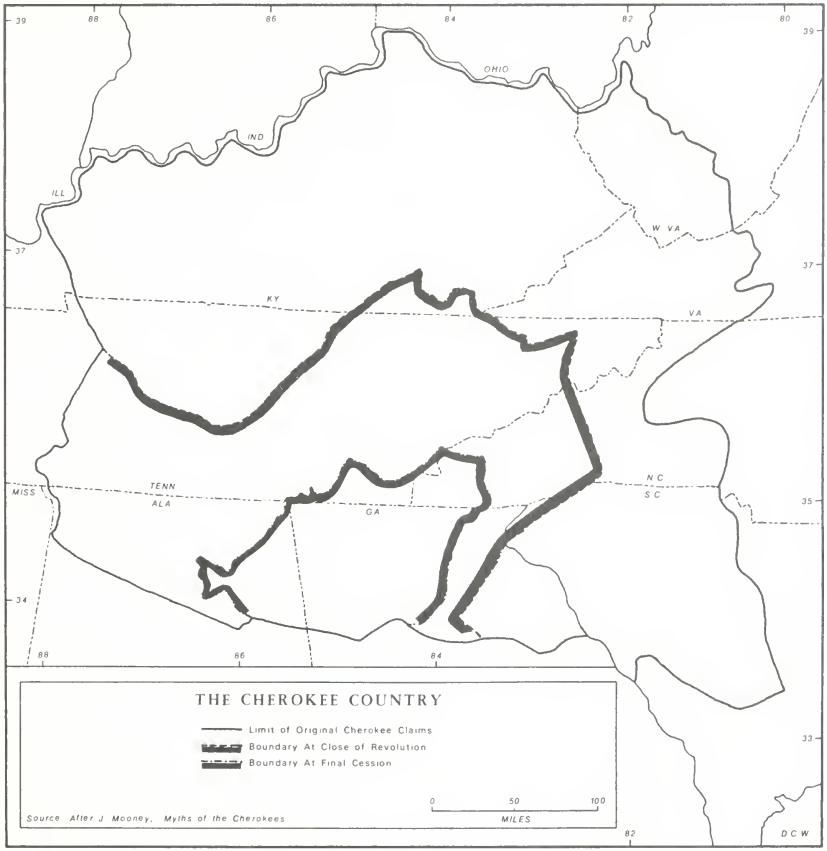
---

[5] Raymond D. Fogelson and Paul Kutsche, "Cherokee Economic Cooperatives: The Gadugi," *Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 180* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1961), p. 116.

[6] Paul Chrisler Phillips, *The Fur Trade* (2 vols., Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), Vol. I, p. 46.

[7] James Mooney, "Myths of the Cherokees," *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1897–1898* (2 parts, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1900), Pt. I, p. 213.

[8] Grace Steele Woodward, *The Cherokees* (Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), p. 46.



Map showing the original claims of the Cherokees, including their more constricted territorial boundaries at the close of the American Revolution, and the area in their possession at the time of removal in 1838

the white people eat hogs, cattle and other things which they have here, but our food is farther off. . . ."[9] This sequence of events became a recurring and predictable theme as the Cherokees withdrew toward the interior in the face of the advancing settlement frontier.

The use of European manufactured goods also made the Indian increasingly dependent upon the white man. Eventually, native implements were no longer manufactured, and weaving and pottery-making became unimportant.[10] In the latter decades of the eighteenth century, some Indians had become so dependent upon the white man that John Stuart, agent for

[9] De Vorsey, *Indian Boundary in the Southern Colonies, 1763–1775*, p. 102.

[10] Alice C. Fletcher, "Indian Education and Civilization," United States Senate, 48th Congress, 2nd Session, *Document 55* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1888), p. 146.

Indian Affairs, could write in 1764 that ". . . a modern Indian cannot subsist without Europeans; and would handle a flint ax or any other utensil used by his ancesters very awkwardly. . . ."[11] The famous naturalist, William Bartram, made a similar observation several years later when he noted that the Cherokees had few ". . . mechanic arts or manufactures . . ." since they were supplied with every necessity by the white trader.[12]

The second role of the trader as an agent of change was related to his own subsistence methods. Although he was primarily interested in gathering furs and skins, he also served as an acculturative agent in agriculture. James Mooney, a recognized authority on Cherokee Indians, has said that, after the development of a regular trade, some traders took Indian wives and established permanent residence in the Cherokee country. In Mooney's words, these individuals farmed and raised domestic livestock ". . . according to civilized methods, thus even without intention, constituting themselves industrial teachers for the tribe."[13]

Several eighteenth century observers noted how quickly many Cherokees began to raise European crops and livestock. Lieutenant Henry Timberlake traveled through the Cherokee country in 1761 to cement a friendly relationship between the Anglo-Americans and the Cherokees. In commenting upon native agriculture, he observed that the Indians also raised ". . . a number of other vegetables imported from Europe. . . . "[14] Horses were introduced by 1740 and shortly thereafter hogs and cattle were to be found among some of the Cherokees. This led John Adair, a trader who lived among the Cherokees, to believe they had ". . . everything sufficient for the support of a reasonable life. . . ."[15]

William Bartram carefully recorded his observations as he traveled through the Cherokee country in the 1770s. He wrote of meeting a trader who kept cattle and whose Cherokee wife made butter and cheese.[16] In addition to game, Bartram observed that the Cherokees also ate ". . . domestic poultry; and also of domestic kine, as beeves, goats, and swine—never horses' flesh, though they have horses in great plenty. . . ."[17] Although

---

[11] De Vorsey, *Indian Boundary in the Southern Colonies, 1763–1775*, p. 12.

[12] Francis Harper, ed., *The Travels of William Bartram, Naturalist's Edition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1958), p. 326.

[13] Mooney, "Myths of the Cherokee," *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1897–1898*, Pt. I, p. 213.

[14] Samuel Cole Williams, *Lt. Henry Timberlake's Memoirs, 1756–1765* (Marietta, Georgia: Continental Book Company, 1948), p. 68.

[15] Samuel Cole Williams, *Adair's History of the American Indians* (Johnson City, Tennessee: The Watauga Press, 1930), p. 241.

[16] Harper, ed., *The Travels of William Bartram, Naturalist's Edition*, p. 221.

[17] William Bartram, "The Creek and Cherokee Indians," *Transactions of the American Ethnological Society* (New York: George F. Putnam, 1853), Vol. III, Pt. 1, p. 47.

the Cherokees were beginning to raise livestock, they did not raise such small-grain cereals as wheat, barley and rye at this time because, according to Bartram, they had not ". . . got the use of the plow amongst them, though it has been introduced some years ago."[18]

European plants, animals and agricultural techniques introduced by traders appear to have been gradually diffused throughout the nation; by the Revolutionary period many Cherokees had become acquainted with most phases of European agriculture. Cherokees interested in the European approach to agriculture found that they were as dependent upon the trader for their tools and livestock as their hunting fellows were for firearms and traps. While there does not appear to have been an intentional plan among the traders to spread the white man's agricultural and land use practices, it is probable that some Cherokees saw the advantages of such a system as practiced by the trader and his family. No doubt a diminished game supply also encouraged acceptance of domesticated meat and vegetables.

Finally, traders may be viewed as agents of change because miscegenation was commonplace among them. The Cherokees intermarried with whites more than any other southeastern tribe.[19] The mixed blood offspring of these marriages dominated tribal government and played a crucial role during the nineteenth century. The mixed blood group appears to have been more amenable to adopting white agricultural practices, while the full bloods, tending to be conservative, frequently clung tenaciously to the old ways. Mixed bloods usually were exposed to white culture at an early age, and those who were bilingual often served liaison roles between full bloods and whites in their attempts to initiate change among the more conservative groups.

The role of the trader as an agent of change was at its peak in the eighteenth century—the initial period of acculturation and land use change. The traditional subsistence economy had been disrupted, animals were hunted for their skins and pelts were sold in foreign markets. Areas depleted of game were targets for early white settlement, and the anglo-American frontier advanced as the Cherokees retreated toward the interior.[20] Many resident fur traders practiced European agricultural methods while living among the Cherokees. These methods appear to have been

---

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 48.

[19] Grant Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes* (Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1934), p. 360.

[20] Henry T. Malone, "Cherokee Civilization in the Lower Appalachians, Especially in North Georgia, Before 1830," Master of Arts Thesis, Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia, 1949, p. 63.

Cherokee Ox Team in Indian Territory used for plowing

viewed favorably by some Cherokees as alternatives to the traditional subsistence approach and were subsequently imitated. Most of the acculturation that occurred during the eighteenth century was accidental and unplanned, in sharp contrast with the concerted acculturative or "civilizing" efforts of government agents and missionaries in the nineteenth century.

It has been suggested that the Cherokees embarked on a path of conscious acculturation shortly after the Revolutionary War.[21] In addition to efforts made by individual Cherokees, increasing acculturation at this time reflected the intentional efforts of the federal government and missionary societies. These two agencies, often working together, deliberately fostered many of the "civilizing" processes that were to contribute to subsequent changes in Cherokee land use. In this they were unlike the traders who brought about such changes in unplanned or accidental ways.

Although the policies of the United States government changed from time to time, its earliest efforts appear to have been sincere attempts to bring peace and "civilization" to the Cherokees. Government officials thought the "civilizing" process could be attained best by encouraging formal education and by introducing the white man's approach to agriculture and industry. To accomplish these goals, the government made gifts of livestock and tools to the Indians, gave financial assistance to missionary societies and appointed Indian agents to live among the tribe.

[21] Fogelson and Kutsche, "Cherokee Economic Cooperatives: The Gadugi," *Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 180*, p. 98.

Cherokee Farming: Breaking the soil with an ox team

The earliest formal attempt of the federal government to institute a civilizing policy toward the Cherokees resulted from the Treaty of Holston in 1791. Article XIV of the treaty stipulated:[22]

> That the Cherokee nation may be led to a greater degree of civilization, and to become herdsmen and cultivators, instead of remaining in a state of hunters, the United States will from time to time furnish gratuitously the said nation with useful implements of husbandry, and further to assist the said nation in so desirable a pursuit, and at the same time to establish a certain mode of communication, the United States will send such and so many persons to reside in said nation as they may judge proper, not exceeding four in number, who shall qualify themselves to act as interpreters. . . .

Agrarian reform subsequently was encouraged in 1793 when Congress began to appropriate funds annually for the purchase of livestock and implements for the Indians. It was believed such gifts would help create a desire for private property and, in turn, would bring about a basic change

---

[22] Henry T. Malone, *Cherokees of the Old South* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1956), p. 36.

in the Indian economy. It was also hoped such changes would result in the Indians being content with less land.[23]

Benjamin Hawkins, the United States agent for the southern Indians, passed through the Cherokee country in the autumn of 1796. Hawkins had a keen eye for signs of Indian progress and recorded his observations as he traveled. The following exerpts from his journal are typical and portray not only some of the changes that had taken place but also the continued desire, especially on the part of the women, to make additional improvements:[24]

November 26 — I met two Indian women on horseback, driving ten very fat cattle to the station for a market.

November 30 — They [Indian women] informed me that the men were all in the woods hunting, that they alone were at home to receive me, that they rejoiced much at what they had heard and hoped it would prove true, that they had some cotton, and could make more and follow the instruction of the agent and the advice of the President.

December 1 — They [two women] told me that they would make corn enough but that they never could sell it. That they were willing to labour if they could be directed how to profit by it.

December 3 — The old fellow lives well, the land he cultivates is lined with small growth of saplins [*sic*] for some distance, his farm is fenced, his houses comfortable, he has a large stock of cattle, and some hogs. He uses the plow.

December 9 — Mr. Grierson was at home and received me with a social hospitable frankness. He had his family around him ginning and picking cotton. I was much pleased to see it. He had made a considerable quantity and is preparing it to send to Tennessee, where he expects 34 cents the lb.

There are four brothers, George, Thomas, James, Tiltlogee, they are halfbreeds, . . . the two first have stocks of cattle and horses. Thomas has 130 cattle and ten horses

Other observers also noticed the changes taking place in Cherokee agriculture and land use. Two Moravians, Abraham Steiner and Frederick De Schweinitz, journeyed through the Cherokee country in 1799 seeking to establish a mission station. They wrote that the Cherokees:[25]

---

[23] William T. Hagan, *American Indians* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1961), p. 45.

[24] *Letters to Benjamin Hawkins, 1796–1806*, Collection of the Georgia Historical Society (Savannah, Georgia: The Morning News, 1916), Vol. IX, pp. 16–30.

[25] Samuel Cole Williams, *Early Travels in the Tennessee Country* (Johnson City ,Tennessee: The Watauga Press, 1929), p. 459.

Indians being taught agriculture plowing

> . . . had greatly increased in culture and civilization in the last few years; that in course of the last summer 300 plows and as many pairs of cotton cording-combs had been sent to this nation and they had begun to devote themselves to agriculture and the raising of cotton; had several times brought cotton for sale and they had themselves begun to spin and weave

In addition to seeing cotton, corn and wheat fields, the two Moravians observed that the inhabitants of the area were well supplied with all forms of livestock and poultry. Some produce was sold to local garrisons, and droves of hogs were bought and driven out of the Cherokee nation.[26]

Pursuant to the Treaty of Holston, Indian agents had been appointed to live among the Cherokees and perform liaison tasks between that tribe and the federal government. In addition to playing important roles in treaty formations and land cessions, they distributed government annuities and gifts to the Indians.

Silas Dinsmoor, in his capacity as agent to the Cherokees, delivered a message from President Washington, dated August 29, 1796. This lengthy address is representative of the benign philosophy that early administrations followed in their dealings with the Indians, and much of it is worthy of inclusion here. Washington wrote:[27]

> From the information received concerning you, my beloved Cherokees, I am inclined to hope that you are prepared to take this path and disposed to pursue it. It may seem a little difficult to enter; but if you make the attempt, you will find every obstacle easy to be removed. Mr. Dinsmoor, my beloved agent to your nation, being here, I sent you this talk by him.

[26] *Ibid.*, pp. 464–490.

[27] *Cherokee Phoenix* (New Echota, Cherokee Nation), March 20, 1828.

You now find that the game with which your woods once abounded are growing scarce; and you know when you cannot meet a deer or other game to kill, that you must remain hungry; you know also when you can get no skins by hunting, that the traders will give you neither powder nor clothing; and you know that without other implements for tilling the ground than the hoe, you will continue to raise only scanty crops of corn. Hence you are sometimes exposed to suffer from hunger and cold; and as the game are lessening in numbers more and more, these sufferings will increase. And how are you to provide against them? Listen to my words and you will know.

My beloved Cherokee—Some among you already experience the advantage of keeping cattle and hogs; let all keep them and increase their numbers, and you will ever have a plenty of meat. To these add sheep, and they will give you clothing as well as food. Your lands are good and of great extent. By proper management you can raise livestock, not only for your own wants, but to sell to the white people. By using the plow you can vastly increase your crops of corn. You can also grow wheat, which makes the best of bread, as well as other useful grain. To these you will easily add flax, and cotton, which you may dispose of to the White people, or have it made up by your own women into clothing for yourselves. Your wives and daughters can soon learn to spin and weave; and to make this certain, I have directed Mr. Dinsmoor, to procure all the necessary apparatus for spinning and weaving, and to hire a woman to teach the use of them. He will also procure some plows and other implements of ground which I recommend, and employ a fit person to show you how they are to be used. I have further directed him to procure some cattle and sheep for the most prudent and industrious men who shall be willing to exert themselves in tilling the ground and raising those useful animals. He is often to talk with you on these subjects, and give you all necessary information to promote your success. I must therefore desire you to listen to him; and to follow his advice.

But before I retire I shall speak to my beloved man, the Secretary of War, to get prepared some medals, to be given to such Cherokees as by following my advice, shall best deserve them. For this purpose Mr. Dinsmoor is from time to time to visit every town in your nation. He will give instructions to those who desire to learn what I have recommended. He will see what improvements are made; who are most industrious in raising cattle; in growing corn, wheat, cotton and flax; and in spinning and weaving; and on those who excel these rewards are to be bestowed.

Silas Dinsmoor has been credited with inducing many Cherokees to plant cotton and with teaching the women how to spin and weave the fibers.[28] Charles Hicks, a well-educated Cherokee chief, acknowledged his tribe's indebtedness to Dinsmoor in a letter he wrote in 1819 to the famous Ameri-

[28] Henry T. Malone, "Cherokee Civilization in the Lower Appalachians," p. 47.

can geographer, Jedidiah Morse. He stated that the "Cherokees had already with stimulus spirits, entered the manufacturing system in cotton clothing in 1800 which had taken rise in one Town in 1796 or 7, by the repeated recommendation of Silas Dinsmoor, Esq. which were given to the Chiefs in Council."[29]

Government policies toward the Cherokees encouraged and accelerated the new approaches to land use initiated by early fur traders. It was felt a more intensive use of the land would create desires for an agrarian economy and private ownership of land, raise standards of living, encourage "civilization" and permit and Cherokees to live on less land. Consequently, the federal government gave livestock and implements to the natives and appointed agents to demonstrate their use. In addition, financial assistance was given to missionary societies for establishing schools in the nation. Here, formal and vocational education, it was hoped, would encourage "civilization" and help bring about other desirable changes in the Cherokee society and economy.

As early as 1789, secretary of war, Henry Knox, recommended that missionaries, supplied with implements and livestock necessary for successful farming, be sent among the Indians.[30] His recommendation was adopted in 1819 when Congress created the Civilization Fund, an annual sum of $10,000 that was used to support Indian education. Because administrative procedures for distributing these modest funds did not exist, the government invited church and missionary societies to apply for and use the money for the schools they operated.[31] The money was regularly spent on items that could not be produced locally, *e.g.*, tools, plows, books and writing paper.

For many years the Moravians had planned to establish a mission among the southern Indians. It was not until 1801, however, that their dreams were fulfilled. In that year they started their first Cherokee mission near the home of James Vann, a wealthy Cherokee who lived in northwest Georgia. The mission, named Springplace, remained in operation until 1833. The missionary station itself served as an example to the Indians of an European approach to land use—one that stressed plow cultivation and the raising of livestock.

An even more influential Cherokee mission was located at Brainerd, near present-day Chattanooga. It was founded in 1817 by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. In conjunction with its mission schools in Indian territory, the Board also established a school at Cornwall,

[29] Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*, pp. 352–353.

[30] United States Congress, *American State Papers, Indian Affairs* (2 vols., Washington: Gales and Seaton, 1832), Vol. I, p. 54.

[31] Hagan, American Indians, pp. 87–88.

Cherokee Farm Home 1883, Vinita, Indian Territory

Connecticut, where promising Indian students were sent for further instruction. The Brainerd mission worked closely with the federal government and had the distinction of being the first Indian mission in North America ". . . to give instruction in systematic and scientific agriculture, also trade, domestic science, and domestic arts."[32] The emphasis on vocational training at Brainerd coincided with the prevailing educational philosophy of the Federal government. By 1820 the Brainerd mission was a model agricultural station whose resident farmers, blacksmiths and mechanics served as examples to the Cherokees of the new male role. These men also played an important educational role as they demonstrated cropping procedures, care of livestock and the building and maintenance of grist mills and dams.[33]

In 1822 Reverend Abraham Steiner recorded his observations on Cherokee progress in a letter to the secretary of war. Progress in "civilization" had surpassed his expectations, particularly the advances made in agriculture. With regard to formal education, he noted that the Cherokees were willing to send more of their children than the schools could accommodate. Commenting upon classroom learning, he noted: "Many of their youths

[32] Robert Sparks Walker, *Torchlights to the Cherokees* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1931), p. 146.

[33] *Ibid.*, pp. 142–143.

can read and write; and I found among them, more especially half-breeds, as much knowledge as is commonly met with in persons of the same grade in civilized life."[34]

Many of the students in these schools were to play crucial roles in the "civilizing" process of the nation. While full bloods attended school and contributed to the growth of their nation, it is probable that the mixed bloods made the greatest contributions to change. Henry T. Malone has suggested that mixed bloods, being more familiar with white attitudes and values, became the leaders in agriculture, business and politics. Malone wrote, "When the Indian nation exchanged its time-honored tribal government in 1817 for a representative republic, approximately forty percent of the new office-holders were mixed bloods whose names predominated among the top incumbents."[35]

The influence of the missionary as an agent of change in the Cherokee nation must be viewed in terms of his dual efforts to formally educate the young and to encourage systematic and intensive agriculture. The mission stations served as model farms occupied by white men who were not interested in acquiring Cherokee land. The missionaries lived in close contact with the Cherokees for long periods of time. Their interest in improving the lot of the Cherokees was self-evident, for they deliberately—and by example—educated their wards in the fundamentals of reading, writing, agriculture and industry.

During the eighteenth century most Cherokees continued to adhere to their time-honored subsistence economy. However, by the last decade of that period a number of significant changes had occurred within the Cherokee economy. Contact with traders had taught the Cherokees much about the white man's civilization. At the turn of the nineteenth century, the federal government and missionary societies had become active agents in generating changes among the Indians. Their contributions to acculturation were more prescribed as they intentionally set about to initiate change. These agents lived and worked closely with the Cherokees and through gifts, annuities, advice and education contributed to the substantial acculturation of the tribe. Many Cherokees realized that both formal and vocational education were necessary to institute the economic changes so necessary to sustenance in an era of rapid game depletion. Encouraged by intermarried whites, mixed bloods and enterprising full bloods, many Cherokees embarked upon the white man's path toward an agrarian way of life in the early decades of the nineteenth century.

---

[34] United States Congress, *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, Vol. II, p. 278.

[35] Henry T. Malone, "Cherokee-White Relations on the Southern Frontier in the Early Nineteenth Century," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, Vol. XXXIV, No. 1 (January, 1957), p. 4.

CAPTAIN FREDERICK W. BENTEEN AND THE KIOWAS

*By Charles A. Bentley**

Frederick W. Benteen served in the Seventh Cavalry from its inception in 1866 until he transferred to the Ninth Cavalry in 1882. At the time of the Battle of the Little Big Horn in 1876 he was the senior captain of the regiment and in command of a battalion during that engagement. Returning from the Army in 1888, he lived in Atlanta, Georgia, until his death in 1898.

During his retirement Benteen wrote a series of reminiscences about his years of service in the west. He probably wrote these "Cavalry Scraps" to occupy his time in retirement more than for any other reason, and occasional "notes to the editor" on the manuscripts indicate his intention to publish the "Scraps." But either the manuscripts were rejected by the publishers to whom Benteen submitted them, or he changed his mind and decided not to publish them at all. Nevertheless, none has ever appeared in print.[1]

Benteen the soldier was a highly complex person. His courage and leadership abilities cannot be questioned, and he earned the praise and admiration of his superiors, his fellow officers and his enlisted men. But Benteen had very little regard for most of his comrades, and in the case of his commander, Lieutenant Colonel George Armstrong Custer, he showed outright contempt: "I'm only too proud to say that I despised him as a murderer, thief and a liar."[2] But "where duty called, there was no more loyal supporter to [sic] him than I in the 7th U.S. Cav."[3]

In spite of the violent personality clash between Benteen and Custer, both felt sympathy for the plight of the Indians. Custer testified before a Congressional committee about the illicit activities of post traders and Indian

---

* The author prepared this manuscript while completing his Master of Arts degree in History at the University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia.

[1] The only exception is "Capt. Benteen's Own Story of the Custer Fight," in E.A. Brininstool, *Troopers With Custer: Historic Incidents of the Battle of the Little Big Horn* (Harrisburg: Stackpole, 1952), which is a combination of Benteen's accounts of the Battle of the Little Big Horn contained in his letters, his testimony at the Reno Court of Inquiry, and the "Cavalry Scrap" that he wrote about the battle.

[2] Frederick W. Benteen to Theodore W. Goldin, February 17, 1896, in John M. Carroll, ed., *The Benteen-Goldin Letters on Custer and His Last Battle* (New York: Liveright, 1974), p. 272.

[3] Frederick W. Benteen to D.F. Barry, n.d., Frederick W. Benteen and D.F. Barry Correspondence, Custer Battlefield National Monument, Crow Agency, Montana.

agents, and believed that Indian agents were making illegal profits at the expense of the Indians under their auspices.[4] Like Custer, Benteen also believed that the Indian agents were operating illicitly. Moreover, he asserted that the cause of the "Indian outbreaks" was "the enormous pilfering and stealing from the Indians . . . by the Indian agents, . . . [and that] if they were treated more considerately and received what [the] government allows, . . . there is no doubt they would be perfectly peaceful and tractable." In short, Benteen's solution to the "Indian problem" was "treat them well, and they will be all right and make good citizens."[5] Unlike Custer, however, Benteen took time to know the Indians, and did his best to follow his own advice to "treat them well." Early in his career on the plains he became "pretty thoroughly acquainted" with several Kiowa chiefs, and because he was "fairly well up in the Kiowa tongue" they told him in Kiowa many of their traditions and legends. Because he had a lion's mane of flowing white hair he was called "Ole Tanke" or "Grey Head" by the Kiowas.[6]

In December, 1868, while serving in Indian Territory, Benteen invited the Kiowa chiefs Satanta, Satank, Lone Wolf and Stumbling Bear to dine with him at his bivouac. Lone Wolf was the principal chief of the tribe, but Satanta, Satank and Stumbling Bear were also important Kiowa leaders and well known to the military authorities. All four chiefs were once famous warriors; however, Stumbling Bear had joined the peace faction of the tribe after an Army doctor had saved the life of his son.[7] In fact, Stumbling Bear and Benteen became such good friends that the chief told Benteen that "I was not a white man, I was a Kiowa, and that the Kiowas would all cry when I left them."[8]

The main dish of Captain Benteen's feast for his Kiowa friends was "an immense gobbler, roasted to a turn, and stuffed with pounded 'hard-tack,' cove oysters, shelled pecan nuts, well parboiled, and a few raisins." Benteen "thought it a dish good enough for presidents; as, with its rich brown color, floating in a gravy of oysters, pecans and raisins, the odor even was well-calculated to make one's mouth water." To Benteen's dismay, however,

---

[4] Jay Monaghan, *Custer: The Life of General George Armstrong Custer* (Boston and Toronto: Little Brown, 1959), pp. 361–362, and Edgar I. Stewart, *Custer's Luck* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1955), p. 123.

[5] *Chicago Times* (Chicago, Illinois), January 25, 1879.

[6] Benteen tells of his experiences with the Kiowa tribe in "Turkey hunting in the Indian Ter.—in 1868—From Camp Supply to Medicine Bluff Creek. Indian Territory;" part of the "Cavalry Scraps," Frederick W. Benteen Collection, University of Georgia Library, Athens, Georgia.

[7] Wilbur Sturtevant Nye, *Plains Indian Raiders: The Final Phases of Warfare From the Arkansas to the Red River* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968), p. 218.

[8] "Turkey hunting in the Indian Ter.," Frederick W. Benteen Collection.

Satanta declined the generous portion offered him saying that "it would make a coward of him, and perhaps he would run away in a fight." He told Benteen that "he much preferred 'Wo-haugh' [beef]," so the cook prepared "huge portions of buffalo steaks for the Indian guests.[9]

Benteen was surprised at the civility of his guests at the meal. They dined "in as decorous a manner as if they had been brought up in—and had lived their lives in the atmosphere and surroundings of courts." Before eating, the chiefs offered a blessing of the food, something which Benteen "habitually neglected." After the meal the chiefs offered another blessing, this time by sending "the first two or three puffs" of their pipes upwards "to the Great Spirit" and then turning the stems of the pipes downwards "to the grass that grows, and the water that runs." When writing about this incident many years later Benteen lamented that "to our *fin de siècle* civilization, these people are thought of as heathens."[10]

In 1884, after he had been promoted to major and transferred to the Ninth Cavalry, Benteen served as commanding officer of Fort Sill, Indian Territory.[11] After arriving at his new duty station, he encountered his old friend Stumbling Bear. He called to the chief in his Kiowa name and Stumbling Bear recognized Benteen and embraced him. The chief was so overwhelmed that he was "blubbering in my [Benteen's] arms for pure joy at having me back among them." Calling his seventeen year old son Freddie over to where the two men were standing, Benteen presented him to the chief, "who embraced him [Freddie], and said, 'Yes, yes, he is a Kiowa Too!' " In the late 1860s when Benteen and Stumbling Bear had first known each other, the chief had made an Osage Orange or Bois d'arc bow, "equipped with arrows, quiver and sling," for Freddie, whose Kiowa name was "Ka-tar-ke, itt Ka-tar-ke," which means "the youth was good, very good."[12]

Benteen's final comment about the old chief unmistakably conveys his sympathy for the predicament of the Indians. While Benteen was stationed at Fort Sill, Stumbling Bear was often a guest in his quarters. "For a certainty his table manners were perfect, [and] what he didn't know about them, he learned by watching how others did." Benteen also considered the chief highly intelligent: "nor was the brain at all sluggish." He sadly concluded that Stumbling Bear's only fault was that "the times were against him."

---

[9] *Ibid.*

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] United States Department of War, *Annual Report of the Secretary of War, 1884* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1884), p. 62.

[12] "Turkey hunting in the Indian Ter.," Frederick W. Benteen Collection.

Frederick W. Benteen had great respect for the Indians he fought and was as fair with his enemies as his duty would allow. Probably his comment to photographer D. F. Barry on the death of the Sioux chief Gall best conveys his respect for the Indians and his resentment of their treatment at the hands of unscrupulous Indian agents: "So 'Gall' has gone the way of all flesh! Well, he is better off, far better; and accordingly with my beliefs, he has a chance of filling a higher seat where he has gone than many of the so called christians who pilfered sugar from him while in the flesh. I am not an indian hater by a good deal!"[13]

---

[13] Benteen to Barry, January 11, 1895, Frederick W. Benteen and D.F. Barry Correspondence.

BROADCLOTH AND BRITCHES: THE SANTA FE TRADE. By Seymour V. Connor and Jimmy M. Skaggs. (College Station and London: Texas A&M University Press, 1977. Illustrations. Maps. Index. $10.95.)

It has been almost half a century since Robert L. Duffus wrote *The Santa Fe Trail*, a popular but comprehensive treatment of the famous route. Since then a number of scholarly works on subjects about or peripheral to the trade such as Max Moorhead's *New Mexico's Royal Road: Trade and Travel on the Chihuahua Trail* and David Lavender's *Bent's Fort* have been written. There has long been a need for a fresh synthesis on the subject. Connor and Skaggs have not only met that need but produced a book which is both well researched and readable.

The narrative includes such topics as the beginnings of Santa Fe, the trade itself, relations between the United States and Mexico, the attempts of Texas to establish its sovereignty over Santa Fe and the building of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad which missed its New Mexico namesake by thirty miles.

Connor and Skaggs include much about the economics of the trade in both quantitative and qualitative terms. They also suggest possible explanations for annual fluctuations in its volume. One of the most delightful sections describes Santa Fe society in the pre-Mexican War era and its attractions for American men eager to stretch, if not break, the strictures of Victorian conventional society back home.

The book is not footnoted, but this is offset, for the most part, by the excellent note on sources and the annotated bibliography, as well as by the authors' incorporating some of their more important sources into the smooth flow of the narrative. This reviewer's only criticism is that the book ended too soon. An epilogue chapter on the post-railroad society of Santa Fe which has served as such a powerful magnet for artists and writers would have brought the story into the twentieth century. But perhaps that is grist for another book. In any event, it is clear that Connor and Skaggs have provided a new benchmark on the Santa Fe Trade.

Donald E. Green
Central State University

AGRICULTURE IN THE GREAT PLAINS, 1876–1936. Edited by Thomas R. Wessel. (Washington, D.C.: The Agricultural History Society, 1977. Pp. 263. Index. $8.00.)

It is an anomaly peculiar to the American Great Plains that, although they rest near the geographical center of the United States, the plains were among the last territories settled. In his introduction to the twenty papers which comprise *Agriculture in the Great Plains, 1876–1936* Thomas R. Wessel points out that, to the pioneer settlers, the plains presented tremendous challenges caused by a harsh, semi-arid climate which created a treeless horizon and a soil which yielded grudgingly to the efforts of early farmers. Because of the lateness of settlement, the problems of agriculture of the plains, more than any other region in the United States, were dealt with by the modern technology of an industrialized economy and by the legislation of an increasingly bureaucratic national government.

The papers deal with various aspects of taming the plains environment. Three papers by Kenneth Norrie, Mary W. M. Hargreaves and L. Carl Brandhorst take various views of the implementation of dry farming. Garin Burbank and Robert A. Calvert's papers describe political activism and socialism among plains settlers. Settlement and homesteading are covered by Paul Gates, Leslie Hewes and James L. Forsythe. In addition, there are articles on afforestation, the creation of extensive farming techniques and the work of agricultural experiment and extension services in the Great Plains.

Unlike many collections of papers, it is to Dr. Wessel's credit that *Agriculture in the Great Plains* is well organized. Most of the papers deal directly with the problems of settlement on the plains. The whole is admirably summed up by the concluding paper of Gilbert C. Fite. Only two papers—John Schlebecker's on the use of historical objects in research and Richard T. Farrell's on the content of agricultural newspapers—seem out of place. The collection also includes a variety of professional viewpoints. Among the contributors were: historians, geographers, economists and a range scientist, a political scientist and a retired rancher. This inter-disciplinary approach yields useful insights into the challenges of and responses to life on the plains.

J. P. Bischoff
Oklahoma State University

HONEY SPRINGS, INDIAN TERRITORY: SEARCH FOR A CONFEDERATE POWDER HOUSE, AN ETHNOHISTORICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL REPORT. Series in Anthropology #2. By Charles Cheek. (Oklahoma Historical Society, 1976. Pp. vii, 151. Illustrations. Maps. Drawings. Bibliography. $5.50.)

Late in the spring of 1863, General Douglas Cooper and his Confederate forces were preparing an offensive against the Union Army at Fort Gibson. Cooper had his headquarters and supply depot at Honey Springs, along the Texas Road, in what is now McIntosh County, Oklahoma. A surprise attack by the Federal Units on July 17, 1863, resulted in the largest Civil War battle fought in Indian Territory. The site has been purchased by the Oklahoma Historical Society as a part of its program of preservation and interpretation. The Confederate Powder House at Honey Springs had been identified by only local oral tradition. This monograph is concerned with the verification of this assignment through a comparison of oral history, written documents and archaeological information. The archaeological research at Honey Springs was undertaken as a joint project between the University of Tulsa and the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Honey Springs was occupied before and after the war; however, little is known about the site at the time of the battle. Structures in the Honey Springs area other than the supposed Powder House include an inn, blacksmith shop, trading post, smokehouse, toll bridges, church and residences. Cheek compiles evidence from which he concludes that none of the structures noted above served as the Confederate Powder House. Historical and Archaeological research data were combined to form a structural description of the stone foundation formerly identified through oral tradition as the Powder House.

The walls of the structure were made of finely finished and fitted sandstone block. The roof was covered with split shakes. The floor was made of split oak timbers. The foundation was composed of unfinished sandstone blocks.

The artifacts are grouped by Cheek into categories based on their inferred use. From these categories Cheek reconstructs the activities that have been carried out at the site. The majority of datable artifacts recovered from the stone foundation belong to the period of the late 1870s to the 1890s. The otherwise excellent photographic illustrations of artifacts appear to have been reduced by the printer, rather than by the author, thus reducing their clarity and usefulness. Cheek concludes that the stone foundation identified by oral tradition as the Powder House is actually a storehouse built in 1872.

An appendix, "Technique for Measuring Rim Wall Angle of Historic

Ceramics," by Dennis Weidman provides a simple yet very useful method to identify and differentiate the forms of individual vessels from small sherds.

Cheek had made a skillful and worthwhile contribution to the historic and archaeological literature with this well-documented, highly readable, account of a page of Oklahoma Civil War History.

Raymond A. Scott
University of Oklahoma

THE BEAVER MEN. By Mari Sandoz. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1978. Pp. xv, 335. Illustrations. Maps. Bibliography. Index. $4.50.)

In this work, the first in a series of seven concerned with modern man on the Great Plains, Mari Sandoz focuses her attention on the beaver men. The author initiates her discussion of the beaver trade with a description of the giant castoriods of the Pleistocene age and proceeds to acquaint the reader with their post glacial descendents, the modern beaver. The habits and societal manners of the animal are provided in order to familiarize the reader with the subject of the trappers', and therefore Mari Sandoz', interest.

Sandoz vividly illustrates in *The Beaver Men*, the birth, initial growth, maturity and eventual decline of the beaver trade in North America during the 1630 to 1834 period. Her emphasis, although narrowly concerned at times mainly with the hunting of the beaver, does not fail to analyze and evaluate the overall effects of the beaver and fur trade upon the exploration and settlement of North America.

Individuals seeking to satisfy their desires for wealth and adventure through participation in the beaver trade often served unintentionally as spearheads of empire. Mari Sandoz' clear and concise chronological narrative of French, Spanish and English trapping and trading activities illustrates this point. The use of numerous maps and illustrations placed throughout the text further clarify these narratives.

Mari Sandoz maintains a personal yet scholarly approach to her subject, especially in her various depictions of Indian-white relations which developed and later deteriorated as a direct result of the beaver trade. Numerous Indian as well as white sources were utilized by the author to attain an even greater credibility for her descriptions of this rise and decline over 214 years.

The Beaver Men by Mari Sandoz is a highly readable and enjoyable his-

torical work. It is suitable and highly recommended for scholarly as well as general reading.

Jack Lax
University of Arkansas

BARTLESVILLE: REMEMBRANCES OF TIMES PAST, REFLECTIONS OF TODAY, by Joe Williams. (Bartlesville: TRW Reda Pump Division, 1978. Maps. Photographs. Pp. 156. $12.50.)

Company histories generally are self-serving and are to be used by historians only with the greatest of care. However, TRW Reda Pump chose a different route in this instance—and the result is happy indeed.

Beginning with a chapter detailing the geology and prehistory of the region, there follow chapters giving biographical details on the founding fathers (Nelson Carr, Jacob Bartles, William Johnstone and George Keeler); a chronological history of the beginnings of the town, the lawbreakers and the lawbringers (Henry Starr, Henry Wells, Scott Bruner and the Daltons); the story of the discovery of oil in the area, including details of how Cities Service founded an Energy Research Center in the area and how J. Paul Getty made his first dollar near Bartlesville; a chapter on the Phillips family and the great company they founded; another chapter on pioneer pipeliners; and the exciting story of how Armais Artunoff invented a submergible motor and pump (considered "impossible under the laws of electronics") and founded a manufacturing concern in Bartlesville.

Throughout the book there are delightful sidelights to Bartlesville's history: the designing, by Frank Lloyd Wright, of the Price Tower Building; the designing, by Wiley Post under the sponsorship of Phillips Petroleum, of the forerunner of today's space suit; the legend of John Stink; the dangers of shooting wells with nitroglycerin; the building of the Dewey Hotel; the building of Oklahoma's first airplane; and more, much more. In addition, there is a lengthy section quoting the reminiscences of people who grew up with Bartlesville, some of them long dead.

The excellent text is enhanced by several score of historic photographs and many pages of striking color photos. These were blended (through a pleasing design) into a book that is as delightful to the eye as the text is to the ear. The author, the designer and TRW Reda Pump are all to be congratulated for a fine addition to the literature and history of Oklahoma.

Odie B. Faulk
Memphis State University

WHEN FARMERS VOTED RED: THE GOSPEL OF SOCIALISM IN THE OKLAHOMA COUNTRYSIDE, 1910–1924. By Garin Burbank. (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1977. Pp. 225. Maps. Tables. Index. Bibliography. $13.95.)

For a state known as a refuge for displaced Indian tribes, a haven for desperadoes fleeing the law in surrounding states and a new frontier opened to the frantic land rushes of the 1890s, Garin Burbank's *When Farmers Voted Red* presents a new perspective to the early history of Oklahoma. According to Burbank, Oklahoma Socialists, in contrast to other areas of Socialist Party strength in the United States, found more enthusiasm for its program among small farmers than among urban workers. Oklahoma counties with high rates of farm tenancy exhibited the most support for agrarian radicalism. These included the so-called Red River counties in southern Oklahoma, especially Bryan, Johnston, Marshall and Murray, and the wheat counties of western Oklahoma, particularly Roger Mills, Beckham and Kiowa. In addition, the coal producing counties in eastern Oklahoma, where European immigrants had migrated to work the Indian Territory coal fields, displayed strong Socialist sentiments.

Although the Oklahoma Socialist Party never attained a plurality in any election for a state office, Socialist Party Presidential candidate Eugene V. Debs secured 16 percent of the Oklahoma vote in 1912 in contrast to only 6 percent of the national vote. At the height of Socialist insurgency in 1914, the party's candidate for governor, Fred Holt, received 21 percent (52,000 votes) of the state total. The Socialists were successful in electing five state representatives, one state senator, several county officers and numerous township officials. Although the Socialist vote receded from the 1914 percentage, the party polled slightly more than 15 percent of the statewide vote in 1916, almost equal to the 16 percent that Debs had gained in 1912.

What attracted rural Oklahomans to this form of agrarian radicalism? Burbank contends that the Socialist Party leaders of Oklahoma recognized that the working class of Oklahoma was agriculturally based, and, therefore, geared their party platform to place land into "the hands of the actual tillers of the soil." Local Socialists drew class lines between the farmers "who farmed the land" and the farmers "who farmed the farmers." The party platform emphasized the formulation of "cooperative societies" of farmers to lay plans for purchasing land, seed, and equipment and for selling produce.

Burbank's analysis indicates there was a dichotomy within the Socialist Party of Oklahoma. He describes the two philosophies of socialism as the "imported orthodoxy" and the "indigenous variation." Outsiders like Oscar

Ameringer, an Austrian-born immigrant and driving force behind the *Oklahoma Pioneer* (Socialist Party weekly paper), brought to Oklahoma the classical Marxian concept of class conflict and addressed only the major "industrial and political" issues. On the other hand, the local Socialists, who were by and large strongly Protestant, envisioned the movement as a moral and ethical mechanism by which the oppressive and wicked capitalist class would be destroyed, and everyone would live in universal harmony and well-being thereafter. Socialism would create better conditions for the promotion and practice of Christian faith. Herein lies the "socialist gospel" idea that appealed to the Oklahoma countryside.

By 1918 the demise of the Socialist Party in Oklahoma had begun. Farm prices had improved from their 1913–1915 levels, and the Socialists were accused by their opponents as being disloyal and dangerous because of their opposition to the American war effort in Europe. But perhaps the clinching blow to the Socialist Party's downfall was the Green Corn Rebellion of August, 1917. The uprising consisted of tenant farmers in east-central Oklahoma, a Socialist Party stronghold, who rebelled against enforcement of the draft law. The protest was so strongly identified with the Socialist Party that it never recovered. On February 14, 1920, H. M. Sinclair, Socialist Party secretary in Oklahoma, announced that the party's locals had ceased to function. Thus ended the largest and most successful state Socialist organization—the Socialist Party of Oklahoma.

Burbank has presented the reader with a thorough and perceptive study of twentieth century Oklahoma immediately following statehood—a period which has long been neglected by scholars of Oklahoma history. Furthermore, he introduces a segment of Oklahoma political and social history which is long overdue—a study of third party movements. Socialist newspapers provide the major source of documentation for the book because manuscripts of the Socialist Party leaders are negligible.

Burbank's attempt at electoral geography is weak and poorly handled. He should have made better use of the seven maps in Appendix I and the six tables in Appendix II. For example, where is the map for 1912 Socialist Party voting strength in Oklahoma? This was one of the most successful years for the party in Oklahoma, especially Debs' showing in the Presidential race. The map illustrating percent of farm tenancy (1910) reveals some interesting spatial variations, but how does Burbank correlate it with Socialist Party voting patterns? And finally, what significance is attached to the map of Marshall County (1910) portraying railroads, towns and roads? A more useful graphic from an electoral geography standpoint would have been one mapping the data supplied in Table I (p. 8) entitled "Percentage of Socialist Vote in Marshall County Precincts, 1910–1916."

The reader is likewise left hanging as to the importance of the tables in Appendix II. The data displayed in Tables 1 and 2 could have been mapped and would have been helpful in analyzing patterns of strength and weakness of the Socialist Party during the years, 1908–1918. Table 6 lends itself to some type of statistical analysis in order to determine if there was a positive or negative correlation of the two variables—illiteracy among voters and Socialist Party votes.

Photographs would have enhanced the value of the book. Individual shots of at least a few Socialist Party leaders such as Ameringer, Sinclair and Patrick Nagle would have added a new dimension to the reading. Historical photographs of this nature are available at the Western History Collection, University of Oklahoma.

The book is an outgrowth of Burbank's Ph.D. dissertation completed at the University of California, Berkeley. With its publication, a valuable contribution has been made to the social and intellectual history of Oklahoma.

George O. Carney
Oklahoma State University

INDIAN LIFE: TRANSFORMING AN AMERICAN MYTH. Edited and with an Introduction by William W. Savage, Jr. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1977. Pp. xii, 286. Illustrations. $9.95.)

"All future students and historians, all ethnological researches must turn to the pictures now made and the pages now written for the study of a great race." So wrote Joseph K. Dixon in 1914 in *The Vanishing Race*, expressing his belief that "we belong to the last generation that will be granted the supreme privilege of studying the Indian in anything like his native state."

An excerpt from Dixon's book is the final selection in editor William W. Savage, Jr.'s presentation of selected pictures and writings from the period 1882 to 1914. Both contribute to our understanding of Indian life in that period. As with Savage's *Cowboy Life: Reconstructing an American Myth* (1975), to which this volume is a companion, the approximately forty photographs from the extensive files of the University of Oklahoma's Western History Collections have a profound impact. These include the usual portraits, scenes of daily Indian life, a revolting view of the dead being buried in a common grave after Wounded Knee and a group of pictures of Indian participation in Wild West shows which, as Savage says, "suggested volumes about the debasement of Indian life."

The written selections Savage presents here are interesting and diverse. On, from the famous Andy Adams' *The Log of a Cowboy*, which describes

negotiations between Indians and cowboys over the right to traverse Indian lands, interestingly makes clear that the parties met on equal terms and had a mutual respect. Savage does an excellent job of selecting a brief phrase or sentence from each author to characterize the point of view. Helen Hunt Jackson's piece from *A Century of Dishonor* deals with the Sioux under the heading, "Here is a picture of a helpless people!"

There are two brief excerpts from fictional works, one by Edward L. Wheeler, creator of the notorious Deadwood Dick, in which Fearless Frank and Sitting Bull discuss the fate of a captive white girl ("Fearless Frank stepped back aghast, as he saw the inhuman chief of the Sioux—the cruel, grim-faced warrior, Sitting Bull."), and one by Prentiss Ingraham, biographer of and ghost writer for William F. "Buffalo Bill" Cody, in which young Billy kills his first Indian.

It is perhaps significant that Colonel Richard Irving Dodge, according to Savage "considered to be among the most reliable chroniclers of Indian history and life" at the end of the nineteenth century, could write that the Indian was "vain, crafty, deceitful, ungrateful, treacherous, grasping, . . . utterly selfish . . . lecherous, without honor or mercy; filthy in his ideas and speech, and inconceivably dirty in person and manners." There are also selections by John F. Finerty, Charles Alston Messiter, Richard Harding Davis, James Willard Schultz, W. Fletcher Johnson, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs (1891), and Jacob Piatt Dunn. Inclusion of the latter was perhaps Savage's only mistake. Theodore Roosevelt's endorsement of it is enough to damn it; more, it really tells us nothing of "Indian life," but is an account of the Sand Creek Massacre which emphasizes *Indian* brutality.

Savage's introduction traces changing images of the Indian from Columbus to movies and television. While interesting and thoughtful, it doesn't really seem to fit the chronology (i.e., 1882–1914) or the content of the selections. The clear-cut stages and categories Savage discerns simply are not evident in the selections. But this is a good book, vividly illustrating for one brief period the continuing problem of the Indian's negative image in the mind of many Americans.

Davis D. Joyce
The University of Tulsa

FRONTIER VIOLENCE: ANOTHER LOOK. By W. Eugene Hollon. (New York: Oxford University Press, Inc. 1974 (paperback 1976). Pp. xii, 280. Illustrations. Bibliography. Index. Notes. $3.50.)

Americans have an ongoing relationship with violence, and scholars have a continuing interest in its causes and history. The riots and assassinations

since 1960 have accented this interest and sparked a continuing controversy over gun control. In his preface to this book, W. Eugene Hollon tells us that the Library of Congress card-file index lists approximately eighty books on violence in American history published between 1967 and 1972. One of the most frequently quoted scholars on the subject, Richard Hofstadter says in the Introduction to *American Violence: A Documentary History*, "It is true, of course, that frontier conditions somewhat enhanced the American disposition to violence, as they did, for example, in the history of Indian warfare and the attitudes it engendered." And so, another look at "Frontier Violence," this one was written in Ohio by Hollon who was formerly a professor at the University of Oklahoma.

It seems that many of the books on American violence begin with the impact of our "gun culture," then combine with our "Western image" and finally are left on the doorstep of our "white man's culture." Like Will Rogers' observation that in every picture of a praying pilgrim, there is a gun at his side "to make sure he gets what he's prayin' for." Hollon places the emphasis on the racial differences as the cause (or excuse) with the availability of the gun (or rope) as the easiest solution for the white man, with greed usually at the base.

When first reading this book, it is a very impressive historical survey. A well written book, it investigates America's violent history on the various frontiers. Beginning with the colonial period, from the Mayflower to Washington's presidency, with its early vigilantism and the lynch law in the East, and going on to the early urban racial violences in Jacksonian America, Hollon gives the opinion that "The three decades before the Civil War . . . represent the greatest era of urban violence in American history." The theme of racial violence in the so-called melting pot (which Hollon suggests is more like a "pressure cooker") is both informative and enlightening—and gives a solid preparation for today's films of violence.

Of special interest to the Western reader are chapters on "The Texas Frontier Heritage," "Gun Culture and Cowboy Mentality," "Turmoil in the Southwest" and the apologetic last chapter "The Other Side of the Coin."

The book is highly recommendable in spite of glaring problems mostly in relation to specific frontier personalities; many problems appear in the last chapter. Statements like "Six months passed before Oklahoma Territory recorded its first homicide" are difficult to digest after reading Glenn Shirley's *Six Gun and Silver Star* in which we learn of several specific, unexplained and perhaps uninvestigated "homicides" cited from "The Oklahoma City Times, April 29, 1889." But this book is not listed in Hollon's Bibliography. There is also no mention of the technicality that there was

no law and "no government . . . and no authority to establish one" for thirteen months, as stated by Dennis Flynn, John Alley and Roy Gittinger in their writings on early days of Oklahoma Territory.

Also questionable, both in taste and academically, is the comparison of Billy the Kid to William Calley (Hollon does this twice) merely because they were both short men, had the same first name and are "psychopathic killers" (a term Hollon also uses to describe Wild Bill Hickok). This, with the statement that the assassins Lee Harvey Oswald, Sirhan Sirhan and Lieutenant William Calley are "spiritual descendants" of the New Mexico outlaw, does not add to the merit of the book.

Frank Parman
Norman, Oklahoma

RURAL OKLAHOMA. Edited by Donald E. Green. (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Historical Society, 1977. vii, 158. Illustrations. Notes. Index. $9.00 Cloth. $7.00 Paper.)

Donald E. Green of Central State University at Edmond has put together Volume V in The Oklahoma Series, a concise, well-illustrated picture of aspects of life, work and spirit of farmer and Indian from the opening of Indian lands to settlement until basically the Second World War. It is a contributed work in which each of the ten chapters has been written by an expert.

The chapters themselves can be divided between those which tell us in detail about Oklahoma without making any notable contribution to our knowledge of the history of the West, and those which break new ground and suggest that more sould be done in these fields. In this respect the work reflects the dilemmas of western history itself—how to steer between popular antiquarianism which sells and supports publications and new scholarly inquiry with its critical readership of non-subscribers. Donald Green has struck a sensible balance in favor of the buffs as readers and subscribers.

Oklahoma's image in some of our minds is of Tulsa and oilfields. As Green notes in his introduction, this is wrong. Oklahoma is essentially an agricultural state with hardly any cities of note at all. Thus the history of its people must be told in rural terms of the nature and quality of life, crop problems, experiment station contributions, music, images and values, and politics. The cattle industry is reserved for a future volume. Though all the writers are University of Oklahoma PhD's with the exception of Charles Townsend, who contributes the informative piece on bandleader Bob Wills, on the whole the approach is to set Sooner subtleties within the national and especially the southern great plains or southwestern milieu.

This is done best by Garry L. Nall on cotton, where a national association pulled Oklahomans into a wider orbit and by Green with wheat, where much the same sort of thing happened. N. James Wilson successfully places the Sooner farmers in the pattern of midwestern transition from subsistence farming in the 1880 drought years to mechanization in the World War I era. Carl N. Tyson's chapter on the Agricultural Experiment Station at Stillwater is much less successful, but that is largely due to the problem of cramming almost a century of detailed history into a few pages. Bobby H. Johnson provides a preview of his and Green's forthcoming history of the Territory and Howard L. Meredith discusses with some insight the problems of transition for the Indians in the years 1900–1939 when federal agents tried to destroy tribalism while the native Americans fought and eventually won the battle, to retain their communal identity. David D. Webb discusses the Thomas Amendment of 1934, that inflationist attempt to force the national government to raise prices and so give the farmer back a decent living.

To this reviewer the two most interesting chapters in the book, and the most provocative, are Charles Townsend's on Bob Wills and his western swing/jazz music of the 1930s, a spin-off of his recent book *San Antonio Rose*, and William W. Savage, Jr's, essay on rural images, values and American culture. It makes a nice complement to his recent introduction to the reissued doctoral dissertation of Frederick Jackson Turner.

If *Rural Oklahoma* is representative of the series, then it is one of which Sooners can be proud and one whose volumes will make fine reading in both adult and high-school reading programs. Clearly set in readable type and well illustrated, *Rural Oklahoma* is informative in the best tradition of state history.

Robin Higham
Journal of the West

THE NEZ PERCÉS: TRIBESMEN OF THE COLUMBIA PLATEAU. By Francis Haines. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1972. xvii + 365 pp. Maps. Illustrations. Notes. Bibliographical essay. Index. $3.95 paper.)

The topic of this book is one of the most fascinating and least understood Indian tribes of North America. *The Nez Percés: Tribesmen of the Columbia Plateau* is volume 42 in the Civilization of the American Indian Series, published by the University of Oklahoma Press. First published in 1955, it now appears in its second printing in both cloth and paper editions.

Professor Haines presents the story of the Nez Percés in a straightforward

manner, which the reader will have little difficulty understanding. This readable volume places most of its emphasis on the Nez Percés in the nineteenth century. Haines traces the early development of the tribe, but perhaps owing to the dearth of sources for this period, he does not go into any in-depth treatment of the tribe in the early years. The same excuse cannot be used to explain the cursory examination of the Nez Percés in the twentieth century. The author has fallen into the trap of attempting to bring the history of the tribe up to the present without including an adequate explanation of the causes of the current problems of the Nez Percés and what efforts are being undertaken to resolve them. Since this book was published in 1955, more changes have occurred, but they are not mentioned in the second printing. Finally, in 1971 in his preface to the second printing, the author recognizes this shortcoming when he states, "I have traced the development of the tribe over a period of ninety eventful years, from their first meeting with the whites until the breakup of the tribe." It is unfortunate that he did not write this in 1955.

This book evolved from Professor Haines' doctoral thesis, which was revised and published in 1939 under the title, *Red Eagles of the Northwest*. Seventeen years later the present volume first appeared. Now in the second printing the reader will find the same errors which appeared in the first edition. Presumably, Haines knows the geography of the northwestern United States and the regions west of the Mississippi River, but when he writes about the Indians east of the Mississippi River, he makes an error which can be detected by a casual examination of a roadmap of Ohio. He confuses Sandusky, Ohio, with Upper Sandusky, Ohio, and these cities are over fifty miles apart. This casts a shadow of doubt on his geographic knowledge in other areas.

It is debatable whether the author is taking too much for granted when he states, "It was during Whitman's absence that Dr. Elijah White introduced his well-known code of laws to aid in keeping peace among the Indians at the missions." Perhaps Haines would be justified in referring to Hammurabi's Code as well-known, but it is doubtful whether anyone other than a specialist could quote the code drafted by White. The work suffers from the use of terminology which was probably acceptable in 1939, possibly tolerable in 1955, but which is unacceptable in the 1970s. An example is the word "savage" when referring to members of tribes considered by their white adversaries to be honorable and educated men.

The strongest portions of this book are on the appaloosa horse and the Nez Percés War. However, *The Appaloosa Horse*, an earlier work written by the author, covers this subject in great depth and *The Flight of the Nez Percés*, by Mark H. Brown (1967), is the definitive work on the Nez

Percés War. The general reader will find Professor Haines' history of the Nez Percés interestingly written in post-World War II genre, but it will serve only as an introductory survey on the subject. It is unfortunate that the author has missed an opportunity to correct errors and bring his work up-to-date in the seventeen years between the first and second printing.

Robert E. Smith
Joplin, Missouri

AFRICANS AND SEMINOLES: FROM REMOVAL TO EMANCIPATION. By Daniel F. Littlefield, Jr. (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, Inc., 1977. pp. X, 278. Illustrations. Maps. Bibliography. Index. Appendix. $15.95.)

Anyone familiar with the history of the five civilized tribes recognizes the fact that Blacks had a most unusual relationship with the Seminole people in Florida. And further, this relationship continued somewhat with the removal of both groups to the west.

In *Africans and Seminoles*, Dr. Littlefield has brilliantly re-examined this relationship by focusing on the different sets of circumstances that prevailed in the Indian territory. He also concurs with General Thomas Jessup's startling evaluation that the famous Seminole Wars in Florida were not Indian wars, but rather they were African led encounters. This conclusion has long been supported by the scholarly research of Kenneth W. Porter.

The Seminoles, originally a part of the Creek Confederation, developed their institutions of slavery while resisting the reassertive authority of the Creeks and the pressures of white settlement. These circumstances forged a relationship based on political and military considerations and cooperation. Thus, Africans were afforded a role of comrades-in-arms with their Indian masters and were depended upon as interpreters when dealing with whites.

It was this lack of a rigid definition of the African status as property that inspired the series of conflicts known as the Seminole Wars. Only when the American government issued some assurance that Seminole Africans would accompany the tribe west, would they agree to removal, and the African settlers themselves were offered their freedom under various government agreements to move with the tribe. Therefore, after the second Seminole War, the problems that had plagued the tribe followed them west. In the Indian territory, the Seminoles were pressured by the other civilized tribes for stricter slave codes, and the neighboring slave states lobbied for

slave law conformity. Particularly vexing to all slave holders, white and Indian, was the status of free Africans and the independence of the slaves living among the Seminoles.

Without the expediency of war, the continuing disputes between the Creeks and Cherokees over tribal jurisdiction of slavery and the Seminole's lax system of slave title assignment all served to weaken the bond of affection between African and Seminole. The tribe now began to accept Blacks as property rather than as comrades. In fact, it was only after the Civil War that free Africans among the Seminoles were protected from the bogus title claims from whites and other Indians.

While it is true that Africans in the Seminole tribe were the first to be accepted among the five civilized tribes, without the racial stigma in the treaty of 1866, it still had taken the African more than two generations to secure his freedom after his removal west despite the government promises and the Seminole acceptance.

Professor Littlefield has provided the reader with a rare insight into a unique Red-Black relationship. This thoroughly researched study also suggests that after 1860, the Black Seminole population was much smaller than was previously believed. Littlefield's succinct narrative style moves a detailed script smoothly but rapidly along to its fascinating conclusion. This is the first scholarly work to focus primarily on the relations between the Seminoles and Africans after their removal to the west. It would be an excellent addition to the Western library of the scholar, the student and general reader.

Nudie E. Williams
University of Arkansas

CONVENTION ARTICLES OF WILL ROGERS. Edited by Joseph A. Stout. (Stillwater, Oklahoma: Oklahoma State University Press, 1976. Pp. xv, 174. Notes. Index. $7.95.)

The importance of Will Rogers to American humor is well-established. The relative importance of American political conventions may be more open to debate. This small volume reminds us of Rogers' ability to bring out the virtues and faults of the nominating process as well as some of the participants in it.

This collection is the second volume in a projected multi-volume publication of the writings of Will Rogers sponsored by the Will Rogers Memorial Commission. The convenience and usefulness of bringing together this sometimes hard-to-get material is quite obvious.

The volume under review includes the major articles and a few daily

telegrams by Rogers on the major party conventions from 1920 to 1932. Rogers personally attended all but the 1920 conventions so his comments are predictably more pertinent and informative on those. Their republication in an election year is especially appropriate.

The fact that Rogers' timeliness was one of the reasons for his success as a humorist produces one of the drawbacks to reading this material today. Some of it is so clearly dated as to lose its impact. By the same token, any reader can find quotes that could have been used about the 1976 conventions with equal truth, and historians can cull interesting anecdotes or quotes to liven up their own accounts.

The way in which Rogers developed his material can also be a detriment if all of these articles are read at one sitting. He was not only writing daily, weekly and sometimes special articles, but doing regular monologues on stage. Inevitably, he repeats himself, using the same joke over or reaching too hard for something funny to say.

In addition to the Rogers material, the editors have provided introductions to each convention. Generally well-done, these pieces give the reader the necessary historical background and identifications of the major figures. Less necessary and less objective are the sections that cover Rogers personally. It is important to know where he was and what he was doing at convention time. It is hardly necessary to know what "a writer for a newspaper in Winston-Salem, North Carolina," said about him.

Perhaps the kindest thing that can be said about the twenty-one pages of backnotes is that the book is over-edited. There was no need to identify people already sufficiently identified in the introductions and other identifications are much longer than needed. Worst of all are the notes informing the reader of title variations for the columns or changes in the text of articles that have no effect on Rogers' intent.

Rogers' fans will appreciate this work, scholars will find it useful and everyone can find amusement from it.

Ed Cadenhead
University of Tulsa

OKLAHOMA INNOVATOR: THE LIFE OF VIRGIL BROWNE. By Mathew Paul Bonnifield, with an epilogue by Virgil Browne. In the Oklahoma Trackmaker Series, ed. by Odie B. Faulk. (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976. Pp. xiv + 240. Illustrations. Bibliography. Index. $7.75.)

The second book to be released as part of the Oklahoma Trackmaker Series,

edited by Odie Faulk and sponsored by the Oklahoma Heritage Association, *Oklahoma Innovator* provides in-depth treatment of of the career of one of the most notable businessmen in Oklahoma's history.

Author Paul Bonnifield brought his narrative to life as he surveyed Virgil Browne's career, the career of a self-made man. Browne was born in Mount Pleasant, Texas, in 1877. His family was considered well-to-do by local standards. A series of misfortunes robbed the family of much of its wealth, and by the mid-1890s Virgil was forced to provide for himself. As a teenager he began his business career behind a soda fountain in a drugstore in Houston. After working for several other druggists, he acquired one-half interest in a drugstore in Dallas, but the establishment went into receivership. After Browne repaid his debts and reestablished his credit, he acquired one-half interest in a store in Fort Worth. Soon, he developed a line of soft drinks and also became a bottler for Coca Cola—and in the process launched a new career that would make him wealthy. Browne moved to Oklahoma City in 1922 to open a new franchise. There he quickly became a community leader and remained active in the affairs of his new city and state for more than one-half a century. He became a driving force in the city's Chamber of Commerce, serving as its president in 1937 and 1938; he was either on the chamber's finance committee or budget committee or was its treasurer continuously from 1932 until 1958, with the exception of the years he served as president. He developed a strong friendship and an excellent working relationship with Stanley Draper, the manager of the chamber. Together, with Draper and others, Browne helped Oklahoma City grow from a frontier town into one of the Southwest's greatest metropolitan centers.

Bonnifield's treatment of Browne's life is excellent. Emphasis was properly placed on his business and civic career, but his family life was not ignored. Scholars and laymen interested in Oklahoma history, business history, and/or the history of the Southwest should add Bonnifield's *Oklahoma Innovator* to their collection.

James Smallwood
Oklahoma State University

☆ OKLAHOMA BOOKS

By Vicki Sullivan and Mac R. Harris

The compilers, Mac R. Harris and Vicki Sullivan, Historical Society Librarians, urge authors and publishers of Oklahoma related materials to send information about (or copies of) their books to be included in this section. Of particular interest are those books which do not ordinarily receive widespread publicity, such as family histories and genealogies, institutional and church histories, and county and local histories. In lieu of a book, each citation should include the following information: author, title, name and location of publisher, pagination, and price.

AGRICULTURE IN THE GREAT PLAINS, 1976–1936. Edited by Thomas R. Wessel. (Washington: Agricultural History Society. 1977. Pp. 263. $8.00.)

THE AMERICAN HERITAGE HISTORY OF THE INDIAN WARS. By Robert M. Utley and Wilcomb E. Washburn. (New York: Simon & Schuster, Inc. 1977. Pp. 352. $34.95.)

AMERICAN INDIAN MYTHS AND MYSTERIES. By Vincent H. Gaddis. (Radnor, Pennsylvania: Chilton Book Co. 1977. Pp. xvi, 220. $8.95.)

THE AUTHENTIC WILD WEST: THE OUTLAWS. By James D. Horan. (New York: Crown Publishers, Inc. 1977. Pp. vi, 312. $12.95.)

BEGINNING AT COLD SPRINGS: THE HISTORY OF ALLEN, OKLAHOMA 1882–1976. By Hope Patterson McInroy. (Privately published by author. 1976. Pp. xiv, 296. No price given. Available from the author, R.D. 1, Box 35, Allen, OK 74825.)

CHEROKEES IN TRANSITION: A STUDY OF CHANGING CULTURE AND ENVIRONMENT PRIOR TO 1775. By Gary C. Goodwin. (University of Chicago Department of Geography Research Paper, number 181. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1977. Pp. ix, 207. $6.00.)

THE DALTON BROTHERS AND THEIR ASTOUNDING CAREER OF CRIME BY AN EYEWITNESS. By Edgar de Valcourt-Vermont. (New York: Jingle Bob/Crown Publishers, Inc. 1977. Pp. 220. $6.95.)

FAITH AND FRIED POTATOES. By Grayce Bonham Confer. (Claremont, California: Creative Press. 1977. $4.95.)

FIFTY COMMON BIRDS OF OKLAHOMA AND THE SOUTHERN GREAT PLAINS. By George Miksch Sutton. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1977. Pp. 113. $7.95.)

GREAT NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS: PROFILES IN LIFE AND LEADERSHIP. By Frederick J. Dockstader. (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Company. 1977. Pp. ix, 386. $16.95.)

THE HISTORY OF ELGIN. B ythe Elgin Bicentennial History Book Committee. (Dallas, Texas: Taylor Publishing Company. 1976. Pp. 247. No price given.)

A HISTORY OF THE BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS AND ITS ACTIVITIES AMONG INDIANS. By Curtis E. Jackson and Marcia J. Galli. (San Francisco: R & E Research. 1977. Pp. xi, 162. $12.00.)

INDIAN LIFE: TRANSFORMING AN AMERICAN MYTH. By William W. Savage, Jr. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1977. $9.95.)

THE LEGISLATIVE PROCESS IN OKLAHOMA: POLICY MAKING, PEOPLE, & POLITICS. By Samuel A. Kirkpatrick. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1978. Pp. xviii, 301. $14.95.)

LIFE OF TOM HORN, GOVERNMENT SCOUT AND INTERPRETER. By Tom Horn. (Reprint of the 1904 Edition. New York: Jingle Bob/Crown Publishers, Inc. 1977. Pp. 318. $6.95.)

THE LITTLE TOWN OF ROFF. By Evan Thomas Tingle. (Quanah, Texas: Nortex Press. 1978. Pp. 160. $8.85.)

OKLAHOMA OVERLAND. By Claudine Dollar. (Privately published by author. 1978. $6.35. Available from 320 Warren Road, Blair, OK 73526.)

AN OLD GUY WHO FEELS GOOD. By Worden McDonald. (Berkeley, California: Thorp Springs Press. 1978. Pp. 156. $4.00.)

THE PAWNEE GHOST DANCE HAND GAME: A STUDY OF CULTURAL CHANGE. By Alexander Lesser. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1978. Pp. 368. $17.50.)

PIONEERING IN KIOWA COUNTY. VOLUME III. By Kiowa County Historical Society. (Privately published by author. 1977. $21.00. Available from Kiowa County Historical Society, P.O. Box 182, Hobart, OK 73651.)

$10 HORSE, $40 SADDLE, COWBOY CLOTHING, ARMS, TOOLS & HORSE GEAR OF THE 1880'S. By Don Rickey, Jr. (Fort Collins, Colorado: Old Army Press. 1976. No price listed.)

THE TRIAL OF FRANK JAMES FOR MURDER WITH CONFESSIONS OF DICK LIDDIL AND CLARENCE HITE AND HISTORY OF THE "JAMES GANG." Compiled and edited by George Miller, Jr. (Reprint of 1898 Edition. New York: Jingle Bob/Crown Publishers, Inc. 1977. Pp. 348. $6.95.)

☆ FOR THE RECORD

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

April 27, 1978

President W. D. Finney called the eighty-sixth annual meeting of the members of the Oklahoma Historical Society to order at 9:30 a.m. in the auditorium of the Historical Building. The Reverend Frank W. Sprague delivered the invocation.

President Finney introduced Lieutenant Governor George Nigh who spoke of the Society's self-study program funded by a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities. He announced that 1979 will be the centennial year of the birth of Will Rogers and that commemorative activities throughout the year will culminate in November, 1979 in Claremore. Lieutenant Governor Nigh pointed out that the preservation of the history of the state and the development of tourism and recreation are important parts of the future of the state.

Dr. Louis G. Johnson, Chairman of the Department of Social Sciences, Southeastern Oklahoma State University, Durant, was introduced to the members by Mr. Finney and was asked to give a tribute to the late Dr. James D. Morrison. His remarks are a part of these minutes. Dr. Johnson's son, Mr. Jerry Johnson, was also introduced.

Mr. Finney called Dr. Odie B. Faulk to the podium to present the fourth annual Muriel H. Wright Endowment Fund Award. The recipient for 1977 was Blue Clark, Ph.D., Department of Indian Studies, Morningside College, Sioux City, Iowa, for this article "Beginning of Oil and Gas Conservation in Oklahoma, 1907–1931," appearing in Vol. LV, No. 4, *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*. The plaque and stipend were presented to Dr. Clark's mother, Mrs. Lois Clark, in his absence.

Harry L. Deupree, M.D., Chairman Historic Sites Committee, was asked to present the Society's Certificate of Commendation to Ward S. Merrick, Ardmore, for his support of the development of Fort Washita and to Eugene Bray, Paris, Texas, for his effort in the restoration of Fort Towson.

Mr. Bray, accepting the commendation, paid tribute to the late Dorothy Jane Orton who had been a leader in the early restoration of the Fort. Mr. Bray urged support of the membership in the development of sites such as Fort Towson.

Mr. R. W. Jones, State Chairman of the Awards Committee, American Association for State and Local History, presented the Association's Award of Merit to the Oklahoma Historical Society for its Oklahoma Series. Dr. Odie B. Faulk, chairman of the Publications Committee, accepted the

award, and presented it to Editor Kenny A. Franks and Associate Editor Martha L. Mobley. Dr. Franks thanked the Board members and members of the staff for their support.

President Finney introduced Ross Morrison, brother of Dr. Morrison, all members of the Board of Directors present, and staff members attending the meeting.

Mr. Finney then asked Board Member Joe D. Curtis to come forward to accept a plaque to be presented to Board Member Emeritus H. Milt Phillips for his long years of meritorious service to the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Dr. Guy Muto was introduced by Mr. Jack Wettengel, Executive Director, who announced that Dr. Muto would present a slide presentation following the meeting on the archaeological exploration at Parris Mound in eastern Oklahoma. Dr. Muto was the project chairman.

Mr. Finney said that scheduled committee meetings would be held after the annual meeting, followed by the annual luncheon at the Ramada Central Convention Inn. Robert L. Damm, Project AWARE Director, was the scheduled speaker. After the luncheon meeting the Board was to reassemble in the Board Room of the Historical Building for the regular quarterly meeting at approximately 1:30 p.m.

Mr. Finney directed the members' attention to publications from the University of Oklahoma Press displayed in the hallway to the Auditorium.

Mr. Curtis moved that all the proceedings of the Board during the past year be approved by the members of the Oklahoma Historical Society. Dr. Faulk seconded the motion. President Finney asked for a show of hands and the motion was approved unanimously by the members present.

Mr. Finney thanked the members for coming and the meeting adjourned.

W. D. Finney
President

Jack Wettengel
Executive Director

IN MEMORIAM

James Davidson Morrison was born to William B. and Christine Morrison on October 23, 1904, in Williamson, West Virginia; however, he grew up in the shadows of Oklahoma Presbyterian College, where his father served as president, in Durant, Oklahoma. He married Beatrice Upchurch of Keota, Oklahoma, on May 22, 1938. James and Beatrice Morrison reared twin sons—Donald James and Robert James—who were born May 14, 1944.

After finishing high school in Durant, James D. Morrison embarked upon a collegiate career that included Washington and Lee University, Southeastern Oklahoma Normal, the University of Texas and the University of Oklahoma. All of his academic degrees—B.A., 1927; M.A., 1931; Ph.D., 1951—were conferred by the University of Oklahoma.

Prior to receiving his first degree he was granted a lifetime teaching certificate and launched his professional career by teaching in several Oklahoma high schools. From 1936 to 1941, he served as head of the Department of Social Sciences at Eastern Oklahoma A and M College.

In 1941, he joined the United States Army Air Force and during World War II he served as ground instructor at the Cadet Flying School of Rankin Academy at Tulare, California. Following the war he returned to civilian life and resumed his career as an educator.

In 1945, he became a professor of history and head of the Department of Social Sciences at Southeastern State College. Thirteen years later he received a promotion to Dean of Instruction, a position he held until 1969. Following his retirement from the deanship, he resumed his teaching in the Department of Social Sciences. He retired again in 1973; however, at the request of the departmental chairman he continued to teach a course in Oklahoma history until his demise.

During his busy career Dr. Morrison found time to publish numerous articles, including the article on Oklahoma in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. He co-authored (with E. E. Dale) two books—*Pioneer Judge* and *A History of Oklahoma*. Recently, he published two additional works entitled *Schools for the Choctaws* and *Seven Constitutions*.

James D. Morrison was a charter member of Rho Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta. In 1956, he became a member of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society and served in that capacity until his death. He was chairman of the commission for the restoration of Fort Washita. When the Red River Valley Historical Society was founded he served as a member of the Board of Directors and a member of the Executive Committee. He was a member of the Durant Lions Club. He was an active participant in the Presbyterian Church, having served as Elder, Sunday School teacher, Superintendent of Sunday School and a member of the choir.

All of those who knew James D. Morrison as a friend felt richer for the experience. He was a compassionate and humanistic person. Overtly, he was gentlemanly, considerate, and humble. Covertly, however, he was certain of his facts and confident in his conclusions. He was a family man, a religious man, a man of his community. He possessed a tremendous loyalty

and love to the discipline of history and to the State of Oklahoma. He passed beyond earthly life on December 26, 1977.

MINUTES OF THE QUARTERLY MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

April 27, 1978

The quarterly meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society was called to order by President W. D. Finney at 2:00 p.m. in the Board Room of the Historical Building.

Those answering the roll call by Executive Director Jack Wettengel were Mrs. George L. Bowman, Q. B. Boydstun, O. B. Campbell, Joe E. Curtis, Harry L. Deupree, M.D., Mrs. Mark R. Everett, Dr. Odie B. Faulk, W. D. Finney, Dr. LeRoy H. Fischer, Bob Foresman, Nolen J. Fuqua, Denzil D. Garrison, C. Forest Himes, Mrs. L. E. Hodge, Jr., Mrs. Charles R. Nesbitt, Earl Boyd Pierce, Jordan B. Reaves, Genevieve Seger, Britton D. Tabor and H. Merle Woods. Miss Seger moved, seconded by Dr. Fischer, that Jack T. Conn, E. Moses Frye and Dr. A. M. Gibson and John E. Kirkpatrick be excused as requested. Motion carried.

Mr. Wettengel reported that 64 persons had requested membership in the Society, three of them annual members requesting life membership. These were Clyde M. Duckwall, Jr., Mrs. Francis X. Hesse and Michael Sanders. On a motion by Dr. Fischer, seconded by Mr. Woods, the applications for membership were accepted and the gift lists, as published, from the Library, the Indian Archives and the Museum were approved. Motion carried.

Dr. Deupree moved that the order of the day be suspended and that the election of a new member to the Board be held earlier in the meeting. Dr. Faulk seconded and all approved.

The effect of the Open Meeting Law on election of members to the Board of Directors was reviewed. Mr. Boydstun moved, seconded by Mr. Pierce, that the rules governing election of a Board member as stated in the Society's Constitution regarding secret ballot be suspended and that the directors follow the Open Meeting Law regarding public ballot. Motion carried. Upon an inquiry from Colonel Himes, Senator Garrison moved, seconded by Mrs. Everett, that in view of the language of Article IV, Section 8, of the Constitution, nominations from the floor not be accepted. Mrs. Nesbitt moved, seconded by Mrs. Everett, that the Board vote by the rules of the Constitution in accordance with the Open Meeting Law. Motion carried.

The Board members then voted for the nominees as follows: Donald E. Green—Bowman, Deupree, Everett, Faulk, Finney, Fischer, Foresman, Fuqua, Hodge, Reaves. Martin A. Hagerstrand—Boydstun, Campbell, Curtis, Garrison, Himes, Nesbitt, Pierce, Seger, Tabor, Woods. It being a tie vote, Mr. Campbell moved, seconded by Mr. Reaves, that the election be postponed until the July 27, 1978 meeting of the Board. Motion carried unanimously.

Dr. Deupree announced that the Oklahoma City Discovery Well had been placed on the National Register of Historic Places. The well site is owned by the Oklahoma Historical Society, and Dr. Deupree presented the certificate which goes to all designated historic sites. Mr. Pierce moved, seconded by Mr. Woods, that the certificate be accepted and that the Executive Director frame and hang the certificate. Motion carried.

Mr. Boydstun reported on the status of the land acquisition at Honey Springs Battlefield Park. He said that the Society has acquired one of three tracts at the site and that negotiations have failed for the other two tracts. The Honey Springs Battlefield Commission at a meeting April 18, 1978, moved to recommend to the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society that they immediately request the Attorney General of the State of Oklahoma to proceed with the acquisition of the Lane and Gambrell tracts by condemnation. Mr. Boydstun moved to adopt the recommendation and Mr. Pierce seconded. Discussion followed regarding improvements on the land, aerial survey of the area, surface and mineral rights, funding and recommendations of the Attorney General. Those voting to adopt the recommendation were Bowman, Boydstun, Campbell, Curtis, Deupree, Faulk, Finney, Fischer, Foresman, Fuqua, Garrison, Himes, Hodge, Pierce, Reaves, Seger, Tabor and Woods. Those opposed were Everett and Nesbitt. Moton carried.

Supreme Court Chief Justice Ralph B. Hodges administered the Oath of Office to those members elected at the January meeting: President W. D. Finney, O. B. Boydstun, Mrs. L. E. Hodge, Jr. and Jordan B. Reaves. John E. Kirkpatrick was also elected but was not present at the meeting. The terms will expire in January, 1983.

Mrs. Bowman, Treasurer, reviewed the Cash Revolving Fund 200 for the quarter and introduced Accountant Marvin Henshall.

Some confusion had resulted in the election of officers at the January meeting and Dr. Faulk moved, second by Dr. Fischer, that Jack T. Conn be declared re-elected first vice president and Q. B. Boydstun re-elected second vice president. Approval of the motion was unanimous.

President Finney introduced Robert L. Damm, director of the Society's self-study program, Project AWARE. Mr. Damm read the preliminary

report of his study to the Board and presented each member a numbered copy of the report. Mr. Damm said he would give his final report in June.

President Finney asked the directors to study the AWARE report and directed that copy of the report be mailed to those directors who were absent.

Executive Director Jack Wettengel reviewed the arrangement made with Times Remembered, Inc., for the exchange of bound volumes of the *Daily Oklahoman*, *Oklahoma City Times*, *Tulsa Daily World* and the *Tulsa Tribune* for microfilm rolls of these newspapers. Roger Nelson of the firm said the newspapers would be used for commercial purposes such as reproducing front pages of newspapers published on historic dates, birthdays, etc. Many of the old volumes are badly worn, said Mr. Wettengel, and a savings of nearly $50,000.00 resulted in the transaction. Dr. Faulk moved, seconded by Mr. Campbell, to accept the resolution and the motion carried unanimously.

Meeting adjourned.

W. D. Finney
President

Jack Wettengel
Executive Director

CERTIFICATE OF PASSAGE OF RESOLUTIONS OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

At a duly constituted meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society held on the 27th day of April, 1978, the following resolutions were adopted:

RESOLVED, that the Oklahoma Historical Society hereby releases to Times Remembered, Inc., an Oklahoma corporation, all of the following newspapers, all dates inclusive, to-wit:

The Daily Oklahoman from 1894–1956;

The Oklahoma City Times from 1908–1956;

The Tulsa Tribune from 1917–1956; and

The Tulsa World from 1917–1956;

in exchange for Times Remembered, Inc. microfilming by itself or third persons of all of the above issues.

FURTHER RESOLVED, that the issues of The Daily Oklahoman from 1894 through 1956 as set forth above is hereby finally released to Times Remembered, Inc.

FURTHER RESOLVED that when the processing of the microfilm of the following issues have been delivered to the Oklahoma His-

torical Society, then the copies of the following newspaper will be delivered to Times Remembered, Inc., to-wit:

The issues of The Oklahoma City Times from 1908–1956, The Tulsa Tribune from 1917–1956 and The Tulsa World from 1917–1956;

at which time the officers of the Oklahoma Historical Society are hereby authorized to execute a final release to Times Remembered, Inc. of all the newspapers referred to herein.

We, the undersigned hereby certify that the foregoing is a true copy of the Resolutions adopted by the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society at a meeting of said Board held on the aforementioned date and placed upon the regular minute book of said Society, and now in full force and effect, and that the Board of Directors of said Oklahoma Historical Society has and at the time of said adoption of resolutions had full power and lawful authority to adopt said resolutions and to confer the powers therein granted to the officers therein named who have full power and lawful authority to exercise the same.

JACK WETTENGEL
Secretary of the Board of Directors

W. D. FINNEY
President

COUNTY OF OKLAHOMA)
) SS.
STATE OF OKLAHOMA)

On this 27th day of April, 1978 in said County of Oklahoma before me a Notary Public duly commissioned and qualified, in and for the State and County aforesaid, personally came Jack Wettengel, Secretary and W. D. Finney, President, personally known to me, and known to me to be the persons described and who executed the foregoing certificate and acknowledged to me that they executed the same; and being by me duly sworn, did depose and say that they are the Secretary of the Board of Directors and the President of the Oklahoma Historical Society; that as such officers they keep the corporate minute book and seal of said Society, and that the foregoing certificate is true to the best of my knowledge.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 27th day of April, 1978.

ALTA F. DENT
Notary Public

My Commission Expires:
Sept. 22, 1979

GIFT LIST

The Oklahoma Historical Society wishes to acknowledge the following people who donated gifts during the first quarter of 1978.

MUSEUMS AND HISTORIC SITES

Arthur Tarbet
Mrs. Joseph Pasternik
Clifford Peterson
Dr. Edward Scott Meadows
Lloyd G. Allen
Mrs. Garland Keeling
Robb Moore
Mrs. Walter Murphy
Mrs. Eunice Henry Merritt
C. C. Simmons
Mrs. William R. Priest
Ms. Elizabeth Harrison
Ms. Joy Shoffit Muske
Mrs. Emory Crow
Mrs. Zella Pool
Miss Mary G. Pierce
Mr. and Mrs. W. J. Hamble
Charles Fredregill
Mrs. Raymond G. Jacobs
James W. Greenawalt, Jr.
Mrs. Dorothy J. Hays
Sam B. Carpenter
Mrs. Paul H. Sullins
Mrs. Marjorie D. Kirkwood
John R. Hill

LIBRARY AND PHOTOGRAPH SECTION

Mr. and Mrs. Harry H. Revelle, Jr.
Mrs. Edna Little
James Frederick Morgan
George Russell Fletcher
Hazel Watkins Laird
Charles Ellis Beam
Mrs. Orda Wilcox
Mrs. Beulah Harmon
Jack P. Rubel
Ms. Iris Rivers
Mac R. Harris
Barbara Kerr Scott
Mrs. Kathleen E. Fowler
Mrs. Winnie Clark
Mr. and Mrs. Cecil E. Ritter
Nebraska State Historical Society
Voyle C. Scurlock
James C. Hicks
Dr. Alejandro Bolanos Geyer
Moral-Armament, Inc.
University of Science and Arts of Oklahoma
Ms. Althea Bass
Mrs. Robert A. Hardin
Dr. Minter Uzzell
Barbara Freeman
Oklahoma Heritage Association
Mrs. Mattie Logsdon
Barc Curtis
William Barthell
Elizabeth C. Stewart Eastwood
Helen Sharp Wickliffe
Mrs. C. H. Bearman
Harold Glen McCaslin
W. V. Potts
Desper Plumbing Company
Joe Bennett McBrien
Mrs. Leora J. Bishop
Mrs. Gerald McMichael
Mrs. Myron Cunningham
Mrs. Nadine Gregg
The Edward Still Family
R. J. "Rocky" Patterson
Mrs. A. D. Flowers

INDIAN ARCHIVES

Sharron Ashton
Louise Wilcox
Dorothy DeWitte Wilkinson
Patricia W. Lockwood
Amos A. Hopkins-Dukes
Michael Welsh
Mac Harris
Betty Brown

NEW ANNUAL MEMBERS*

January 27, 1978 to April 27, 1978

Allen, Margaret L.	Oklahoma City
Baade, Rev. Eugene W.	Rhinelander, Wisconsin
Bard, James R.	Independence, Missouri
Blackburn, Ken	Sapulpa
Booth, John N.	Oklahoma City
Brandt, Armin	Memmingen, West Germany
Cowden, Lois	Oklahoma City
Dewey, N. Maomi	Edmond
Estes, Mary Jane	Moore
Felton, Warren L., II, M.D.	Oklahoma City
Giacomo, Delores	McAlester
Goodman, Dr. George J.	Norman
Griffith, Jean	Newcastle
Guthery, Odes J., Jr.	Bethany
Hall, Dr. Martin H.	Arlington, Texas
Harris, James R.	Moore
Hill, Mrs. J. R.	Edmond
Hill, Mrs. Wayne	Marlow
Hood, Rilla Jean	Muskogee
Huntley, Bill	Tulsa
Johnson, Julianne	Woodbridge, Virginia
Knox, Daryl K.	Benton, Wisconsin
Kueteman, Karen	Edmond
Lampkin, Robert E.	Midland, Texas
Lawson, Dr. Cheryl A.	Duncan
Loescher, Dorothy J.	Appleton, Wisconsin
Lowery, Ed	Muskogee
Maddox, Mrs. J. M.	Tipton
Martin, Holly S.	Oklahoma City
McClure, Mrs. Carol	Pryor
McDonald, Pauline	Rush Springs
Menzie, Dr. Donald E.	Norman
Mosteller, E. R.	Oklahoma City
Murphy, Bobby L.	Jones
Myers, William Nathaniel	Oklahoma City
Nalls, Sara Ruth	Ardmore
Nelson, Mrs. Anna	Lucien
Nelson, Ira V.	Lucien
Oglesbee, Robin	Muskogee
Parrish, Raymond E.	Oklahoma City
Parrish, Mrs. Raymond E.	Oklahoma City
Peet-Laurenti, Donna S.	Midwest City
Peterson, Bill	Oklahoma City
Propst, Hattie Careen	Tahlequah
Rader, Troy W.	El Reno
Rea, Russell A.	Oklahoma City
Reggio, Michael H.	Bethany

Riley, Mrs. Dixie	Joplin, Missouri
Runkle, Mrs. Lowe	Oklahoma City
Salmon, F. Cuthbert	Stillwater
Schmer, Alta Bettis	Brush, Colorado
Sims, Mrs. Lois J.	Grass Valley, California
Smith, Charles H.	Oklahoma City
Thorne, Mrs. W. R.	Tahlequah
Towner, Mrs. J. N.	Oklahoma City
Wade, A. E.	Clinton
Williams, Mrs. Carrie	Citrus Heights, California
Wilson, Mrs. B. W.	Watts
Wilson, Hazel Downing	Albuquerque, New Mexico
Winters, Glen H.	Oklahoma City
Wolfe, Steven A.	Homer, Alaska

NEW LIFE MEMBERS*

January 27, 1978 to April 27, 1978

Duckwall, Clyde M., Jr.	Oklahoma City
Hesse, Mrs. Francis X.	Purcell
Sanders, Michael	Villa Park, Illinois

* All members in Oklahoma unless otherwise designated.

THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

ıe Oklahoma Historical Society was organized by a group of Oklahoma Territory wspaper men interested in the history of Oklahoma who assembled in Kingfisher, ay 27, 1893.

ıe major objective of the Society involves the promotion of interest and research in klahoma history, the collection and preservation of the State's historical records, ctures, and relics. The Society also seeks the co-operation of all citizens of Oklahoma gathering these materials.

he Chronicles of Oklahoma, published quarterly by the Society in spring, summer, tumn, and winter, is distributed free to its members. Each issue contains scholarly icles as well as those of popular interest, together with book reviews, historical notes, d bibliographies. Such contributions will be considered for publication by the Editor d the Publications Committee.

embership in the Oklahoma Historical Society is open to everyone interested. The arterly is designed for college and university professors, for those engaged in research Oklahoma and Indian history, for high school history teachers, for others interested the State's history and for librarians. The annual dues are $5.00 and include a subiption to *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*. Life membership is $100.00. Regular subiption to *The Chronicles* is $6.00 annually; single copies of the magazine $1.50 unss otherwise stipulated by the Historical Society office. All dues and correspondence ating thereto should be sent direct to the Executive Director, Oklahoma Historical ciety Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

EDITORIAL POLICY—"The Chronicles of Oklahoma shall . . . pursue an editorial policy of publication of worthy and scholarly manuscripts dealing with all aspects of Oklahoma or regional history. It shall not interest itself in the publication of manuscripts of a political or controversial nature." (Constitution Oklahoma Historical Society) Manuscripts submitted for consideration for publication should be typed on bond paper and double spaced. Footnotes should conform to *A Manual of Style* (The University of Chicago Press, 1975), be double spaced and be placed at the end of the manuscript. Appropriate photographs should be supplied with submitted manuscripts and will be returned upon author's request. The Publication Department reserves the right to make any editorial changes it deems necessary for the sake of clarity and conformity to its adopted style. No responsibility is assumed for unsolicited manuscripts, and such material will be returned to the author only if accompanied by postpaid envelope. All inquiries should be addressed to: Publication Department, Oklahoma Historical Society, Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, 73105. Telephone 405–521–2491 extension 34.

CONSTITUTION OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Article I, Section 2—The purposes for which the Oklahoma Historical Society is organized and conducted are to preserve and to perpetuate the history of Oklahoma and its people; to stimulate popular interest in historical study and research; and to promote and to disseminate historical knowledge. To further these ends and, as the trustee of the State of Oklahoma, it shall maintain a library and museum in which it shall collect, arrange, catalog, index and preserve books, pamphlets, newspapers, magazines, manuscripts, letters, diaries, journals, records, maps, charts, documents, photographs, engravings, etchings, pictures, portraits, busts, statuary and other objects of art and all other appropriate museum material with special regard to the history of Oklahoma. It shall perpetuate knowledge of the lives and deeds of the explorers and pioneers of this region; it shall collect and preserve the arts and crafts of the pioneering period, the legends, traditions, histories and cultural standards of the Indian tribes; it shall maintain a collection of the handiwork of the same, and an archaeological collection illustrating the life, customs and culture of the prehistoric peoples. It shall disseminate the knowledge thus gained by investigation and research through the medium of printed reports, bulletins, lectures, exhibits or other suitable means or methods. It shall discharge all other duties and responsibilities placed upon it by the Legislature of the State of Oklahoma.

VOLUME LVI NUMBER 4 WINTER 1978–1979

the chronicles

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

OF OKLAHOMA

976.6
C557

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

Published quarterly by the Oklahoma Historical Society
Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73105

OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY OFFICERS

W. D. Finney, President
Jack T. Conn, 1st Vice President
Q. B. Boydston, 2nd Vice President
Mrs. George L. Bowman, Treasurer
Jack Wettengel, Executive Director
Historical Building, Oklahoma City

OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY DIRECTORS

Term Expiring in January, 1979

O. B. Campbell, Vinita
E. Moses Frye, Stillwater
Denzil Garrison, Bartlesville
Nolen Fuqua, Duncan
Jack T. Conn, Oklahoma City

Term Expiring in January, 1980

LeRoy H. Fischer, Stillwater
Bob Foresman, Tulsa
Miss Genevieve Seger, Geary
Mrs. Charles R. Nesbitt, Oklahoma City
Britton D. Tabor, Checotah

Term Expiring in January, 1981

Mrs. Mark R. Everett, Oklahoma City
H. Merle Woods, El Reno
Odie B. Faulk, Stillwater
A. M. Gibson, Norman

Term Expiring in January, 1982

Joe W. Curtis, Pauls Valley
Mrs. George L. Bowman, Kingfisher
Harry L. Deupree, Oklahoma City
C. Forest Himes, Del City
Earl Boyd Pierce, Muskogee

Term Expiring in January, 1983

W. D. Finney, Fort Cobb
Jordan Reaves, Oklahoma City
Mrs. L. E. Hodge, Jr., Hammon
John E. Kirkpatrick, Oklahoma City
Q. B. Boydstun, Fort Gibson

Correspondence concerning contributions, books for review, and all editorial matters should be sent to th Editor, Oklahoma Historical Society, Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73105.

The Chronicles of Oklahoma is published quarterly in spring, summer, fall, and winter by the Oklahom Historical Society with its editorial office in the Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73105.

Annual membership in the Oklahoma Historical Society is $5.00 and each member receives *The Chronicles Oklahoma* free. The subscription rate for institutions and libraries is $6.00 a year. Single numbers of *Th Chronicles* are available for most years and the price will be supplied on request. In addition business membe ships are available at $25.00 per year; corporate memberships with annual dues of $100.00; and life membe ships priced at $100.00. Subscriptions, change of address, membership applications, orders for current issues *The Chronicles*, and non-current back issues should be sent to the Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historic Society.

Responsibility for statement of facts or opinions made by contributors in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* is n assumed by the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Second-class postage paid at Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. Copyright 1978 by the Oklahoma Historical Socie

Publication Permit Number 110080.

the
chronicles
OF OKLAHOMA

VOLUME LVI *Winter, 1978–1979* NUMBER 4

PUBLICATION COMMITTEE

DR. ODIE B. FAULK, *Chairman*

DR. LEROY H. FISCHER DR. A. M. GIBSON

DENZIL GARRISON

Associate Editor: MARTHA L. MOBLEY

CONTENTS

The Woman Suffrage Issue in the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention 379
By Louise Boyd James

What Is the Future for Railroad Branch Lines in Rural Areas? 393
By Donovan L. Hofsommer

Tar and Feather Patriotism: The Suppression of Dissent in Oklahoma During World War I 409
By James H. Fowler, II

On the White Man's Road: Lawrie Tatum and the Formative Years of the Kiowa Agency, 1869–1873 431
By T. Ashley Zwink

Ten-Barrel "Whodunit" at Red Fork 442
By Joe Donald Roberts

The Exile of the Nez Percé in Indian Territory, 1878–1885 450
By Alan Osborne

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS 472

The Whale's Rifle
By Brad Agnew

BOOK REVIEWS 478

Margaret Szasz, *Education and the American Indian: The Road to Self-Determination, 1928–1973*, by Clifford Earl Trafzer

Donovan L. Hofsommer, ed., *Railroads in Oklahoma*, by William S. Greever

Angie Debo, *Geronimo: The Man, His Time, His Place*, by T. Paul Wilson

Mary Ann Holmes and Marsha Hill, *The Spiro Mounds Site*, by C. Earle Metcalf

Robert Gregory, *Oil in Oklahoma*, by Carl N. Tyson
H. Wayne Morgan and Anne Hodges Morgan, *Oklahoma, A Bicentennial History*, by H. L. Meredith
David Harry Miller and Jerome Steffen, eds., *The Frontier: Comparative Studies*, by Joe A. Stout

FOR THE RECORD 486
Minutes
Gift List
New Members

INDEX 493

THE COVER Mrs. Kate Biggers—in the center—who was President of the Oklahoma Women's Suffrage Association from 1906 until 1907. To her left is Mrs. Ida Porter Boyer from Pennsylvania, who was sent by the National American Women's Suffrage Association to aid the movement in Oklahoma.

THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE ISSUE IN THE OKLAHOMA CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

By Louise Boyd James

Woman suffrage was one of the more controversial issues to be decided by the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention which met in the territorial capital of Guthrie on November 20, 1906. Only four states, Wyoming, Colorado, Utah and Idaho permitted women to vote in all state elections. The women of Oklahoma had the right to vote in school elections only, and thus they made a desperate attempt to get universal woman suffrage included in the constitution of the new state. Their efforts in this cause were a response to the warning given to them by Susan B. Anthony in 1904 in an earlier attempt to gain suffrage. Stating that, "no stone should be left unturned to secure suffrage for the women while Oklahoma is yet a Territory" she argued that "if it comes into the Union without this in its constitution it will take a long time and a great deal of hard work to convince over one-half of the men to vote for it."[1]

The lobbying activities were directed from the headquarters of the Oklahoma Woman Suffrage Association established at 116 West Oklahoma Avenue, only two blocks from the Guthrie City Hall where the convention would be meeting.[2] This headquarters was under the direction of Mrs. Kate H. Biggers, the President of the Oklahoma Woman Suffrage Association. Other officers of the association were Mrs. Minnie Keith Bailey, First Vice-president; Mrs. N. M. Carter, Second Vice-president; Mrs. Ida Wood Norwell, Recording Secretary; Mrs. Jessie Livingston Parks, Corresponding Secretary; Mrs. Anna Lasky, Treasurer; Mrs. Adelia C. Stephens, Auditor; and Mrs. M. Taylor, Auditor.[3]

The Oklahoma women were not alone in their struggle, as the National American Woman Suffrage Association concentrated its efforts for the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention, sending in addition to Dr. Frances Woods, who was already working in Oklahoma, Miss Laura Clay, of Kentucky; Mrs. Mary Bradford, from Colorado; Mrs. Ida Porter Boyer, living in Pennsylvania; and Mrs. Laura Gregg, of Kansas.[4]

---

[1] Ida Husted Harper, ed., *History of Woman Suffrage* (6 vols., New York: J. T. Little and Ives Company, 1922), Vol. VI, p. 520.

[2] *Guthrie City Directory, 1907–1908* (Sioux City, Iowa: R. L. Polk and Company, 1907), p. 23.

[3] *Memorial of the Women of Oklahoma and Indian Territory to the Constitutional Convention*, Indian Documents, Volume XVI, p. 565, Library, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

[4] Harper, *History of Woman Suffrage*, Vol. V, p. 211.

The lobbying activities of these women were numerous from the opening of the convention, with the *Guthrie Daily Leader* making such comments as "The Woman's Suffrage headquarters is a busy place. A large force of clerks is kept busy."[5] Or, "The women who are here lobbying in the interests of female suffrage have been very active and scarcely an hour in the day passes but what they may be seen with several delegates cornered making an attempt to convert them to their side of the proposition." However, the paper added: "It is not believed that the suffragists are using money."[6]

Some of the activities which must have kept the women clerks busy were the petitions being circulated throughout Oklahoma Territory and Indian Territory supporting woman suffrage. The *Guthrie Daily Leader* made frequent reference to these: "Herring presented, by request, Petition number 268, with 108 signatures from Elk City on Woman Suffrage," and "Petition number 264, of 54 residents of Kingfisher, Oklahoma, praying for provisions for Woman Suffrage."[7]

A familiar face among the lobbyists for woman suffrage was that of Muskogee attorney Robert L. Owen, at the time generally known as Colonel Bob Owen. He was a champion of woman suffrage, with the National American Woman Suffrage Association enlisting his support as early as Labor Day in 1905, when Dr. Woods and Mrs. Biggers visited him in Muskogee and extracted his promise to use his influence, service and financial assistance in this effort.[8]

Owen remained true to this promise with his frequent lobbying appearances in Guthrie at the convention and his cheerful predictions for victory. The *Guthrie Daily Leader* quoted Owen in mid-January, 1907 and declared:[9]

> Colonel Robert L. Owen of Muskogee, who is the recognized champion of woman suffrage before the constitutional convention, said last night that he was confident of the success of the measure before the convention and was of the opinion that there were enough delegates already converted to insure the success of the measure. He further stated that there had been a poll taken of the convention that showed a considerable majority and he was confident that the committee would vote favorably on it.

Later in January, after Owen had been to Washington, D.C. on Indian business, the *Guthrie Daily Leader* reported, "Col. Bob Owen is back at

---

[5] *Guthrie Daily Leader* (Guthrie), January 15, 1907, p. 5.
[6] *Ibid.*, January 11, 1907, p. 1.
[7] *Ibid.*, January 28, 1907, p. 3.
[8] Harper, *History of Woman Suffrage*, Vol. VI, p. 522.
[9] *Guthrie Daily Leader*, January 11, 1907, p. 1.

his old post working for woman suffrage."[10] In early February, just prior to convention action on the issue, it declared "Colonel Bob Owen has not dispaired of woman suffrage but is still on the grounds looking toward its successful passage."[11]

Owen's interest in woman suffrage was genuine. After the defeat of this measure at the convention, Owen remained a champion of female voting throughout his career in the United States Senate, appearing frequently before the National American Woman Suffrage Association and working in Congress for woman suffrage. Willing to support his belief in this cause with his own money, he paid for the printing of the memorial which the state suffrage association presented to the members of the convention. Containing two propositions for woman suffrage, arguments for and against woman suffrage and statements from governors of states already having woman suffrage, the memorial ended with a final inquiry: "Members of this history-making Constitutional Convention, in the year of 1906, may we inscribe your names to this illustrious company?"[12]

Woman suffrage had its best friend among the convention delegates in Peter Hanraty, early Oklahoma labor leader. Woman suffrage was supported by labor because women were replacing men in jobs and driving wages down, as women did not have any political power. Hanraty explained on the floor of the convention:[13]

> Figures show me, and I will read them to you now, that in the state of Colorado, woman's wages have been increased in the last seven years twelve per cent more than men's wages have been increased and for no other reason than they had the right of the ballot. . . . The vast organizations of labor in this country value the woman's wages the same as the man; and we have been doing so for years, and the only salvation to that proposition is that women should have the right to vote.

As Hanraty's speech indicated, Colorado was to be a big influence on the Oklahoma woman suffrage question—women had been voting in that state for fourteen years. On January 4, 1907, the convention unanimously passed a resolution, offered by Suffrage Committee Chairman George A. Henshaw, to invite former Colorado Governor Alva J. Adams to speak to the convention on Tuesday evening, January 8, as Adams would be in

---

[10] *Ibid.*, January 30, 1907, p. 1.

[11] *Ibid.*, February 2, 1907, p. 1.

[12] *Memorial of the Women of Oklahoma and Indian Territory to the Constitutional Convention*, Indian Documents, Volume XVI, p. 627, Library, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

[13] "Proceedings and Debates of the Constitutional Convention of Oklahoma, February 5, 1907," pp. 84–86, Library, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Meeting in the Guthrie City Hall to formulate the laws of the new state, the members of the Constitutional Convention were expected by many to pass a woman suffrage act.

Guthrie on that date. The reported topic of his speech would be " 'Deficiency of the Colorado Law' and deal with the past labor troubles in that state with reference to the legal phase."[14]

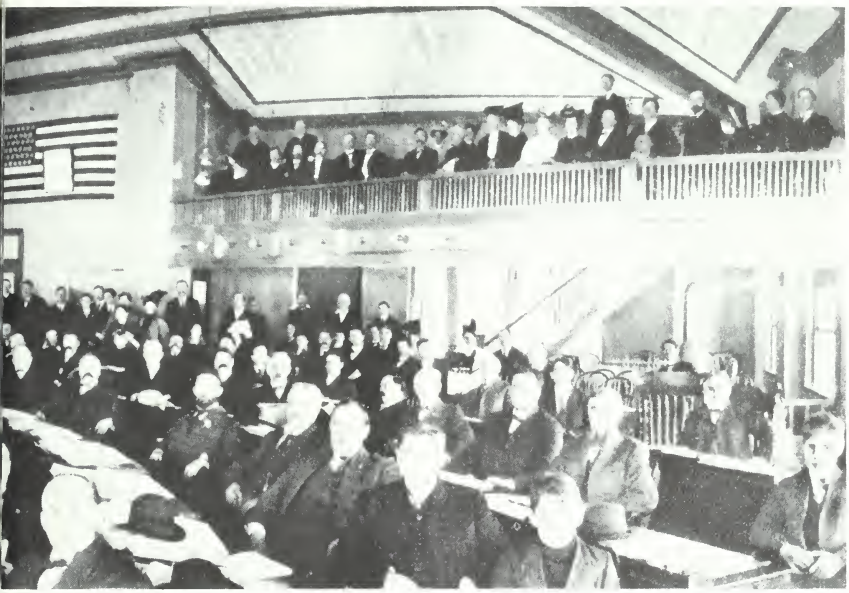
But Governor Adams was in no doubt as to the topic he came to discuss, woman suffrage. In the first evening session of the convention, Adams spoke to the delegates and several hundred additional assembled people, including the women lobbyists and their friends. Miss Clay and Mrs. Biggers had attended the East Guthrie Women's Christian Temperance Union meeting the previous evening and likely extended an invitation to these women to join them for Adams' speech.[15]

Governor Adams told the assembled people:[16]

> I come not as a missionary to a heathen land, but as a citizen of the republic, interested in the welfare of every section. I come to tell you that full

---

[14] *Guthrie Daily Leader*, January 5, 1907, p. 1.
[15] *Ibid.*, January 8, 1907.
[16] *Ibid.*, January 9, 1907.



Note women in balcony, upper right

> legal liberty has not unsexed the women of Colorado. Domestic serenity has not been disturbed. Motherhood has not gone into exile. The home has not been neglected. Womanhood has not been tainted. The lullaby is still heard over the cradle. The mother's bosom is still the refuge and glory of childhood, the state is better, the destiny of your life is safer, and woman has lost no charm.

The session became a woman's suffrage rally, as Governor Adams was given a unanimous rising vote of thanks. Then Owen was called on to address the convention on suffrage, responding to an "ovation" to do so. In conclusion, Miss Clay was then invited to speak to the convention, and both she and Owen were also given a vote of thanks by the delegates for addressing them.[17]

Possibly one of the most unusual endorsements for woman suffrage came from "Dr. Pierce's Favorite Prescription," a patent medicine. One advertisement carried the headline, "Woman's Rights," and proceeded to discuss the glory of womanhood, ending with: "It is high time that this country's greatest treasures—THE WOMEN WHO HAVE MADE IT WHAT

---

[17] *Ibid.*, January 9, 1907.

IT IS—should be rocognized." Naturally, enfranchised women would continue using Dr. Pierce's Favorite Prescription for what ailed them![18]

Also included in the men lobbying for woman suffrage were Congressman Bird S. McGuire and Guthrie Mayor J. W. Duke. In addition President Theodore Roosevelt was also frequently quoted by the suffragists as supporting their cause. Shortly before the convention took action on the matter, McGuire publicly restated his belief in woman suffrage in an interview with a St. Louis, Missouri, newspaper.[19] Mayor Duke pointed out in a letter published in the *Guthrie Daily Leader*: "It is only just and right that women should be permitted to vote for the officers who are to administer the affairs of the city, county, or state, in which they happen to live." He ended his remarks with: "I hope Oklahoma will give the women the ballot."[20]

Mayor Duke had also appeared at the public meeting staged by the women lobbyists on the evening of January 22, 1907. The Oklahoma Woman Suffrage Association engaged the Brooks Opera House, a very elegant theatre connected to the Royal Hotel, where many delegates had rooms. Duke was the first speaker for the evening, on a list which included J. Harvey Lynch of the American Federation of Labor and the Twin Territory Federation of Labor; J. A. West, president of the joint legislative board of the Farmers' Education Union of America; Mrs. N. M. Carter, president of the Federation of Womans' Clubs in Guthrie; Mrs. Sam J. Williams, president of the Guthrie Woman Suffrage Club; Miss Laura Clay, president of the Kentucky Equal Suffrage Association; and Mrs. Mary Bradford, vice-president of the Colorado State Democratic Committee, who had recently arrived in Guthrie and evidently was directing the suffrage campaign. The *Guthrie Daily Leader* called Mrs. Bradford's address "very forceful" and one that "made a strong impression on the delegates and the audience."[21]

The spirits of the suffragette women must have been high following this meeting and the earlier appearance of Adams. There was a hint, three days before the public meeting, that the suffrage committee of the convention might soon be ready to report. Chairman Henshaw suggested that "unlimited suffrage" would be recommended with no educational restrictions and no poll tax. After the encouraging remarks of Owen, would this not also mean woman suffrage?[22]

The suffrage committee of the convention was ready to report on Feb-

[18] *Ibid.*, January 4, 1907.
[19] *Ibid.*, February 5, 1907.
[20] *Ibid.*, January 30, 1907.
[21] *Ibid.*, January 22, 1907 and January 23, 1907.
[22] *Ibid.*, January 19, 1907.

ruary 5, 1907. The committee included in addition to Chairman Henshaw, O. P. Brewer, J. R. Copeland, W. T. Dalton, W. L. Helton, C. S. Leeper, William C. Liedtke, I. B. Littleton, James H. Maxey, Silas M. Ramsey, Thad D. Rice, G. M. Tucker and T. C. Wyatt, all Democrats, and two Republicans, Henry L. Cloud and Homer P. Covey.[23] Prior to the committee report, Hanraty presented 83 petitions from 24,000 members of trade unions in Oklahoma Territory and Indian Territory "praying for woman suffrage."

The forces supporting woman suffrage attempted to delay debate on the issue. Two forces made references to Mrs. Bradford and her desire to address the convention. Hanraty then attempted to postpone the debate for two days, until Thursday, because of a large number of petitions which were locked in J. Harvey Lynch's desk; Lynch was out of town and the petitions could not be presented.

Delay was not permitted. D. S. Rose took the floor and exhibited the attitude found in so many of those opposed to woman suffrage. Women voting was a joke; it was a matter which would produce some spirited debate and a few laughs. Rose said; "I rather believe that if there are a number of ladies here awaiting the action of this convention on this measure, that it would be a matter of good judgement on the part of the convention to take hasty action so they could get home and give their families the attention which they require." This was greeted with laughter and applause.[24]

Thus the suffrage committee of the convention reported:[25]

> The qualified electors of the State shall be male citizens of the United States, who are over the age of twenty-one years, who have resided in the State one year, in the county six months, in the election precinct thirty days next preceding the election at which any such electors offers to vote:
>
> Provided: that no person that shall have been convicted of a felony or petit larceny, after the adoption of this Constitution, unless his citizenship shall have been restored by the Governor of the State, nor any person, while kept in a poor house, or other asylum at the public expense, except Confederate and Federal ex-soldiers, nor any person in a public prison, nor any idiot or lunatic shall be entitled to vote at any election under the laws of this State.

Hanraty then moved to amend this report to remove the word male; and the fight for woman suffrage was on the convention floor.

---

[23] *Journal of the Constitutional Convention of the Proposed State of Oklahoma* (Muskogee: Muskogee Publishing Company, n.d.), p. 47.

[24] "Proceedings and Debates of the Constitutional Convention of Oklahoma, February 5, 1907," pp. 17–18, Library, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

[25] *Ibid.*, p. 119.

Many eloquent and impassioned speeches were made during that day and into the evening, well past the usual closing time. A packed gallery of spectators, including the women who had worked so hard for suffrage, viewed, cheered and applauded throughout the day.

During the debate, many of the speakers gave credit to some woman in their personal life for the formation of their views on woman suffrage. The woman most often referred to was mother, even though D. S. Rose, the first speaker, talked more about the ideal of motherhood, rather than his own mother. He believed a mother's role definitely was in the home, and her chief duty was to develop her children into model men and women. She was to be a ray of sunshine in the lives of all around her. He argued that women venturing out of the home would eventually bring about a reversal of the natural roles of men and women.[26]

The mother theme also influenced the next speaker, Henry Cloud, the son of a half-Cherokee woman, who said of her: "If she is superior in point of intellect and refinement and chasity, I want to say she is the one that I think would help mould the destiny of this Nation; not through her boy, not through her child alone, but by putting her hand to the ballot." This was

[26] *Ibid.*, pp. 32–35.

Robert L. Owen, above, and Mrs. N. M. Carter, left—two supporters of women's suffrage during the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention

greeted with applause from the gallery. Mrs. Henry L. Cloud may well have been one of those hearing her husband's speech, as she was the second vice-president of the Indian Women's Suffrage League of Indian Territory.[27]

Delegate C. D. McCance followed Cloud, saying that he had not made up his mind about the suffrage issue when the convention began, but that he now supported it. Did the women see in him one of the results of their lobbying efforts? He declared that:[28]

> I have been taught by my mother to solve all problems upon a basis of what is right, and what is wrong, and working upon that basis, I have come to the conclusion that I have no right, as a member, as a delegate, representing not only the male citizens of this territory, but the female as well, to stand up here and say to my sisters, to my wife or to my mother, you cannot exercise the right of savages.

The mother influence seemed to support those against suffrage also. Delegate David Hogg had been left an "orphan boy," with only his mother alive, when his father was killed in 1858; he then lived with his mother until her death when he was forty-five years old. He said of her: "I never heard her upon the threshold of any rostrum declaiming for woman's rights. I never heard her in the church in which she was a member dictating to the minister what his theories should be, or what doctrine he should preach; but her whole life was devoted to her two boys, spinning on her little wheel over there that her two boys should be educated and be men and go out before the world respectably." This he believed he had done, as at the age of fifty-seven he had never taken a drink or gambled. Because of this Hogg contended that when women get into politics, "it brings about the disruption of the family."[29]

Delegate Charles H. Pittman also was opposed to suffrage, saying: "My mother would not have been a better woman if she had had the ballot. . . . Within the confines of her home, she found ample opportunities for the exercise of every motherly grace, and every womanly virtue." As the woman had seven children, she probably did not have too much time to worry about voting! Pittman's stand was a bit surprising because he was the father of four girls, but he even managed to blame the Civil War on the cry of women of the North to free the slaves. Therefore, he reasoned all women should be kept out of the political arena.[30]

---

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 35.
[28] *Ibid.*, p. 41.
[29] *Ibid.*, p. 58.
[30] *Ibid.*, p. 88.

The Royal Hotel in Guthrie was the home for many delegates during the Constitutional Convention, and as a result, the scene of much pro-suffrage activity

It was perhaps committee chairman Henshaw who did the most damage to the cause of woman suffrage, saying: "I want to say that woman's suffrage will eventually mean socialism and socialism means the destruction of the home and the destruction of the marriage relations and the marriage vows, and the adoption of the horrible doctrine of free love."[31]

The most eloquent speech was probably that of Charles N. Haskell, who concluded: "Katie Bernard's life is a lesson that every suffragist should study and profit by, and let me appeal to every mother that is in this audience to go back home to your boys, and continue to rock the cradle, and through that well-known medium continue to rule the world, and when you do that, every Convention that assembles in Oklahoma, when it comes to a great moral question like prohibition will have at least 94 votes out of every hundred."[32]

It was impossible during the debate for the women who had worked so long and hard for suffrage to keep their emotions under control at all times. When Hogg was declaiming that the majority of women did not

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 110.
[32] *Ibid.*, p. 81.

Women taking part in a Guthrie school election prior to the Constitutional Convention (Western History Collection, University of Oklahoma Library)

really want to vote, a woman's voice from the gallery said, "Yes, I do Mr. Hogg. I want to vote the worst kind."[33] A modest gasp greeted Henry Asp's choice of the word "unsex" in his speech favoring suffrage.[34] The proceedings of the convention recorded many places where a remark was greeted with laughter or applause from the gallery.

Finally, after 7:30 p.m., the efforts of the supporters of woman suffrage could delay action no longer, and a vote was taken on a motion to table the Hanraty amendment to strike out the word male. The first test vote on woman suffrage showed fifty-four voting to table the amendment, thirty-seven voting against it and twenty-one delegates were recorded as absent or not voting. It was reported the next day, that minority leader Philip B. Hopkins was absent from voting because the Republican members hoped to make woman suffrage an issue in the next election, and a vote to table

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 60.

[34] Irvin Hurst, *The 46th Star* (Oklahoma City; Semco Color Press, 1957), p. 15.

the motion by Hopkins would be bad for the party. Of the nine Republicans present at the vote, eight voted in favor of the Hanraty amendment.[35]

Therefore, Oklahoma would not join Wyoming, Colorado, Idaho and Utah in granting women the right to vote; in fact, the continuation of the right to vote in school elections was granted by the convention in mid-March with only a one vote margin in passing.[36] Perhaps, if the women had been able to have more time, their efforts might have proven Owen's optimistic predictions to be the truth. Some of the women believed that additional time would have done this.[37]

For many of those opposed to woman suffrage, the contest was something of a game. William H. Murray and Charles N. Haskell were later identified by one of the women who worked in Guthrie, Mrs. Julia Woodworth, as the chief opponents.[38] Murray did not make one of the eloquent speeches during the debate on the convention floor, but he had indicated his feelings to the press who reported that, "President Murray jolted the woman's suffrage and prohibition lobbyists when he told them they were licensed to make no more noise than anyone else."[39]

Murray was later to remember that a school board election was being held in Guthrie on February 5, 1907, the day the convention voted on woman suffrage. He recalled that the delegates watched during the day as one polling place could be seen from the City Hall. During the day 758 women were seen voting. Of these only 7 women were white; the remainder were black women. Murray believed this was a deciding factor in the defeat of woman suffrage.[40]

The *Guthrie Daily Leader* did not support Murray's memory of the election. The newspaper carried no report of an election on February 5, 1907. It did give extensive coverage to an election held on April 2, 1907, long after the woman suffrage issue had been decided by the convention. In connection with this later election the newspaper noted: "The vote of colored women for school board members is unusually heavy."[41]

Haskell found his speech was an opportunity to produce some laughter by saying that if women could vote "you will come home to find the home once cheery, where the warm supper was on the table and the wife anxious for your return, and you will find a candidate for county commissioner

---

[35] *Daily Oklahoman* (Oklahoma City), February 7, 1907.

[36] *Guthrie Daily Leader*, March 15, 1907.

[37] Harper, *History of Woman Suffrage*, Vol. VI, pp. 522–523.

[38] *Daily Oklahoman*, August 22, 1920.

[39] *Guthrie Daily Leader*, January 30, 1907.

[40] James R. Wright, Jr., "The Assiduous Wedge," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. LI, No. 4 (Winter, 1973–1974), p. 441.

[41] *Guthrie Daily Leader*, April 2, 1907, p. 1.

The defeat of the pro-suffrage amendment meant that the new state would continue to see such scenes as this all male city election (Western History Collection, University of Oklahoma Library)

has taken so much of her time that really it hadn't occurred to her that supper was a part of everyday life."[42] Less famous opponents also found woman suffrage a chance for humor. Hogg began his speech: "I discover the ladies from Colorado and other portions of the country, advocating woman suffrage, and the majority of them are widows and old maids, and while I am not an old bachelor, but a widower, it is hard to run in the face of them, it is very embarrassing indeed."[43]

Those opposed to Oklahoma woman suffrage found the issue humorous, and a chance for relaxation from the hard and serious work of drawing county boundaries, assigning county seats and solving the liquor problem for the new state. The women involved in the Oklahoma suffrage movement found it to be serious business, with little reason for humor, for after all, they were to remain unfranchised with the children, criminals, lunatics and paupers in the new state, hardly a laughing matter. It would be another eleven years before the goal of woman suffrage was achieved; on November 5, 1918, a referendum petition was adopted granting woman suffrage in all Oklahoma elections.

[42] "Proceedings and Debates of the Constitutional Convention of Oklahoma, February 5, 1907," p. 81, Library, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City Oklahoma.

[43] *Ibid.*, p. 56.

WHAT IS THE FUTURE FOR RAILROAD BRANCH LINES IN RURAL AREAS?

*By Donovan L. Hofsommer**

Beginning in 1830 and persisting for more than three quarters of a century, an annual phenomenon in the United States was its expanding railroad network. Even after the peak mileage had been achieved in 1916, there was sporadic construction. Yet, after that year additional construction did not keep pace with a new phenomenon—railroad abandonment. Entire companies—such as the Fort Smith & Western, the New York, Ontario & Western and the Chicago, North Shore & Milwaukee—eventually disappeared from the pages of the *Official Guide* when their tracks were torn up.

In the agricultural heartlands of the country, however, the problem of abandonment generally involved the branch line operations of the trunk carriers. This issue was brought into sharp focus in 1969 when the Missouri-Kansas-Texas Railroad Company (M-K-T or Katy) filed an application with the Interstate Commerce Commission for permission to abandon 330.99 miles of its line in western Oklahoma. Included were 225.3 miles of its Northwestern District extending from Altus, in the southwestern corner of the state, to Forgan, in the Panhandle. Also included in Katy's abandonment application was its entire 105-mile Beaver, Meade & Englewood Railroad (BM&E or Beaver Road), a wholly owned subsidiary, stretching from Beaver to Forgan, connecting there with the Northwestern District, to Keyes—all in the Oklahoma Panhandle. Because of the magnitude of the application—involving more aggregate branch line mileage than any other action brought before the Interstate Commerce Commission to date—the case drew considerable local, regional and even national attention.[1]

The lines in question had been constructed between 1910 and 1931. The Altus-Forgan section had been built between 1910 and 1912 as a part of the Wichita Falls & Northwestern Railway; it passed to the full control of the Katy in 1923. The BM&E was another local project, constructed in sections between 1915 and 1931; it became a wholly owned Katy subsidiary during the latter year. Acquisition of the BM&T by the M-K-T was logical;

---

* The author is an Associate Professor of History at Wayland College, Plainview, Texas, and the author of two books on railroad history. His articles and book reviews have appeared in a variety of journals.

1 "Chronology of American Railroads, Including Mileage by States and by Years." (Washington: Association of American Railroads, 1962), p. 8; Interstate Commerce Commission, *Finance Reports*, Vol. 338 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1972), pp. 728–754. referred to hereafter as ICC, *FR*, 338.

it represented an end-to-end addition which extended Katy's domain into the westernmost section of the Panhandle.[2]

Collectively, these lines—the Northwestern District and the BM&E—were never more than workhorse branch lines. Yet the BM&E/Katy route represented the Panhandle's premier grain carrying line, and was also an extremely popular route for grain dealers in western Oklahoma. The Katy, after all, directly served the "right places"—terminal elevators at Wichita Falls and Fort Worth in addition to export elevators at Gulf Coast ports—and it also offered shippers the "right rates." This grain haulage represented very lucrative line-haul business for the M-K-T. An important supplement to the grain business, at least on the Northwestern District, was petroleum traffic. Moreover, in later years a significant volume of liquid petroleum gas (LPG) traffic originated on both the Katy and BM&E lines. The usual general traffic mix likewise was characteristic of both lines over the years. On the surface, then, one might have expected long life for them.[3]

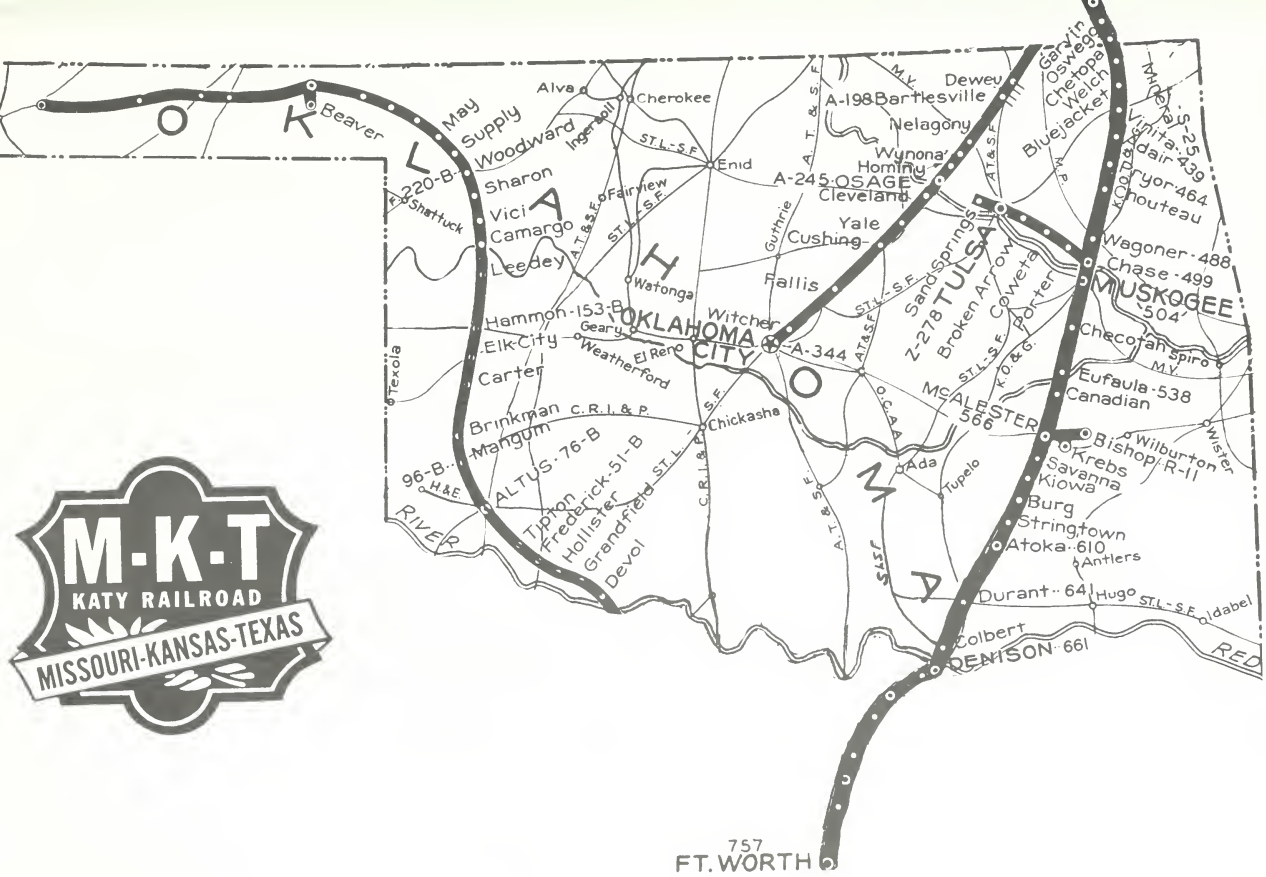
Such was not to be the case, however. For a variety of reasons, the Missouri-Kansas-Texas Railroad Company had become a financial wreck and was, by the mid-1960s, essentially a physical wreck as well. In 1965 John W. Barriger, a well-known and highly respected "doctor of sick railroads," became Katy's president. Earlier, in 1964, the previous administration—pursuing what Barriger later labeled as its policy of attempting to "starve the railroad into prosperity"—filed papers with the Interstate Commerce Commission asking for permission to abandon its entire Northwestern District and the BM&E, too. Soon after he took office, however, Barriger ordered that the request be cancelled, which it was, and then he proceeded to labor for the salvation of the lines. By 1969 it had become apparent to him that he had failed in this attempt. Thus Katy's counsel was authorized to file with the regulatory agency a modification of the earlier application, seeking now to abandon only the 330.99 miles from Altus to Keyes. The hearing examiner took testimony on the case during the first week in December, 1969.[4]

---

[2] Preston George and Sylvan R. Wood, "The Railroads of Oklahoma," *Railway & Locomotive Historical Society, Bulletin No. 60* (January, 1943), pp. 40, 53.

[3] For a very brief historical overview of these lines see Donovan L. Hofsommer, "Dirt Track to Panhandle," *Trains* Vol. 34 (May 1974), pp. 25–29.

[4] Nancy Ford, "Can Barriger Revive the Katy?," *Modern Railroads* Vol. XX (October, 1965), pp. 68–77; Interstate Commerce Commission, *Finance Report* Vol. 338, pp. 728–754. Shortly before filing the twin applications for abandonment, President Barriger contacted six regional competitors and offered to sell them any portion or the entire railroad from Wichita Falls, Texas, to Keyes, Oklahoma, at not less than scrap value. Only the Rock Island responded affirmatively; it agreed to purchase two very short pieces of track, one on the Katy at Mangum and the other on the BM&E at Baker. Various correspondence, Abandonment File, Northwestern District, Legal Department, M-K-T, Dallas, Texas.



Map of M-K-T ca., January 1, 1973 (Author's collection)

Katy's first witness at the hearings was President John W. Barriger who pointed out that the Northwestern District and the BM&E had "received only minimum essential maintenance immediately necessary to permit operation." He recalled the situation which he had found when he arrived on the property in 1965; it had been "one of appalling neglect of maintenance of track, structures, and equipment." This has been the case on all Katy lines, Barriger testified, not just on its western branches. Indeed, the M-K-T at that moment in 1965 had been, he asserted, "on the brink of bankruptcy, if not actual physical disintegration." Consequently a major rebuilding program had been instituted on the main line, but there had been little money to repair the Northwestern District and the BM&E; now, in 1969, they were approaching the point where their service life was exhausted. Therefore, Barriger stoutly contended,

> it would be a gross misuse of M-K-T's meager financial resources to permit any diversion of funds otherwise available for main line work to subsidize the operation of these branch lines which have no hope of successful operation. In turn, this misapplication of rehabilitation funds would have an adverse reaction upon the recovery of main line traffic that M-K-T badly needs in order to survive.

In sum, the Katy president asked that the M-K-T and the BM&E be relieved of the obligation to continue operation of these lines before they reached the absolute end of their physical existence.[5]

Another Katy witness, Chief Engineer John H. Hughes, later testified that the aggregate length of the 117 bridges between Altus and Forgan was 18,887 feet. The average age of these same bridges in 1969 was 32 years; Hughes judged that their general condition was poor. In further testimony, he revealed that 8 percent of all rails and 25 percent of all angle bars on the Northwestern District then were broken; 64.7 percent of the line's ties were in need of replacement. Moreover, because of deferred maintenance the track regretfully had become center bound, and the cut ditches had filled so that there was no effective drainage system to carry water away from the track. On the BM&E, where only used relay rail had been employed in its construction, the situation was equally bad—if not worse. In general, track conditions on both lines, according to Hughes, were "deplorable." In order to rehabilitate these 330.99 miles and restore them to branch line standards permitting speeds of 30 miles per hour, Hughes estimated that it would take $8,506,260 for the Katy line and $3,599,170 for

---

[5] Before the Interstate Commerce Commission, Finance Docket Numbers 25613 and 25614, "Prepared Testimony of John W. Barriger," (undated, 1969), pp. 7–9, 13–17, 22–23.

the BM&E. However, he estimated that the current salvage value of the M-K-T line was only $401,600 and only $250,400 for the BM&E.[6]

A number of studies were submitted by other Katy witnesses which demonstrated that on both lines the traffic in general commodities had declined greatly in the previous decades and had totally disappeared with respect to many items. Livestock traffic, for example, had disappeared some years earlier, and milo, originated in great volume during previous years on the BM&E and moved overhead on the Katy line, was down to 141 cars in 1969. The LPG business similarly had dried up when the several plants on both lines took advantage of pipe line transportation as it became available to them. Furthermore, under Interstate Commerce Commission Car Service Order Number 957, issued in December, 1964, these heavy loads were diverted to competing carriers in the nearest junctions because of poor track conditions on the Northwestern District. A heavy cement traffic to Woodward similarly was diverted, and the use of covered hopper cars for the movement of grain was banned on both lines because of the heavy weight of these cars when loaded. In other words, for various reasons by 1969 the Northwestern District above Altus was used almost exclusively for the movement of wheat outbound and a small amount of supplies and fertilizer inbound.[7]

The movement of wheat, of course, was no unimportant matter. Oklahoma ranked third among all states in the production of this grain, and much of it was grown in the area affected by the twin abandonment applications. During the seven year period 1963–1969, encompassing good, bad and ordinary crop years, an average of 2,379 carloads of wheat moved to market each year over the lines. Of these, an average of 1,141 were originated at Katy stations, and an average of 1,238 moved overhead from the BM&E. In order to retain this important traffic, however, both railroads had greatly reduced their rates. Testimony from numerous elevator operators demonstrated that they would always use the least expensive transportation service, either truck or rail, depending on current rates. Indeed, as little as one-half cent per bushel, delivered price, often determined the sale of grain and the means of its transportation. Katy's counsel therefore concluded that the elevator operators saw the railroad as necessary only to provide competition for trucks—cheap rates—and not to furnish transportation *per se*.[8]

[6] Before the Interstate Commerce Commission, Finance Docket Numbers 25613 and 25614. "Prepared Testimony of John H. Hughes," mimeographed (undated, 1969), pp. 16, 5–6, 18.

[7] Before the Interstate Commerce Commission, Finance Docket Numbers 25613 and 25614, *Brief of the Applicants* (August 3, 1970), p. 56, referred to hereafter as *Katy Brief*; Before the Interstate Commerce Commission, Finance Docket Numbers 25613 and 25614, "Prepared Testimony of Billy R. Bishop" (undated, 1969), p. 9.

[8] *Katy Brief*, pp. 48, 58–61.

Rural communities face a bleak future without rail service. M-K-T, Trail, Oklahoma, July, 1972 (Author's collection)

Beaver, Meade & Englewood Railroad, Midway, Oklahoma, July, 1973 (Author's collection)

Beaver, Meade & Englewood Railroad, Floris, Oklahoma, July, 1973. Note grain on ground between elevators. The rail line had been abandoned in January and dismantled that summer (Author's collection)

The deterioration of traffic mix was even more dramatic on the BM&E. By 1969, Katy's management considered it to be "a grain carrying line, transporting only negligible amounts of other commodities." Carload traffic statistics for 1967 and 1969 bolster this contention:

Commodity	*1967*	*1969*
Grain	1,688	1,192
LPG	695	173
Pipe	4	31
All Other	201	96
TOTAL	2,588	1,492

In the view of Katy's officials, the BM&E not only had experienced a marked decline in traffic and rapidly increasing deficits, but was able to survive only because funds, equipment and services were supplied to it by the parent company. The last good year which the BM&E had experienced was 1962,

when the road earned profits amounting to $151,925. Thereafter earnings had exceeded expenses only in 1963, 1966 and 1968. Between 1964 and 1970, inclusive, the company had sustained a net loss of $255,593. The Beaver Road clearly had become a drag on the economic health of its parent. Because it was considered an independent carrier, the determination of its case was a simple matter. All Katy's counsel had to prove was that the road had become unprofitable. On proof of such loss, the commission no longer had the right to exercise its discretion or to consider other factors because, as Katy's counsel pointed out, any railroad whose entire line is operated at a loss has a constitutional right to terminate its business.[9]

A number of protestors contended that western Oklahoma was on the verge of important economic expansion, but Katy's attorneys contended that "rosy predictions based on fond hopes are poor substitutes for quantitative analysis based on actual movements and the trends demonstrated in such movements." In sum, Katy's management argued that the most significant aspect of the two applications involved the deteriorated and worn-out condition of the tracks. Its representatives testified that both lines had reached the end of their useful lives; they had to be rebuilt or abandoned. The second most important aspect of these applications, in the view of Katy's management, was the financial crises then facing both applicants. These problems had resulted from years of deficit operation and the financial inability of either applicant to provide funds necessary to restore the lines to proper condition. In other words, Katy witnesses argued, the M-K-T was financially unable to retain in operation this part of the Northwestern District and the BM&E. Moreover, in the unlikely event that funds were made available to rehabilitate these lines, the costs of such rebuilding would, in Katy management's estimation, result in even greater deficits from their future operation. Finally, in the case of the BM&E, the application was warranted "primarily because of constitutional requirements."[10]

For their part, the protestors took the position that the final or sole test was whether the abandonment of these two operations was consistent with the public conveniences and necessities, "present and future prospective needs of the public, and loss and inconvenience resulting from this abandonment, weighed against any losses which may accrue to the applicants from their continued operation." They did not consider the continued operation of the two lines to be an undue burden on interstate commerce, and they maintained further that the lines served "a substantial and essential public need in connection with the movement of agricultural products

---

[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 6, 13, 16–17; Moody's *Transportation Manual*, 1963, p. 279; *ibid.*, 1965, p. 128; *ibid.*, 1967, p. 261; *ibid.*, 1969, p. 282; *ibid.*, 1971, p. 54.

[10] *Katy Brief*, pp. 5–7, 16, 21, 48.

and other commodities to and from" points on those lines. Moreover, the combined operation of the two lines in question provided the most direct route from western Oklahoma and the Panhandle to the export terminals on the Gulf. They also pointed out that there were only five connecting railroads on the entire 330.99 mile route which the M-K-T and the BM&E proposed to abandon. This meant that there were railroad junctions only at an average of every 66 miles, effectively negating the applicant's claim that the area was oversupplied with railroad services.[11]

Statistics offered earlier by various Katy witnesses had proved that the area served by these lines had experienced a reduction in population over the years. The protestors, however, demonstrated that property values in the area had risen during the same time. Brinkman, for example, had a population of only fourteen people, but it ordinarily produced more revenue from wheat loadings than any other country elevator point on the Northwestern District. The M-K-T witnesses did admit that western Oklahoma might have economic potential but they felt that it was a remote possibility. Protestors, nevertheless, showed that numerous plants recently had been located in the area. One of these was at Woodward and it would have been placed on the M-K-T instead of the AT&SF "had this abandonment not been pending." Furthermore, financial deposits in the affected counties were up by 200 percent since 1948. In the Panhandle the growth of feedlots had made it a feed importing area—a fact of which Katy's BM&E, it was charged by the protestors, had not taken advantage.[12]

On another issue, an M-K-T witness testified that there was no reason to expect larger volumes of grain from the region. Yet as one protestor pointed out, there had been a 35 percent increase in the number of irrigation well installations in the Panhandle during the single year 1968. According to a number of others who opposed the abandonment of the BM&E, irrigation promised to stabilize the economy of the area and to improve crop production as well. Finally, they pointed out, because of the combined effects of fertilizer, irrigation and intensified research, the average wheat yield in the area had risen from 12.7 bushels per acre in 1953 to an average of 28.5 bushels per acre in 1969. Several protestors considered that there was no reason to believe this trend would not persist.[13]

It was on behalf of the wheat farmers and elevator operators that the protestors waged their strongest campaigns to save the lines. Claude G.

---

[11] Before the Interstate Commerce Commission, Finance Docket Numbers 25613 and 25614, *Brief of Protestants, Oklahoma Corporation Commission, et. al.* (July 27, 1970), pp. 87, 97, 127.

[12] *Ibid.*, pp. 15, 36, 38, 39, 64, 106.

[13] *Ibid.*

Rhoades, a representative of the Oklahoma Wheat Commission, testified that Oklahoma ranked third among all states in producing wheat and that wheat was Oklahoma's number one farm crop. The counties served by the lines in question produced one-quarter of the state's entire crop, and, in Rhoades' opinion, the granting of the two abandonment applications "would discriminate against 9,500 wheat farm families by depriving them of railroad service and penalizing them financially." These two connected rail lines were, he noted, the primary wheat movers in their respective areas, and they simultaneously provided the most direct route to the Gulf. He further noted that the vast bulk of all the Oklahoma wheat crop, some 80 percent, was exported. Inexpensive rail transportation to Gulf ports, of the type supplied by these two lines, encouraged such exportation and thus assisted the United States in its balance of payments problem. Railroad officials responded by asserting that regional trucking services were adequate for the movement of grain from the area. But the protestors proved that, in 1969 at least, trucking was inadequate. Moreover, they pointed out, several independent companies and even chain organizations like Bunge Elevator Company used rail service almost exclusively.[14]

Without doubt the farmers and elevator operators in the Panhandle would be most affected should the proposed abandonment be granted. If the BM&E/Katy service were lost to them many Panhandle farmers who ordinarily marketed their grain at Knowles, for instance, would have to truck their wheat to Booker, Texas, a round trip of more than fifty miles. Furthermore, custom combine operators would necessarily have to raise their rates as they would have longer truck hauls from the grain fields to the elevators and then longer waits at those elevators. The Riffe-Gilmore Company, with elevators on the BM&E at Baker, Mouser and Hough clearly would be severely handicapped; it shipped its wheat to Fort Worth and to the Gulf via the BM&E and the M-K-T. Without rail service, its Hough and Mouser facilities, with a total capacity of 1.12 million bushels, would be especially hard hit. Wheat from those areas would have to be trucked to a competitor at Hooker, whose facilities would be overburdened by the additional volume. Another elevator operator at Eva, also on the BM&E, stated that if the abandonment request were to be granted, he would have to truck grain from his facility for rail loading at Elkhart, Kansas; this would mean an additional expense of from three to six cents per bushel, a charge which eventually would be borne by the farmers.[15]

---

[14] *Ibid.*, pp. 54, 59, 61, 87–95.
[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 58, 84–85.

This wisdom was not lost on the individual farmers and other protestors themselves. George Kamas, a farmer from Beaver County testified that he had a $1,000,000 investment in 9,000 acres of land and said that if he were to be compelled to truck his annual grain production to Englewood, Kansas, he might be forced out of business. An attorney for the protestors calculated that grain producers in all of the affected counties in 1969 were subject to an average 7.5-mile haul from their farms to rail loading facilities. Should the Interstate Commerce Commission grant the applications, these same farmers would be burdened with an average 25-mile haul to railroad points. Of course, wheat farmers were not alone in their fears. At Gate, on the M-K-T line, the Axtell Mining Company shipped out volcanic ash in carload lots. The Axtell firm contemplated its extinction if the rails disappeared from that location.[16]

Many protestors hotly charged that the Katy had "milked" these lines as long as possible without properly maintaining them. Now, they agreed, the tracks were in deplorable condition. This was caused, many said, by habitual neglect ordered or at least condoned by Katy management over a long period of time. Thus their attorneys asked:[17]

> Can the condition of the trackage, admittedly brought about by Applicant's own neglect, their own lack of sufficient and adequate maintenance over many years, be used as a basis and justification to abandon the lines and deprive the shippers and users of that which they have a right to expect, when such absolute duty has been voluntarily assumed?

That the lines needed repairing and rehabilitating was never in question by either the railroads or the protestors. However, they did differ as to the cost of such upgrading. An independent and well-respected Oklahoma engineer, H. E. Bailey, estimated that, "to completely rehabilitate the lines and all bridges and roadway" so that heavily loaded LPG tanks and covered hopper grain cars could be handled at thirty miles per hour, it would be necessary to spend at least $5,869,767—about half of what Katy officials had suggested.[18]

The protestors themselves acknowledged that all railroads, and particularly the Katy, were experiencing difficult times. On the other hand, they contended that "these are likewise and in the same breath critical times for all businesses, individuals, towns, and communities." Therefore, they argued, "comparison should be made between investments which the railroads would be required to make, as compared with the valuations of farm

---

16 *Ibid.*, pp. 52, 73.
17 *Ibid.*, pp. 99, 123.
18 *Ibid.*, pp. 26, 33, 106, 127.

Many rural branch lines will have to be rebuilt or abandoned (Lawrence Gibbs)

lands" and other investment of those who would be negatively affected by the abandonment of these lines.[19]

On October 16, 1970, the Interstate Commerce Commission examiner who heard the case announced his recommendations. He favored approval of the applications, but with a number of restrictions. Not surprisingly, both the railroads and the protestors filed exceptions to the examiner's report, and the case was referred to the entire commission "because of the importance of the matters involved." The M-K-T and the protestors alike criticized the examiner's use of the Interstate Commerce Commission's traditional "50 per cent formula." This formula was used in an attempt to determine the expense in transporting shipments over the carrier's lines which would remain should the abandonment applications be granted. By way of example, if a 300-mile line-haul, shipment transported over the rails of a single carrier which garners all revenues resulting therefrom, passed over 100 miles of the railroad proposed for abandonment and 200 miles of Katy's unaffected lines, two-thirds of the revenue would be assigned to the unaffected line, or balance of the system, and—under the "50 per cent formula" —one-half of this revenue was viewed as the expense of transportation over

[19] *Ibid.*

(Author's collection)

(Author's collection)

the unaffected line. Attorneys for the railroads and for the protestors uniformly attacked this complicated rule-of-thumb formula as detrimental to their respective cases.[20]

Nevertheless, the full Commission upheld its examiner on this and most other issues. Correspondingly, the two abandonment petitions were granted although the regulatory agency found that "Katy's net income from operation of the line from Altus to Forgan for 1967, 1968 and 1969 was, respectively, $125,492, $213,191 and $171,307." However, the M-K-T had spent only $1,400 per mile to maintain this portion of the Northwestern District during those same years, while $2,400 was considered by the Interstate Commerce Commission the average annual expenditure for branches of that type. Had the Katy spent the normal amount for maintenance during the period 1967–1969, the commission calculated the line would have been operated at a net loss. On the BM&E the case was clear; it had become an economic burden on its parent. Thus after lengthy consideration, the Interstate Commerce Commission decided on November 18, 1971, that the two applications for abandonment would be granted.[21]

In announcing its decision the Interstate Commerce Commission asserted that it had been impossible for it to "over-emphasize the critical financial condition of the Katy on a system-wide basis." In view of this, the cost of rehabilitating the lines in question was a major issue with which the regulatory agency had dealt. Eventually the commission had become "convinced that an expenditure of $12,000,000, as claimed by the applicants, or even the lesser figure of $6,000,000 which the protestant feel would be sufficient, is not justified under the circumstances. . . ." The Interstate Commerce Commission agreed that the hard-pressed Katy had to establish priorities in allocating its limited rehabilitation funds, and it further agreed that these monies rightly should be spent on its main line. "To do otherwise, would jeopardize Katy's entire system" concluded the commission.[22]

The BM&E/Katy applications brought the full commission face to face with one of the most persistent arguments heard in such cases. As noted above, a number of protestors at these hearings had argued that all railroads had an affirmative duty to maintain their tracks and facilities in reasonably good operating condition. In this instance, they contended, the BM&E and the Katy had not done so. Indeed, they charged that the two roads had, in fact, engaged in negligent "non-maintenance" or had deliberately downgraded service so as to rid themselves of traffic which ordinarily would have flowed to them. The commission dismissed these allegations, but because

---

[20] Interstate Commerce Commission, *Finance Report*, Vol. 338, pp. 728, 730–731, 737–739.
[21] *Ibid.*
[22] *Ibid.*

the position advanced by the protestors in these cases was so frequently heard by the Interstate Commerce Commission and since the BM&E/Katy situation provided "a dramatic example of the general problem," the commission finally decided to create distinctions "between economizing and deliberate downgrading of service." In this landmark decision the commission stated that the essence of the problem was the carrier's intent: whether it deliberately downgraded a viable line or merely neglected it out of financial necessity. "We are of the view that the effect of a carrier's act can best be judged in terms of the over-all needs of the carrier," said the Interstate Commerce Commission. Therefore in answering future allegations of deliberate downgrading, the Interstate Commerce Commission announced that it expected the railroads to be prepared to demonstrate their needs to economize according to these criteria:

(A) Whether, on a system-wide basis the carrier is either only marginally profitable or is operated at a deficit.
(B) Whether the particular line under consideration is marginally profitable, operated at a deficit, or would have been operated at a deficit were it not for deferral of maintenance and rehabilitation costs.
(C) Whether the carrier can clearly show that its available funds for maintenance and rehabilitation are required for those portions of the lines within its system for which a greater public need had been demonstrated and which offers a larger profit potential for the carrier, and that carrier has definite proposals as to how such expenditures are being or will be made.

In summary, the Commission said that in the future it would look to the following factors in making its decisions regarding the downgrading of service issue:[23]

(A) The nature of the services and the public need shown in the past for the services.
(B) The effect of the carrier's act.
(C) The need demonstrated by a carrier to economize under the implied intent test.
(D) Any evidence as to a specific intent to deliberately downgrade service for the purpose of turning what ordinarily would be a profitable operation into a deficit operation in perfecting a case for abandonment.

The Interstate Commerce Commission admitted that the abandonment of the Katy and BM&E lines "would work a hardship on some shippers, especially elevator operators," and that many shippers would "have to make major adjustments in their transportation patterns." To cushion the blow and to accord shippers a reasonable time to make such adjustments, the

[23] *Ibid.*

regulatory agency demanded continued operation of the lines until June 30, 1972. It also provided that the M-K-T could

> sell the line to any responsible person, firm, group, organization, association, or corporation, including the State of Oklahoma or any agency thereof, prior to June 30, 1972, for continued operation (upon approval of this Commission) for not less than the net salvage value of the property to be abandoned.

Later, the Interstate Commerce Commission modified its order to assure continued operation through August 30, 1972. Then, in an act of good faith of its own, Katy voluntarily guaranteed operation until January 15, but the lines were finally and officially abandoned on January 31, 1973. Thereafter, only the Northwestern District's trackage between Wichita Falls, Texas, and Altus, Oklahoma, remained in service under the Katy banner.[24]

These proceedings, involving the abandonment of 330.99 miles of railroad, the largest branch line abandonment in the United States to date, served to focus nation-wide attention on the general problem of terminating branch rail service, particularly in rural areas. Prompted by the Interstate Commerce Commission's decision to allow the abandonment of these lines, United States Senator Henry Bellmon, a Republican from Oklahoma, introduced a bill in Congress entitled the Rural Railroad Assistance Act of 1972. Under this proposed legislation the Department of Transportation would have been authorized to make loans and loan guarantees to state and local public bodies for the establishment or re-establishment of rail service in rural areas. Such loans could have covered up to 80 percent of the cost of such projects, but, while the legislation was passed in the Senate, it died for lack of action in the House. Earlier, Senator Walter F. Mondale, a Democrat from Minnesota, had introduced similar legislation entitled the Rural Transportation Act of 1972; neither was this legislation enacted. Nevertheless, the efforts of Bellmon and Mondale suggest that the problem of branch line abandonment in rural areas eventually will receive a full congressional airing. This undoubtedly will result in the future passage of comprehensive legislation to deal with the problem.[25]

---

[24] *Ibid.*, pp. 750–752; Interstate Commerce Commission, Finance Docket Numbers 25613 and 25614. Order (April 5, 1972); M-K-T, Southern Division General Order No. 9 (January 31, 1973).

[25] *Labor*, July 15, 1972; U. S., *Congressional Record*, 92nd Congress, 2nd Session, 1972, Vol. 118 (April 27, 1972), pp. S6808–S6809; *ibid.* (May 23, 1972), pp. S8206–S8207; *ibid.* (June 30, 1972), p. S10939; *ibid.* (August 4, 1972), pp. S12721–S12726.

TAR AND FEATHER PATRIOTISM: THE SUPPRESSION OF DISSENT IN OKLAHOMA DURING WORLD WAR ONE

*By James H. Fowler, II**

On March 23, 1918, S. L. Miller, an operative for the Tulsa County Council of Defense, shot and killed Joe Sring, a waiter in a Tulsa, Oklahoma, restaurant. Sring had declared that he hoped all American soldiers who went to France were killed. Miller, who had a son in the draft and three nephews soon to be called, was enraged and shot Sring three times in the region of the heart. After surrendering to police, Miller was released; his action was declared justifiable homicide. It was this incident that Tams Bixby, the editor of the *Muskogee Daily Phoenix*, used to illustrate how Oklahomans treated traitors during World War I.[1]

In spite of Bixby's assertion, murders in the name of patriotism were not common in Oklahoma during the war, but Oklahomans widely employed beatings, tarring and feathering, and economic coercion to suppress dissent against national war policies and programs. Several circumstances account for these violent actions of Oklahomans.

The outbreak of war in Europe had been accompanied by the agitation of some hyphenated Americans—most notably German-Americans and Irish-Americans—for the United States to remain strictly neutral towards the belligerents. As the European conflict deepened, the foreign language press began to attack President Woodrow Wilson because they believed that his policies favored the allies. Wilson, who vainly tried to pursue a policy of neutrality, was irritated greatly by these attacks. Consequently, in his public speeches the president began to condemn American partisans of the European countries involved in the war. The editors of Oklahoma's newspapers believed that the president was acting neutrally and, when Wilson began to condemn his opponents, provided him with front page coverage and supported him with forceful editorial comments. As the entry of the United States into the war approached, the verbal attacks of the president and of Oklahoma's editors on dissenters became even harsher, so that by April, 1917, an atmosphere had been created in the Sooner state which would lend itself to suppression.[2]

---

* The author is a member of the faculty at Seminole Junior College, Seminole, Oklahoma.

1 *Muskogee Daily Phoenix* (Muskogee), May 5, 1918; *Ibid.*, March 24, 1918; and *Harlow's Weekly* (Oklahoma City), April 3, 1918.

2 For the pre-war development of the atmosphere of suppression in Oklahoma and the location of pertinent source materials see James H. Fowler, II "Extralegal Suppression of Civil Liberties in Oklahoma During the First World War and Its Causes," Master of Arts Thesis, Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma, 1974.

Also, a so-called draft riot, known locally as the "Green Corn Rebellion," occurred in Oklahoma during the early months of the war which intensified the atmosphere of suppression. This uprising greatly embarrassed state leaders and news editors and made them determined that Oklahomans would not be embarrassed again by such unpatriotic acts. In addition, the state legislature of Oklahoma had adjourned in March, 1917, one month prior to the president's request for war and did not reconvene until January, 1919, two months after the war had ended. Thus, the enforcement of national war policies was left to local patriots who exercised their authority through extralegal bodies, the Oklahoma State Council of Defense and its auxiliaries, the county councils of defense. Without legal statutes to support their actions, the activities of these bodies were oftentimes haphazard and sometimes overzealous in their suppression of dissent. The newsmen of Oklahoma were among the leaders in these extralegal organizations and, in addition, provided further aid to eliminating dissent by using the columns of their newspapers to attack dissenters.

President Wilson asked Congress to declare war on Germany on April 2, 1917, and four days later Congress granted his request. Almost immediately the newsmen of Oklahoma responded by declaring their own war on dissent and disloyalty. Their attacks included not only German-Americans, but native dissenters as well. For example, the following song appeared on the front page of the *Fairview Leader* only three days after the president's war request:[3]

Last night as I lay sleeping
A wonderful dream came to me.
I saw Uncle Sammy weeping
For his children from over the sea.
They had come to him friendless and starving
When from tyrants oppression they fled.
But now they abuse and revile him
Till at last in just anger he said.
(Chorus)
If you don't like your Uncle Sammy
Then go back to your home o'er the sea,
To the land from where you came
Whatever be its name
But don't be ungrateful to me!
If you don't like the stars in Old Glory
If you don't like the Red, White, and Blue
Then don't act like the cur in the story
Don't bite the hand that's feeding you.

[3] *Fairview Leader* (Fairview) April 5, 1917.

Robert H. Wilson, the state superintendent of public schools, suggested that each citizen purchase a copy.

At the corner of Fourth Street and Boston Avenue in Tulsa, Mrs. Nellie Zay of Chicago, Illinois, tried for two hours on April 3 to speak against the war, but was forced to quit because of the jeers and hoots of the crowd.[4] The *Tulsa Daily World* responded by declaring, "we are slow to condemn American people of any sort as traitors, but there are many who are giving aid and comfort to our enemies under the plea of liberty of conscience and freedom of speech."[5]

Nine days after the proclamation of war the *Tulsa Daily World* pointed out: "Everywhere throughout the country men of foreign births and allegiance are being compelled by judges and by infuriated citizens to kiss the flag, to wear it, and to swear renewed allegiance to it. Why not also watch some of those traitorous Americans and compel them to pay to it the consecrated allegiance which is assumed by virtue of their citizenship? . . . Watch a lot of such Americans while the aliens are being scrutinized."[6]

The editor of the *Muskogee Daily Phoenix* demanded that all vocal dissent against the war be stopped. He believed that one of the sacrifices of a democracy at war was the freedom of speech, and he argued that traitors should sacrifice as much as patriots. The editor pointed out: "Right here in this city traitorous talk is allowed to go unpunished." He believed the campaign of the pacifist was bad enough, but "a million times worse is the outburst of the confessed foreign sympathizer and traitor. The time has come when his mouth should be stopped."[7]

The translation of this violent, journalistic rhetoric into action, however, did not occur in Oklahoma until after the president and Congress decided upon a method for inducting men into military service. Hoping to avoid the violence which had accompanied conscription during the Civil War, the administration removed the function of drafting men from the military and placed it with local civilian boards in each community which, in turn, were uniformly controlled from Washington, D.C. The president then declared June 5, 1917, as the day for all men ages twenty-one through thirty to register for the draft at their local polling places. Newton D. Baker, the secretary of war, conducted a massive propaganda campaign so that by registration day little trouble occurred.[8]

---

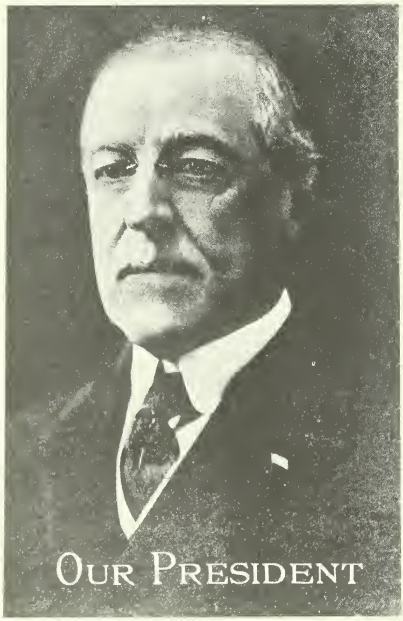
[4] *Tulsa Daily World* (Tulsa), April 4, 1917.

[5] *Ibid.*, April 5, 1917.

[6] *Ibid.*, April 15, 1917.

[7] *Muskogee Daily Phoenix*, April 20, 1917.

[8] Daniel R. Beaver, *Newton D. Baker and the American War Effort, 1917–1919* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1966), pp. 30–33; Mark Sullivan, *Our Times: The United States, 1900–1925* (5 vols., New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1926–1933) Vol. V, pp. 298–302.



President Woodrow Wilson was responsible for inducting men into military service

The reaction to the draft in Oklahoma was similar at first. Only a few men failed to register, and the main opposition came from a handful of Socialists who circulated petitions requesting Congress to refer the draft to a popular vote. Some local officials construed these petitions as interference with the draft and arrested a few of the circulators. For example, Washington County officials arrested Charles Oberbeck for such activities. In addition, J. C. Thurmond of Tushka, Oklahoma, a member of the lower house in the previous state legislature, was arrested for delivering a speech against enlistment.[9]

Conscription in Oklahoma, however, did not remain peaceful. In the first days of August, 1917, shortly after the actual induction of men into the army began, Oklahoma experienced the so-called "Green Corn Rebellion."[10] Confined to the counties of Seminole, Hughes, Pontotoc, Pittsburg and Pottawatomie, the rebellion was primarily an uprising of native American tenant farmers. Poor and chronically in debt, their ancestors had migrated from the hill country of Arkansas, Tennessee and other states of the South. However, when they arrived in Oklahoma all the available land was already occupied, either by Indians or settlers. Forced, then, to become tenant farmers, they translated their lack of an outlet into agrarian discontent.[11]

The Democratic party originally claimed the allegiance of these farmers, but they slowly turned towards socialism as a "gospel of despair." They also joined the Working Class Union which had been organized in Arkansas in 1914. The purposes of this union were vague, but among the goals advo-

---

[9] *Harlow's Weekly*, June 13, 1917.

[10] For the best treatments of this rebellion see Charles C. Bush, "The Green Corn Rebellion," Master of Arts Thesis, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma, 1932; and Virginia Carrollton Pope, "The Green Corn Rebellion: A Case Study in Newspaper Self-Censorship," Master of Arts Thesis, Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma, 1940.

[11] Bush, "The Green Corn Rebellion," pp. 1–5, 7.

cated were free public education and the abolition of rent, interest and government ownership of all utilities. To the farmers of Oklahoma, however, the union was more valuable for social gatherings than anything else.[12]

By 1917 the farmers had received a small measure of the war prosperity. They did not want to go to war for fear that only their wives and children would be left to tend the fields. Largely illiterate, the tenants were little affected by the thunderings and propaganda of the urban press. Instead, the farmers were much more subject to the spoken words, and incendiary speakers could sway them easily.[13]

The Industrial Workers of the World, a radical labor union, was able to take advantage of the tenants' ignorance. Speaking before locals of the Working Class Union agitators in the Industrial Workers of the World aroused the resentments of the farmers against the rich, the war and the draft. The agitators urged resistance to the draft and the overthrow of the national government. But no definite plan was ever agreed on which would coordinate all of the locals. The general plan, however, was to destroy several bridges across the Canadian and Little rivers, to burn a number of towns and then to march on Washington to overthrow the government. During the march they were to subsist on green corn and an occasional barbecued steer taken from the land.[14]

The rebellion began prematurely on August 2, 1917, when a small group of rebels fired on Sheriff Frank Grall and his deputy, J. W. "Bill" Cross, who were in search of draft resisters. Posses were formed immediately in the surrounding towns, and, led by Sheriff Robert E. Duncan of Pontotoc County, they routed the rebels at Spears Bluff on August 3, 1917. Over the next few days the purely civilian army rounded up the stragglers and the rebellion was at an end.[15]

This tragic-comic rebellion crystalized the atmosphere of repression which had been building in Oklahoma. Though *Harlow's Weekly* recognized the causes of the rebellion as ignorance and agrarian discontent, newspapers outside the state attacked the backwardness and the lack of loyalty of Oklahomans.[16] These attacks aroused the officials and the newsmen of Oklahoma and made them determined to erase this stain from Oklahoma's

---

[12] *Ibid.*, pp. 6, 9–10; Sherry Warrick, "Radical Labor in Oklahoma: The Working Class Union," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. LII, No. 2 (Summer, 1974), pp. 180–195.

[13] Bush, "The Green Corn Rebellion," pp. 6, 11; and Pope, "The Green Corn Rebellion," pp. 16, 43.

[14] Bush, "The Green Corn Rebellion," pp. 13–18.

[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 22–36.

[16] *Harlow's Weekly*, August 8, 1917, p. 3; and Pope, "The Green Corn Rebellion," pp. 20–21, 32–34.

record. For example, ex-governor Lee Cruce wrote Arizona volunteering his services as a speaker. In his letter he declared: "The advertising our state has received by reason of the unpatriotic actions of certain of her citizens makes it more imperative that other citizens exert themselves to the utmost to wipe out the stigma."[17]

One of the ways which state leaders believed Oklahomans could restore the state's reputation was to buy war bonds. During the second Liberty Bond drive the Oklahoma State Council of Defense declared: "This state has been classed in the minds of many as a 'slacker state' . . . Highly colored stories of the so-called draft riots were circulated throughout the East, where thousands believed Oklahoma citizens are withholding their support from the Government. If Oklahoma takes its share of Liberty Bonds by October 27, the news will prove to the world that this state is behind the American flag."[18]

As late as May, 1918, the rebellion was still a cause of embarrassment for Oklahoma's newsmen. On a visit to New York, Tams Bixby, the editor of the *Muskogee Daily Phoenix*, was approached by a reporter from the *New York Globe* who asked about the draft riot in Oklahoma. Disturbed by the question, Bixby related the incident which had resulted in the death of Joe Sring. By the time of Bixby's trip, however, he could have referred the reporter, just as readily, to some of the repressive activities of Oklahoma's wartime agencies as more accurate examples of how Oklahomans treated traitors.

The first of these agencies, the Oklahoma State Council of Defense, operated under the Council of National Defense. The national council, created by the National Defense Act of August, 1916, was composed of the secretaries of war, navy, interior, agriculture, commerce and labor. It was not fully organized until March 3, 1917, but four days after the United States entered the war, the Council requested the governors of the states to send representatives to a conference in Washington on May 3 and 4 to aid in organizing state councils.[19]

Governor Robert Williams sent James M. Aydelotte, chairman of the Board of Affairs, to attend the conference as Oklahoma's representative. On Aydelotte's return, by executive order, the Governor created a committee consisting of twelve citizens to represent Oklahomans. This committee calling itself the Oklahoma State Council of Defense, organized quickly and was ready for work by May 16. The purpose of the State Council was

---

[17] *Fairview Leader*, September 13, 1917, p. 4.

[18] *Ibid.*, October 13, 1917, p. 10.

[19] O. A. Hilton, "The Oklahoma State Council of Defense and the First World War," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XX, No. 2 (March, 1942), p. 19.

Governor Robert Lee Williams, who created the Oklahoma State Council of Defense

to aid the National Council and the war effort in any possible way. Among its duties were the support of Liberty Loan drives, War Savings and Red Cross campaigns. In addition, it was to control food production, conserve essential food stuffs, assist recruiting for the army and navy and be used for an agency of propaganda.[20]

Believing that German propaganda had systematically flooded Oklahoma since the outbreak of the European conflict, the state council produced more than 10,000 columns of its own propaganda which were printed in the state's newspapers under the title "We Must Win The War." The state council created the Oklahoma Patriotic Speakers Bureau which offered speakers for any occasion. It also organized a loyalty bureau headed by G. B. Parker, editor of the *Oklahoma News*. Under this bureau the council "began systematically to hunt out disloyal people, convert them if possible to do so, and if not possible to make loyal citizens of them to obtain their prosecution."[21]

As one of its methods, the loyalty bureau sent out blank pledges in which the signer declared his allegiance and agreed to report disloyalty. The pledges were so effective that: "In many districts it would have been almost as much as a man's life was worth to refuse to sign one of those loyalty pledge cards." The bureau also requested, through the columns of newspapers, that citizens report disloyalty. "This produced a vast amount of correspondence and resulted in setting right many men who really did not understand the issues of the war, in scaring others into keeping quiet, and in opening the doors of the jails and penitentiaries for quite a number."[22]

In addition, the loyalty bureau devised a form letter which was sent to a number of citizens throughout the state. These letters informed the recipients:[23]

[20] *Ibid.*, pp. 20–21.

[21] Oklahoma State Council of Defense, *Sooners in the War* (Oklahoma City: n. pub., 1919), pp. 8–10.

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 10.

[23] *Ibid.*, pp. 9–10.

It has been reported to the Oklahoma State Council of Defense that you have not been entirely loyal to the United States during the past few months. It is reported to us that you have made statements that loyal Americans should not make and that you have hindered rather than helped your country in time of war.

Although these reports have been made to us from authentic sources, we trust they are not correct. It may be that you have made statements which you did not mean, or it may be that you do not realize the seriousness of making statements of this kind.

This is merely a friendly letter to you and a warning that you are being watched. In case no statements of any undesirable nature are made in the future, the matter will probably be dropped. If conditions warrant it, of course the Department of Justice now has the machinery to care for the situation.

We trust you can report to us by return mail that the reports we have received are not true. We shall expect a report from you within 3 days.

The most repressive agencies, however, were the county councils of defense which were created under the Oklahoma State Council of Defense. On July 3, 1917, a letter was sent to the postmaster in each county seat requesting him to recommend, from the leading men of the county, several names for county committees. The governor then appointed to each county executive committee the leading banker and lawyer and the most prominent editor. These county committees organized county councils of defense, and by the latter part of August, the councils were operating effectively. The purpose of the county council was to aid the state and national councils in any way possible in the war effort.[24]

In their desire to support the war efforts of the state and the nation, these county councils often became not only the local administrators of war programs, but also acted as courts to try slackers and alleged disloyalists. *Harlow's Weekly* gave a description of the county council's court function as follows:[25]

The American Red Cross and war saving stamp funds are the most frequent beneficiaries of these courts. Where federal laws have been plainly violated the county councils of defense secure the preliminary evidence and turn the offender over to federal courts. Where a slacker is encountered or a disloyal citizen makes remarks which do not make him liable to any existing law but which show that he is not supporting this government in its fight with Germany, then the 'strong-arm squad' or the 'go get 'em' committee, as the informal court of public opinion is sometimes called, proceeds to the home of the delinquent and attempts to set him right with-

[24] Hilton, "The Oklahoma State Council of Defense," pp. 21–23.
[25] *Harlow's Weekly*, July 17, 1918.

> out the necessity of a public hearing. If the disloyalist proves defiant he is placed under arrest and taken before the county council of defense, where he is given a full opportunity to be heard. If he is found guilty he is usually dismissed with a fine which he is ordered to pay to some war fund and a warning that if he repeats the offense the state of Oklahoma will prove too small a place for him, as there is not room on its soil for anyone who is not 100 percent loyal.

The county councils were not uniform in their administration of justice. For example, in its final report to the state council the Choctaw County council declared: "Men who refused to support any of the war activities were promptly hailed before the committee and given the opportunity to make public declaration of their views and positions, after a public statement had been made by the investigator." Early in the war the Choctaw County council left a number of cases to the "verdict of the crowd," and in such cases the council "never had to deal a second time with that individual or community." the Choctaw County council also reported: "In our ministration to disloyalists, pro-Germans and slackers in this region, the application of a few courses of yellow paint, posting of slacker bulletins and spankings administered with a heavy two-handed strap, have been found most expedient and efficacious remedies. . . ."[26] One such example was that of the Reverend Charles F. Reece of Soper. Reece had written letters derogatory to the Red Cross. For this offense the Choctaw County Council of Defense stretched Reece over a barrel and gave him one hundred lashes with a leather belt on his bare back.[27]

The Washita County Council of Defense closed Cordell Christian College for the duration of the war because a number of former students refused to serve in the army and had been placed in Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, federal prison.[28] In addition, ten masked citizens captured John Aden, gave him a light beating and threw him into an alfalfa field. Aden was a German who ran a merchandise store in Braithwaite, Oklahoma, and who had loudly protested the council's threat to bar the speaking of German in Washita County.[29]

In Beckham County, William Madison Hicks, a peace advocate and noted lecturer, was in the custody of officers awaiting trial in May, 1918, for speaking against the third Liberty Loan drive. He was taken from the officers by members of the Beckham County Council of Defense and tarred and feathered.[30] The council reported that "besides converting a few with

[26] Oklahoma State Council of Defense, *Sooners in the War*, pp. 31–32.
[27] *Harlow's Weekly*, June 19, 1918.
[28] Oklahoma State Council of Defense, *Sooners in the War*, pp. 63–64.
[29] *Harlow's Weekly*, October 16, 1918.
[30] *Ibid.*, April 17, 1918.

religious scrupples and a few Redflaggers," after the example of Hicks, its difficulties in maintaining loyalty in Beckham County were slight.[31]

In addition to fines and violence, county councils of defense also used economic coercion. The Garvin County Council of Defense required citizens to sign pledges not "to buy or sell to, or barter, exchange, negotiate or in any manner transact any business with any person who refused the mandates of the councils."[32] One such example was that of M. D. Miller. The Garvin County Council ordered businesses not to deal with Miller because he refused to buy Liberty Bonds and because he refused to sign the loyalty pledge.[33]

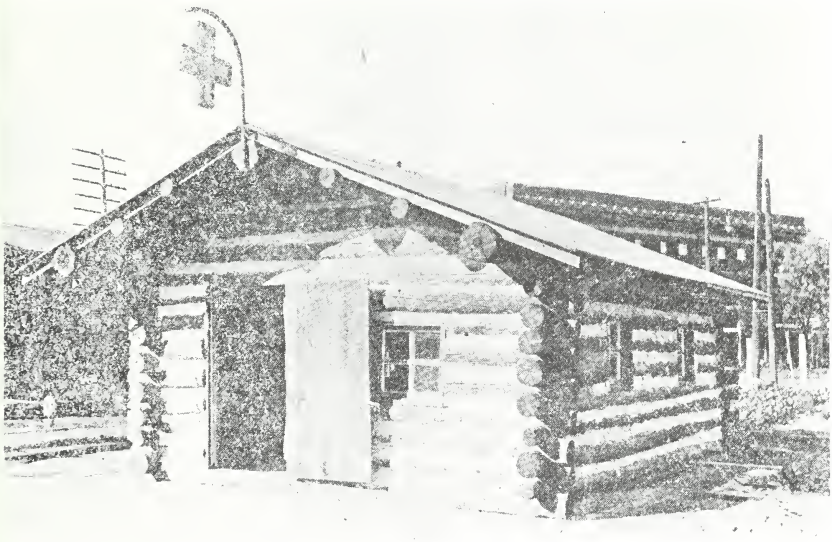
The Kingfisher County Council of Defense had published in local newspapers the names of those persons who were able to buy stamps and bonds but did not. In addition, it requested citizens to boycott their stores and asked banks to refuse to take their deposits.[34] Kingfisher's methods were apparently effective because it reported that in the third Liberty Loan drive the names of five persons were published who refused to subscribe to the loan, but after the publicity, all five purchased the quotas assigned to them.[35]

In Major County the local council of defense brought H. R. Phelps of Homestead to Fairview after he refused to buy his quota of Liberty Bonds. The council sold his automobile, which he left parked in the street, for $650, invested the money in Liberty Bonds and war savings stamps and gave Phelps thirty days to claim the securities, or they would be donated to the Red Cross.[36]

The most active county council in Oklahoma, however, was the Tulsa County Council of Defense.[37] The Tulsa County Council believed that the "fine distinction between license and liberty must be pointed out to those who shirk their patriotic duty. Treachery and sedition must be ferreted out and the authors deprived of all power for wrong doing."[38] To accomplish this purpose Tulsa County paid a detective to watch for sedition and retained an attorney to prosecute cases and to give advice. The council also had a secret organization throughout the county to watch disloyal persons.[39]

---

[31] Oklahoma State Council of Defense, *Sooners in the War*, pp. 27–28.
[32] *Ibid.*, p. 38.
[33] *Harlow's Weekly*, October 23, 1918.
[34] *Ibid.*, May 22, 1918.
[35] Oklahoma State Council of Defense, *Sooners in the War*, p. 43.
[36] *Harlow's Weekly*, October 30, 1918.
[37] Oklahoma State Council of Defense, *Sooners in the War*, p. 4.
[38] William T. Lampe, comp., *Tulsa County in the World War* (Tulsa: Tulsa County Historical Society, 1919), p. 60.
[39] Oklahoma State Council of Defense, *Sooners in the War*, p. 4.



One of the major efforts of the Oklahoma State Council of Defense was the establishment of such facilities as the Red Cross Hut in El Reno

In addition, the Tulsa County Council recruited a home guard which was used on August 7, 1918, to round up 2,000 men, among whom were a number of slackers. The council organized and equipped a detention camp for persons with venereal disease. It also investigated eighty-four cases of alleged disloyalty. A number of these persons were either interned or sent to insane asylums.[40] The state council was impressed with Tulsa County's work and advised other counties to use Tulsa as a model. Referring to Tulsa's organization, the state council declared: "A few men convicted in the Federal Courts, a few fined, a few held up to the ridicule of their neighbors, and perhaps a few shot, would mean the absolute stamping out of pro-Germanism in Oklahoma."[41]

The uneven nature of the administrations of the county councils was partially caused by their operation without support of legal statutes. As mentioned previously, the state legislature of Oklahoma did not meet during the war. Thus, the edicts issued by the councils depended only on the temperaments of those who controlled the councils and on what public opinion would allow.[42] The *Fairview Leader* declared that, after all, written

[40] *Ibid.*, pp. 61–62.
[41] *Ibid.*, p. 6.
[42] Lampe, comp., *Tulsa County in the World War*, p. 59.

law is only the crystalization of public opinion, and this was a time when public opinion itself was the law rather than written law.[43]

The final report from Craig illustrated the power these conditions gave the county councils. This report declared: "The state and municipal authorities and U. S. officers stood by the council of defense, and when questions were raised by those unfaithful to Uncle Sam they were told that the law was what the county council of defense said it was and that they were expected to follow out such orders as the county council of defense directed them to."[44] The state council succinctly summed it up: "The rulings of the State Council and the dictates of the county councils of defense have been the supreme law of the land in Oklahoma since the declaration of war."[45]

The rule by public opinion rather than by statute meant that many acts of violence against dissenters and supposed dissenters went unpunished, and in most cases, uncondemned. A few examples will suffice. In Oklahoma City Dr. Alfred Newiger, a dentist, was called before the defense committee charged with making disloyal statements. Newiger professed his loyalty, and, as there was no proof, the committee let him go. A mob, however, entered his dental office on Main Street and wrecked it.[46]

In Sulphur the Reverend H. C. Capers, age seventy-two, declared that he would not get his hair cut until Germany won the war. On April 3, 1918, a group of young men entered Capers' room while he was asleep and shaved his head. The report continued: "The minister was then forced to kiss the flag, pledge allegiance to the United States, promise not to speak seditiously again and was shown the shortest route out of town."[47]

In Garvin County fifty drafted men waiting to be sent to training camps assaulted Claude Watson. Watson had just been released on bond on charges on seditious activities. The "embryo soldiers" hired a Negro on the night of April 23, 1918, to whip Watson. Upon completion of the beating the men then applied tar and feathers to Watson's bare back.[48]

At Stuart, in Pittsburg County, a group of young men who had just seen some of their friends off to army training camps escorted a man accused of being pro-German to a lonely spot. Once there, they whipped him, doused his head in a water trough and painted stars and stripes on his bald head. "After the head decoration," reported the source, "a club was bounced off

---

[43] *Fairview Leader*, September 19, 1918.
[44] Oklahoma State Council of Defense, *Sooners in the War*, p. 35.
[45] *Ibid.*, p. 14.
[46] *Harlow's Weekly*, April 3, 1918.
[47] *Frederick Semi-Weekly Star* (Frederick), April 5, 1918.
[48] *Muskogee Daily Phoenix*, April 23, 1918.

the victim's head, the bouncer declaring it necessary in order to remind the victim that the flag represented power."[49]

On May 10, 1918, Charles Wagoner, a local miner, was found at three A.M. chained to a telephone pole in the business district of Muskogee. Drinking heavily the previous evening, Wagoner had wished "every damned American soldier was killed." In addition, he had spoken against purchasing Liberty Bonds. He was arrested for his seditious talk, but later that evening, he was taken from authorities, painted red with roofing paint, given fifty lashes and left chained to the pole.[50]

None of the above incidents were condemned by the public press, and these incidents were neither unique nor unusual. *Harlow's Weekly* declared that there were "privately circulated but well authenticated stories of individuals being assaulted and frequently killed for unpatriotic and violent utterances." The editor declared:

> These incidents are not infrequent, but do not reach the public press. Apparently the acts of patriotic citizens who resent such remarks meets with general approval and, at least in some instances, the newspapers do not wish to embarrass them with publicity. A similar feeling seems to prevail among public officers, as so far no one who has assaulted or killed a man for violent utterances has been placed in much danger from the law.

Harlow's Weekly concluded its discussion by declaring: "Right or wrong, the salient factor is this: The man who is not in complete sympathy with the present action of America at this time speaks such lack of sympathy in Oklahoma at his deadly personal peril."[51]

As the war progressed and the agents of repression brought to bear the full force of their coercive powers, certain patterns developed in Oklahoma. Among these patterns of repression were attacks on German-Americans and the German language. Patterns emerged also in the use of threats and violence not only to assure uniformity in contributing to war fund drives but also to rid the state of radicalism. To a certain extent, the newsmen of Oklahoma were responsible for aiding and sustaining these patterns as they developed; not only because they served on the councils of defense, but also because they controlled the source of public information through their newspapers.

German-Americans were naturally the target for sporadic violence and abuse. For example, O. F. Westbrook and Henry Huffman of Jackson County were beaten, tarred, feathered and ordered to leave the county.

---

[49] *Harlow's Weekly*, May 22, 1918.
[50] *Muskogee Daily Phoenix*, May 11, 1918.
[51] *Harlow's Weekly*, April 17, 1918.

Before being driven into the night, they also were made to kiss the flag and swear allegiance to the country.[52] In Henryetta, Oklahoma, a man who had boasted of being proud of "the fatherland" was taken from jail, severely lashed and his body painted a bright red.[53]

Occasionally, German-Americans reacted to the abuse they received and consequently were treated even more harshly. One case was that of Henry Rheimer, a German farmer who lived near Collinsville in Rogers County. Rheimer, who had a son in the army, later declared: "My neighbors have taunted me so much that I cannot help but say things sometimes." On one such occasion, he apparently became so angry he uttered "words which could only be considered disloyal," and in addition, Rheimer tore down an American flag on his farm. For this desecration he was remanded to jail in lieu of $500 bond. Taken from the police by a mob, he was made to kiss every star on the flag and then hanged with an electric light cord. Rheimer was saved from strangling only because the assistant Chief of Police, Charles Miller, pleaded with the mob until they let Rheimer go.[54]

Oklahoma newsmen helped contribute to the intolerant atmosphere by allowing the columns of their newspapers to be used by patriotic groups. For example, through the pages of the *Muskogee Daily Phoenix*, the American Defense Society warned Oklahomans: "Every German or Austrian in the United States, unless known by years of association to be absolutely loyal, should be treated as a potential spy." The societies' solution was: "Whenever any suspicious act or disloyal word comes to your notice, communicate at once with the police department or with the local office of the department of justice."[55]

Newspapers also occasionally reported stories of suspicions about certain of Oklahoma's alien citizens. On June 4, 1918, the *Muskogee Daily Phoenix* reported that Albert Rhose, twelve years old, was heard to make comments favorable to Germany. The newspaper declared that a twelve-year-old obviously was only repeating things he had heard at home and pointed out that Rhose lived in the same boarding house with F. H. Mayland and Fritz Cracauer, both of whom were claimed to have had past histories of strong pro-German sympathies.[56]

Two days later, perhaps spurred on by either the Rhose story or by the newspaper editorial which called for the suppression of sedition at home, a mob of 300 men gathered outside the store operated by Mayland and Cracauer. The mob painted the glass of the storefront yellow, and the two

[52] *Ibid.*, April 3, 1918.
[53] *Ibid.*, May 15, 1918.
[54] *Ibid.*, April 24, 1918; *Muskogee Daily Phoenix*, May 21, 1918.
[55] *Muskogee Daily Phoenix*, May 18, 1918.
[56] *Muskogee Daily Phoenix*, June 4, 1918.

One of the most violent acts against German-Americans in Oklahoma was the burning of a German owned structure in Muskogee

men, who were inside, escaped only because authorities arrested them.[57]

Commenting on the actions of Muskogee's citizens, the *Muskogee Daily Phoenix* mildly rebuked the mob, but declared: "In some ways, perhaps yesterday's occurrences have served a good purpose. The laws of the land must be allowed to govern, but those who are charged with administration of the laws must realize that there are limitations upon the patience of the people and that in times like these, red-blooded Americans are in no mood to brook anything that in any way, shape or form does not measure up fully to the community's standards of loyalty."[58]

Newsmen were also leaders in the movement to rid the state of the German language. Almost from the beginning of the war Oklahoma newspapers attacked the German-American press. One of their major complaints was its use of the German language. Referring to the German-American press in July of 1917, the *Muskogee Daily Phoenix* declared: "We have never seen the wisdom of encouraging the spread of any other

[57] *Muskogee Daily Phoenix*, June 7, 1918.
[58] *Muskogee Daily Phoenix*, June 7, 1918.

language than our own in this country." The editor reasoned: "We did not compel anybody to come here . . . [at] least we have the right to expect from those who do come because they can do better here is to adopt our language with our customs and ideas. When we are at war with a country, above all, the use of that country's language is mockery and a bitter insult."[59]

The following September the *Tulsa Daily World* continued the assault and declared: "If American citizenship is good enough for our alien-born citizens the language is good enough for them too. We can never hope to be a cohesive people until every incentive to clannish groupings is done away with and we have one language as well as one flag."[60]

In December of 1917 Victor E. Harlow, editor of *Harlow's Weekly*, learned from the state superintendent of public schools that in certain of Oklahoma's school districts, German was used to the exclusion of English. The news incensed Harlow, and he raged: "If it be true in even one school district in the State of Oklahoma, it is a discredit to the state, an evil that must be abated and those guilty of the perpetration should be punished for the traitorous act, for it admits of no other name."[61]

It remained, however, for another Oklahoma newsman to lead the actual movement towards suppressing the language. Ivan Williams, the editor of the *Fairview Leader* and the secretary of the Major County defense board, was responsible for posting the following signs on the doors of German churches in April of 1918:[62]

GOD ALMIGHTY UNDERSTANDS
THE AMERICAN LANGUAGE
Address HIM only in that Tongue
DO NOT REMOVE THIS CARD

Williams explained that the signs were posted because the people of Fairview were fed up with the language of their enemy being spoken in their presence. He declared that the attitude of the people had been causd by a number of injudicious remarks by the Germans of Major County. But the final blow came, the editor claimed, when two Germans were seen using their native language and passing remarks, in a laughing way, after reading of the deaths of some Americans at the front. Williams declared that it was the older generation of Germans that was most responsible for these crimes, and he advised the elders to "shut up and make way for their younger more loyal" children.[63]

---

[59] *Muskogee Daily Phoenix*, July 7, 1917.
[60] *Tulsa Daily World*, August 9, 1917.
[61] *Harlow's Weekly*, December 12, 1917.
[62] *Ibid.*, April 17, 1918.
[63] *Fairview Leader*, March 25, 1918.

In May of 1918, the Oklahoma State Council of Defense finally acted by sending to twenty-five counties a letter forbidding the use of the German language in all public services and meetings, including Sunday school.[64] The state council later claimed, perhaps with some justice, that "the elimination of the German language also had a hearty effect in many communities where loyal citizens in some instances probably would have resorted to mob violence had not the Germans ceased to speak their native languages in their churches and meetings."[65]

Still another area where newspapers were probably effective was in Liberty Loan and Red Cross drives. In Oklahoma City the *Daily Oklahoman* began the first Liberty Loan drive by threatening those persons who were able to, but who did not, purchase all the bonds they were capable of purchasing with a ride around town in a "slacker wagon." There was no evidence that the slacker wagon was ever employed, but "Perhaps the threat was sufficient, for the city did raise its quota."[66]

While comparative peace reigned in Oklahoma City during the first Liberty Loan drive, at later times and other places in Oklahoma both threats and force were used to obtain the contributions of unwilling persons. For example, in Pawhuska, Oklahoma, citizens "took a wealthy carpenter the tar and feathers route." The patriots then took $1,000 from his belt, donated $162 to the American Red Cross and spent the rest for "baby bonds." Furthermore, they announced that similar treatment would be accorded all others who were slow in contributing.[67] Another example was that of J. O. Polan of Enid, Oklahoma. Polan was visited by a committee to induce him to buy war savings stamps and Liberty Bonds. After arguing with him without success the committee produced tar and feathers. Polan then begged to be allowed to buy his quota and was permitted to buy a $500 Liberty Bond and $200 worth of war savings stamps.[68]

Finally, the crusade of the *Tulsa Daily World* against the Industrial Workers of the World might well have been partially responsible for the most famous suppression case which occurred in Oklahoma during the war. This case involved the beating, tarring and feathering of seventeen members of that union on November 9, 1917. The report of the National Civil

---

[64] *Harlow's Weekly*, May 29, 1918. The counties which received these letters were Alfalfa, Beaver, Beckham, Blaine, Caddo, Canadian, Cimarron, Custer, Dewey, Delaware, Ellis, Garfield, Grady, Greer, Harmon, Harper, Kay, Kingfisher, Logan, Major, Noble, Texas, Washita, Woods and Woodward.

[65] Oklahoma Council for Defense, *Sooners in the War*, p. 10.

[66] Hilton, "The Oklahoma State Council of Defense," pp. 21–23.

[67] *Harlow's Weekly*, June 5, 1918.

[68] *Muskogee Daily Phoenix*, June 5, 1918.

Liberties Bureau indicated that the incident was caused by the desire of the newspaper to serve the oil industry and by the desire of the oil industry itself to crush out unionism in the oil fields.[69]

While these aims may partly explain why the incident occurred, one fact does seem reasonably certain. At least a part of the *Tulsa Daily World*'s motivation stemmed almost directly from the patriotic reaction to the "Green Corn Rebellion." The editor of the newspaper was convinced of the Industrial Workers of the World participation in the rebellion, as was evidenced by one of the subheads of its first report of the uprising. The subhead read "Indians, Negroes, Industrial Workers of the World, Working Class Union Members Make Up Outlaw Mobs."[70]

On August 6, 1917, four days after the rebellion began, the *Tulsa Daily World* printed its first two editorials against the Industrial Workers of the World. In the first, the editor praised the labor unions of Globe, Arizona, for having forced the Industrial Workers of the World to leave the town. The editor then declared: "[The Industrial Workers of the World] and all others like them should be forced to stay out on penalty of execution for treason if they return. Sugar-coat it as you may by prating of labor's rights, the whole move is at bottom an assistant of the Kaiser keeping America from efficient service in the war. They could not complain if death instead of exile were to be their portion."[71]

In the second editorial on the same page the editor included other participants in the rebellion, such as the "Jones Family" and the Working Class Union with the Industrial Workers of the World. "The whole bunch of them," declared the editor, "have turned out to be nothing less than emissaries of the enemy seeking to cripple the energies of the nation by an attack from behind."[72] The next day the editor continued: "We are not presuming to judge of the merits of specific controversies, but we are insisting that drastic measures should be taken to eliminate the I. W. W. element as an enemy of the nation."[73]

The rhetoric of the *Tulsa Daily World*, however, was not translated into action until after other events occurred in Tulsa. On the evening of October 29, 1917, the home of J. Edgar Pew, the vice-president of Carter Oil Company, was partially destroyed by an explosion. In a highly colored news report the newspaper claimed the explosion was a part of an Industrial Workers of the World plot that had occurred prematurely. It stated

[69] National Civil Liberties Bureau, *The "Knights of Liberty" Mob and the I. W. W. Prisoners at Tulsa, Okla.* (New York: National Civil Liberties Bureau, 1918), pp. 1–16.

[70] *Tulsa Daily World*, August 4, 1917.

[71] *Ibid.*, August 6, 1917.

[72] *Ibid.*, August 6, 1917.

[73] *Ibid.*, August 7, 1917.

Members of the Oklahoma State Council of Defense: Upper left, Stratton D. Brooks, secretary State Council, president University of Oklahoma and first federal food administrator for Oklahoma; right, J. M. Aydelotte, chairman State Council, banker and manufacturer; center, R. L. Williams, war governor of Oklahoma; lower left, C. H. Westfall, assistant secretary of State Council, member of state committee Fourth Liberty Loan, director speaker's bureau for State Council and Red Cross Roll Call campaign and Field Secretary Council of National Defense; right, L. E. Phillips, state chairman for all Red Cross drives and state chairman Fourth Liberty Loan

that members of the union had planned a massive strike in Texas and Oklahoma on November 1, aimed at disrupting the nation's vital oil industry. In addition, the newspaper declared that the Industrial Workers of the World had sent out a printed call for its members to come to Tulsa and "that they have flocked to the city in great numbers. . . ."[74]

Sandwiched between the story and a three-column-wide picture of the destroyed Pew residence, but easily seen because of the large type used, was a message addressed to the loyal citizens of Tulsa from the Tulsa County Council of Defense. This message declared: "For reasons that cannot be publicly stated, it is essential that the Tulsa Home Guard be raised to full strength immediately. This means that 250 able-bodied men of unquestioned courage and loyalty between the ages of 19 and 50 years must offer their services without delay."[75] That evening more than 600 men answered the call.[76] The next day the *Tulsa Daily World* threatened the members of the Industrial Workers of the World with death if they tried anything else, and accused that group of being German bought and German controlled.[77]

A week later police raided the Industrial Workers of the World headquarters on Main Street and arrested eleven men for vagrancy.[78] Towards the end of their trial the *Tulsa Daily World* published a strong editorial against anyone, the Industrial Workers of the World in particular, who would try to decrease the nation's vital oil supply. During this time of war, the *Tulsa Daily World* declared, the United States and the Allies needed every drop of oil, and the man who attempted to disrupt the production of the fields "is a traitor and ought to be shot!" The editor declared further: "In the meantime if the I.W.W. or its twin brother, the Oil Workers Union gets busy in your neighborhood kindly take occasion to decrease the supply of hemp. A knowledge of how to tie a knot that will stick might come in handy in a few days." Amplifying the last statement, the editor continued: "The first step in the whipping of Germany is to strangle the I.W.W.s. Kill 'em, just as you would kill any other kind of snake. Don't skotch 'em; kill 'em. And kill 'em dead. It is no time to waste money on trials and continuances and things like that. All that is necessary is the evidence and a firing squad. . . ."[79]

That evening, after being convicted of vagrancy and assigned jail sentences, which were suspended on the condition that they never return again,

---

[74] *Ibid.*, October 30, 1917.
[75] *Ibid.*, October 30, 1917.
[76] Lampe, comp., *Tulsa County in the World War*, p. 73.
[77] *Tulsa Daily World*, October 31, 1917.
[78] *Ibid.*, November 6, 1917, p. 1.
[79] *Ibid.*, November 9, 1917, p. 4.

the eleven men and six others who had testified for them were removed from jail and loaded into cars to be escorted to the city limits.[80] While on the way out of town, a group dressed in hoods who called themselves the "Knights of Liberty" took the men from the police. These union members were escorted to a lonely spot, and with the cry of "In the name of the women and children of Belgium" rending the night air, each of the men was whipped, tarred and feathered. The group was then sent into the darkness with a volley of gunfire shot over their heads.[81]

Throughout the state, the press gave the action of the mob wide approval.[82] And in a postscript the *Tulsa Daily World* declared: "If the persistent and consistent appeal of a certain class of alleged laboring men to violence and class hatred has been met by violence they have themselves to blame. The man who lives by the sword must die by the sword. Class appeals and advocacy of violence inevitably beget hatred and encourage violence undreamed of."[83]

The incident at Tulsa was illustrative of the whole problem of suppression in Oklahoma during the First World War. A judgment had been rendered by a court of law. But certain Tulsans were unwilling to accept the punishment as harsh enough and were determined that the prisoners should receive the punishment commensurate to their alleged crimes. Aroused by rumors spread as fact by their local newspapers, incited into organizing by the dictates of their extralegal ruling body, believing that their actions would aid in purging the community of an unpatriotic element and aware that their illegal actions would probably go unpunished, the Tulsans chose to step outside the law.

Tulsans, as well as most other persons in Oklahoma, had arrived at this mental position partially because the President of the United States and the editors of their newspapers had told them repeatedly that the enemy was in their midst. Citizens also were taught that dissent against American policy was at best, un-patriotic and un-American, and at worst, disloyal and treasonous. Once America entered the war, the forces working towards repression in Oklahoma gained strength. And, one of the keys which unlocked the door through which these forces entered was the "Green Corn Rebellion." The state of Oklahoma was not quite ten years old at the outbreak of the war. Consequently, many of those persons who had pride enough in the territory to lead its drive for statehood were still in positions of leadership. The rebellion and the resulting comments from outside the

---

[80] Lampe, comp., *Tulsa County in the World War*, pp. 221–222.
[81] *Tulsa Daily World*, November 10, 1917.
[82] National Civil Liberties Bureau, *The "Knights of Liberty" Mob*, pp. 15–16.
[83] *Tulsa Daily World*, December 12, 1917.

state injured the pride of these local patriots, and they were determined that Oklahoma would not experience a similar embarrassment again.

The agencies of repression, the Oklahoma State Council of Defense and the county councils of defense, were largely peopled by these same leaders, and by those same newsmen who had warned dissenters what would occur should the United States enter the war. Operating without law, these councils determined not only the definitions of patriotism and disloyalty, but also judged specific cases and often administered the punishment for violations.

Thus, the suppression which occurred in Oklahoma during the First World War is a comment on the fragile nature of American democracy. Democracy in the United States, at least that portion of democracy which demands the protection of minorities and the right to dissent against the majority, exists not because of custom or belief, but only because of law and the acceptance of the American people of the rule of law. Oklahoma during the First World War is an example of what can happen to American democracy when law disappears and is replaced by the rule of "public opinion."

ON THE WHITE MAN'S ROAD: LAWRIE TATUM AND THE FORMATIVE YEARS OF THE KIOWA AGENCY, 1869–1873

*By T. Ashley Zwink**

Ulysses Simpson Grant was elected president of the United States in November of 1868: with his inauguration in 1869 came an innovation toward the Indians known as Grant's "Peace Policy." The emphasis of this policy was on peace and continued control of Indian affairs by civilians. The main points were that nominations for positions of agents and superintendents would be made by religious groups, disbursement of Indian appropriations would be made by a Board of Indian Commissioners and the treaty system of the United States government would be terminated. The Indians would be placed on reservations to be educated, civilized, Christianized and converted into self-sustaining agriculturalists. The last element of this policy, introducing the Indians to agriculture, met both with success and failure as evidenced by the work of Lawrie Tatum at the Kiowa Agency in the Indian Territory.

Following Grant's election, officials of the Society of Friends (Quakers) met with the president and asked to be made part of the new policy, requesting that members of their sect be selected as Indian agents. In February of 1869, Grant informed them that they could nominate members to fill the positions of superintendents and agents for the western Indian superintendencies. The Central Superintendency, comprised of Kansas and the Indian Territory and under the jurisdiction of the Quakers, included the Kiowa Agency which was located in the southwest corner of the Indian Territory. The Council of Friends chose Enoch Hoag of Iowa to head the Central Superintendency. Hoag's job required him to supervise 144,000 square miles, 9 agents and about 16,000 Indians.[1]

In the spring of 1869 the Council of Friends nominated Lawrie Tatum to fill the position of agent for the Kiowa Agency. Until he read of his appointment in the newspaper, Tatum was unaware that his church leaders

---

* The author received a Master of Arts degree from Fort Hays Kansas State University at Hays, Kansas, and is currently completing the Doctor of Philosophy degree at Oklahoma State University at Stillwater, Oklahoma.

[1] Robert M. Utley, *Frontier Regulars: The United States Army and the Indian, 1866–1891* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1973), p. 190; "Lawrie Tatum Letters," *Prairie Lore*, Vol. IV, No. 1 (July, 1967), p. 50; Martha Buntin, "The Quaker Indian Agents of the Kiowa, Comanche, and Wichita Indian Reservation," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. X, No. 2 (June, 1932), p. 204; Lee Cutler, "Lawrie Tatum and the Kiowa Agency, 1869–1873," *Arizona and the West*, Vol. XIII, No. 3 (Autumn, 1971), p. 226; Marvin E. Krocker, *Great Plains Command: William B. Hazen in the Frontier West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976), p. 74.

were considering him for the position. Tatum was a God-fearing, Iowa farmer who had been active in the work of his church. He received official notice of his appointment in May of 1869, accepted the church directive as a sign from God and immediately began preparation for his journey to the Indian Territory. Tatum was without previous experience or knowledge of Indian affairs, but he had faith that he could succeed.[2]

After receiving his appointment as agent for the Kiowa Agency, Tatum obtained official instructions to meet Colonel W. B. Hazen, head of the Southern Indian District, at Junction City, Kansas, on May 20, 1869. Hazen was to escort the new agent to his agency. Tatum left his wife, Mary Ann, and family late in May and departed with a friend, James Southwick. At the small village of Junction City, Tatum and Southwick met Hazen who took them in an ambulance drawn by four mules 350 miles south to the Kiowa Agency. As the group approached within three to four miles of Fort Sill, Tatum saw the adobe agency house that Hazen had ordered built.[3]

Colonel Hazen previously had selected the site for the agency near Fort Sill. The country surrounding the post was "beautiful; well watered and covered with luxurient vegetation." The streams had abundant timber along their banks, and the agency was located on rich bottom land with lush grass in the vicinity of Cache Creek. The construction of Fort Sill was in progress at the time of Tatum's arrival, and an agency building and storehouse had been erected near the post. Hazen also had ordered several small tracts of land plowed for the Indians. Approximately seventy acres of corn had been planted and cultivated, and an abundant crop had been harvested. Another 1,500 acres on the reservation had been prepared for planting in the fall of 1869 or the spring of 1870.[4]

To prepare the Indians for their new agricultural life, Hazen had hired a man to teach them how to plant and cultivate crops. Indian women already had fenced in small plots with slender poles tied to stakes with bark. There the Indians had raised corn, melons and pumpkins while trying to keep their ponies away from their fields. The Indians craved vegetables, eating melons before they were ripe and consuming the corn as soon as it was edible. With the women and children doing most of the work, large quantities of corn and pumpkins were dried, but the frail "squaw fences"

---

[2] Cutler, "Lawrie Tatum and the Kiowa Agency," *Arizona and the West*, Vol. XIII, p. 227; Buntin, "The Quaker Indian Agents," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. X, p. 204.

[3] Lawrie Tatum, *Our Red Brothers and the Peace Policy of President Ulysses S. Grant* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1970), pp. 25–26.

[4] Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1869* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1870), pp. 59–60; Tatum, *Our Red Brothers*, pp. 26–27.

Colonel W. B. Hazen, head of the Southern Indian District

often failed to restrain the Indian ponies until all the corn could be gathered.[5]

The Kiowa, Comanche, Apache, Wichita, Waco, Tawacaroe, Keechie, Caddo and Andaghco Indians were at the Kiowa Agency. The Kiowa, Comanche and Apache were loosely confederated. The Wichita and their Caddoan breathren, who were affiliated into a cohesive band, were assigned temporarily to the Kiowa Agency until an agent could be appointed to supervise them. A small group of Delaware Indians also lived with both the Kiowa and Wichita factions. The Kiowa's and Comanche's camp was on Cache Creek, fifteen miles north of the agency, and the Caddoan people were located about thirty miles in the same direction from Fort Sill, cultivating small plots of corn and "trying to walk in the white man's road."[6]

On July 1, 1869, Tatum took control of the Kiowa Agency, replacing Albert Boone as agent. His orders were to stop the raids by Indians and

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] *Ibid.*; Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1869*, pp. 59–60.

confine them to the reservation. Tatum believed that this objective could be accomplished by increasing the amount of farming at the agency; he wrote that "every reasonable effort should be made to localize the Indian, and create a desire for him to remain on and take care of his farm." His first step was to put the agency in working order. Warehouses needed renovation. A medical clinic, houses for a physician and the agency employees and a corral for agency livestock were needed. The adobe agency headquarters constructed by Hazen was abandoned by Tatum because of its location. The old structure was located on the east side of Cache Creek, but Tatum had the new building eventually located on the west side of that stream for reasons of convenience and health. With Tatum came his staff of Quaker assistants: school teachers, clerks, artisans and a physician. He also employed local farmers at a salary of $50.00 per month to teach the Indians farming techniques and to increase the plowed lands of the agency.[7]

Tatum recognized the progress which had been made by Hazen and Boone and built on the foundation they had laid. In the early fall the new agent broke and prepared for planting 850 acres for the Wichita and 650 acres for the Kiowa Agency Indians. Parcels of 100 and 200 acres in different locations were plowed on the agency to serve as model farms. The Quaker planned to plant the newly broken land in the fall and spring with corn and wheat. During this time he hoped to teach the Indians to farm rather than to raid. Also, to encourage the Indians to pursue the arts of agriculture, he offered $500 in prizes to be divided among the 10 Indians who raised the best crops.[8]

Tatum recognized the need for a grist mill on the reservation. He traveled to Chicago late in August to order a steam engine, sawmill parts, a shingle machine and small millstones. He then hired men to construct the sawmill and assist with work at the agency. On his return trip the Quaker was joined by his wife and seven-year-old child. At Lawrence, Kansas, Tatum purchased wagons, spring-seats, horses, mules, harness and camping equipment for use at the agency. His mission accomplished, the

---

[7] Cutler, "Lawrie Tatum and the Kiowa Agency," *Arizona and the West*, Vol. XIII, pp. 221, 227; Tatum, *Our Red Brothers*, pp. 27–28; William D. Pennington, "Government Policy and Farming on the Kiowa Reservation: 1869–1901," Doctor of Philosophy Dissertation, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma, 1972, pp. 26–27; Carolyn Foreman, "General William Babcock Hazen," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XX, No. 4 (December, 1942), p. 334; W. S. Nye, *Carbine and Lance: The Story of Old Fort Sill* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1937), p. 131; Lawrie Tatum to Enoch Hoag, Annual Report, August 12, 1869, Reports (Agents) File, Kiowa Agency, Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

[8] *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1869*, p. 383; Nye, *Carbine and Lance*, p. 132.

agent and his fellow travelers, ten men, four women and two children, made the long and monotonous return trip to the agency.[9]

The Indians at the agency had been relatively peaceful just prior to Tatum's arrival, conducting only minor raids into Texas. The Kiowa, numbering 1,928, preferred stealing horses and cattle to tilling the soil. The Comanche, numbering about 2,538, exhibited a greater interest in agriculture than did the Kiowa, and members of this tribe labored on their reservation farms. The Apache, numbering 288, shared the Kiowa's apathy toward agricultural pursuits.[10]

During 1869 the Comanche were the only tribe to show any substantial interest in farming. The work was done primarily by the Penateka band which previously had done some farming in Texas, but, although a few Indian men expressed interest, the women and children did most of the work with the aid of two white farmers. The Penateka had seventy-two acres planted in vegetables and corn; the other Comanche bands had only eighty-two acres in cultivation with the government working sixty acres of this land for them. However, on this land the Comanche raised 2,950 bushels of corn, 25 bushels of turnips and cut 20 tons of hay.[11]

The progress of the Kiowa and Apache in farming fell short of that of the Comanche. Although their agent planted fifty-five acres of corn for them which produced a good yield, the Kiowa warriors, returning from a buffalo hunt, quickly ate and destroyed the corn, letting their ponies trample the fields. When their corn was gone, the Kiowa expected the Comanche to give them part of their crop. The results of these impulsive feasts were sometimes disastrous; some Indians gorged themselves, became sick and died due to eating green corn, unripened watermelons and various vegetables. Nevertheless, the agency reported at the end of 1869 that the Kiowa had cultivated 40 acres of corn which yielded 990 bushels; however, governmental farm labor probably accounted for the size of the harvest.[12]

At the end of 1869 Tatum made personal observations and recommendations. He thought that the agency should be self-sustaining because the soil and vegetation indicated that wheat, corn, and oats could be grown easily. He planned to build a flourmill on Medicine Bluff Creek, north of Fort Sill, which would cost $8,000, an amount he claimed would be well worth the expense. He reasoned that the production of all the needed grain at

[9] Tatum, *Our Red Brothers*, p. 31.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 55; Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1869*, pp. 235–236.

[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 284, 470; Tatum to Hoag, Annual Report, August 12, 1869, Reports (Agents) File, Kiowa Agency, Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society.

[12] *Ibid.*; *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1869*, p. 385; Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1870* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1870), pp. 260–261.

Quaker Agents, U. S. Indian Agencies, 1872. Standing back row, left to right: I. T. Gibson, Osage; Dr. Roberts, Shawnee; Supt. Enoch Hoag; Jonathon Richards, Wichita-Caddo; John Hadley, Sac and Fox; Lawrie Tatum, Comanche-Kiowa. Seated front row, left to right: Hiram W. Jones, Quapaw; John W. Miles, Kickapoo; B. Darlington, Cheyenne-Arapaho; Mahlon Stubbs, Kaw; Joel Morris, Potawatomi (From original photo, Oklahoma Historical Society)

the agency would be a practical means of teaching the Indians how to farm. It also would save the government shipping costs and reduce the number of visitors to the agency, which, in turn, would diminish the opportunity for smugglers to sell whiskey to soldiers and Indians.[13]

Despite continued raids by the Kiowa, Comanche and Apache in 1870, Tatum expanded the farming operations at his agency. He plowed and planted fields for the 4,754 Kiowa, Comanche and Apache, but most of these Indians refused to cultivate the land. In August the Quaker said, "The Comanches, Kiowas, and Apaches have made no effort to raise a crop this year." Nevertheless, during the year Tatum built the agency building and sawmill with the attached shingle machine and gristmill.[14]

[13] Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1869*, pp. 385–386; Cutler, "Lawrie Tatum and the Kiowa Agency," *Arizona and the West*, Vol. XIII, p. 230.

[14] Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1870*, pp. 254–255; 265.

In 1870 the Penateka band of the Comanche was again the only group that did any notable farming at the Kiowa Agency. Although these Indians fenced their plots and assisted in planting their crops, they were constantly threatened by raids from their fellow Indians on their crops. The agency's yearly report indicated that the Comanche had cultivated 6 acres and had produced 300 bushels of corn. These figures tempered Tatum's original optimism, forcing him to admit that the transformation of Plains Indians into farmers would be a long and tedious process.[15]

Weary and homesick, Tatum attended a meeting of Quaker agents and the Committee of Friends at Lawrence, Kansas, in December of 1870. After the conference adjourned, Tatum hurriedly traveled to Iowa to visit his family. His wife and many Quaker employees had returned to Iowa in July of that year because of increasing Indian problems. By March of 1871, Tatum was back on the prairie among his Indians at the agency. He was revived after his visit to his family, claiming that Iowa's climate had invigorated his system. Before his journey northward the malarial climate in the Indian Territory had adversely affected his health. Moreover, the brief vacation had allowed Tatum to relax; the mental pressures of the job had been mounting to an intolerable level.[16]

The Kiowa and Comanche continued their raids into Texas during 1871. These hostilities were curtailed with the arrest and confinement of the leading Kiowa chiefs Satanta, Satank and Big Tree. With a note of optimism Tatum reported that the Indians who remained on the reservation were giving little trouble. Nevertheless, he feared that the intermittently hostile activities of the Indians would bring their destruction: "The Kiowa and Comanche Indians are fast passing away, and unless they become civilized and embrace the Christian religion, so as to have the benefit of its moral influence, it is not likely they will last much beyond the present generation."[17]

The agent offered to prepare land for the Indians of his agency if they would work the land, but the offer was largely ignored, and little land was cultivated by the Kiowa, Comanche or Apache during the year. Again the Penateka were the most productive, cultivating 75 acres, raising 1,700 bushels of corn, harvesting 5 bushels of potatoes and cutting 20 tons of hay valued at $200.[18]

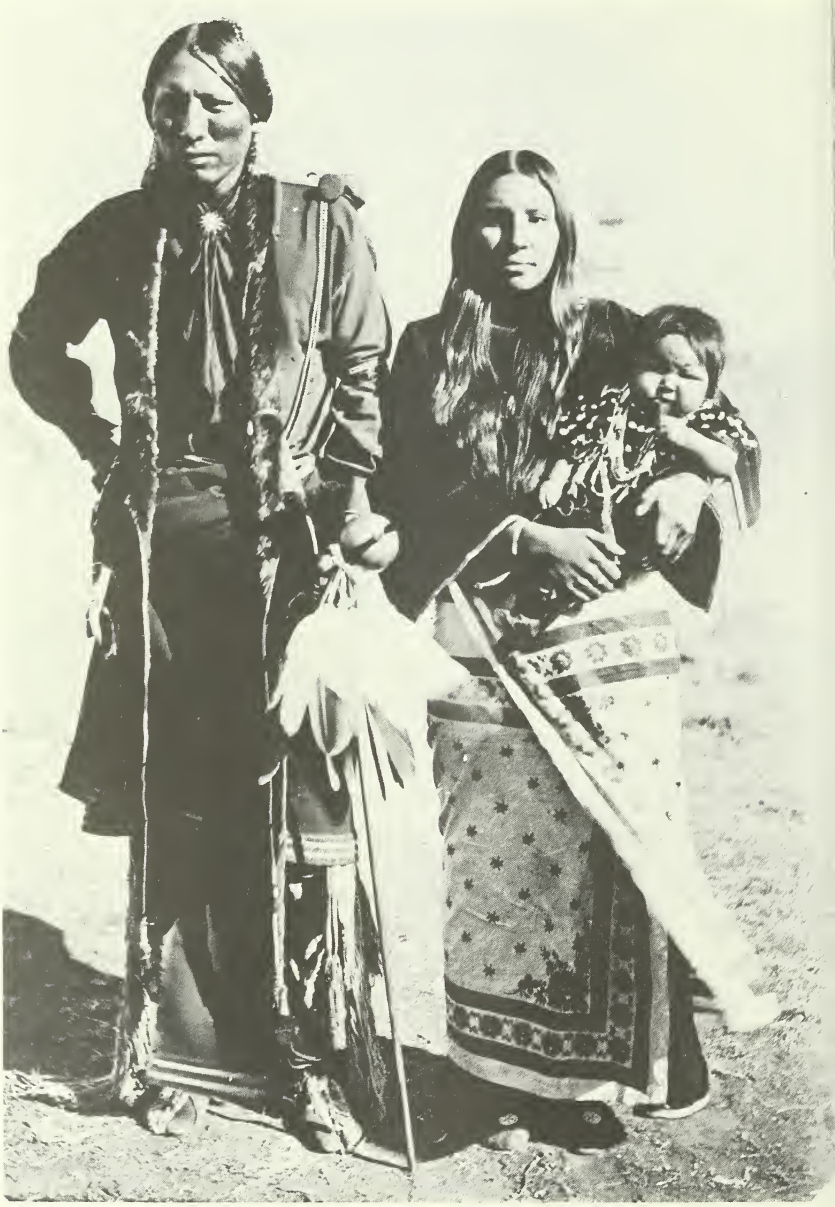
---

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 263; Tatum to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 31, 1870, Farmers File, Kiowa Agency, Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society.

[16] Tatum, *Our Red Brothers*, pp. 35–36, 51–55.

[17] Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1871* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1871), pp. 3, 459–460, 502–504.

[18] *Ibid.*



A Kiowa medicine man, with his wife and young child

The most significant agricultural activity of the Kiowa Agency was done on the agency farm which served as an example for the Indians and also provided a source for agency foodstuffs. This farm was worked by hired farmers, and it consisted of 240 acres of corn, 40 acres of wheat and produced 60 tons of hay. However, 1871 was dry, and Tatum complained that the high frequency of drought in the region made farming an uncertain occupation. Earlier in the year he had instructed the farmers to sow about 60 acres of oats and to plow more than 100 acres for a corn crop. He also had ordered that 400 to 500 peach trees be planted in the commissary yard and on the agency farm. Apple trees and grape vines were planted; these plants showed promise of surviving the blistering summer heat.[19]

The extreme dryness made plowing difficult, but an agency worker, Milton Dean, reported in April that his crew had sowed nearly 100 acres of corn, averaging 12 acres per day. Later in May soaking rains briefly stimulated the growth of the crops, but in early June the harvest was poor. Fortunately, the garden that was cultivated for the agency employees produced a large crop of vegetables, totaling 20 bushels of potatoes and 10 bushels of turnips. Nevertheless, the summer of 1871 was scorching; in August Tatum wrote that it was "oppressively hot and dry." Rainfall had been sparse since the middle of June, and although a fair crop of oats was harvested in July, the corn and wheat were almost a total failure.[20]

The following year the Kiowa and Comanche continued to raid, and the attempts to convert the prairie nomads into farmers had limited success. That year the populations of the agency tribes were: Kiowa, 1,930; Comanche, 3,180; and Apache, 380. These Indians were allowed to roam on their spacious reservation of 3,549,440 acres. A few remained peacefully on the reserve which indicated a desire to learn to farm. The result of their efforts was a substantial crop of corn and potatoes harvested from a 100 acre tract.[21]

Tatum punished the Comanche and Kiowa who had committed raids in Texas by withholding their rations. However, the Quaker believed that this policy of purchasing peace with foodstuffs was wrong. He feared that the Indians would interpret the distribution of rations as rewards for their

[19] Tatum to Hoag, Annual Report, September 1, 1871, Reports (Agents) File, Kiowa Agency, Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society; Tatum to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Statistical Farm Report of 1871, Farmers File, Kiowa Agency, *Ibid.*; "Lawrie Tatum's Letters," *Prairie Lore*, Vol. IV, No. 1 (July, 1967), p. 54; "Lawrie Tatum's Letters," *Prairie Lore*, Vol. IV, No. 5 (January, 1968), p. 187.

[20] "Lawrie Tatum's Letters," *Prairie Lore*, Vol. IV, No. 1 (July, 1967), pp. 54–55, 57, 61, 188; "Lawrie Tatum's Letters," *Prairie Lore*, Vol. V, No. 2 (October, 1968), pp. 120, 124.

[21] Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1872 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1872), p. 41; Pennington, "Government Policy and Farming on the Kiowa Reservation, 1869–1901," p. 35.

Lawrie Tatum and five Mexican boys who had been captured by the Comanches

hostilities. Tatum said, "It was like hiring desperadoes and murderers in the large cities to cease their depredations." The agent was frustrated, failing to convince any of the recalcitrant Kiowa and Comanche to farm. A few Apache agreed to begin cultivating small farms, and Tatum offered to plow and plant their fields. Nevertheless, he still believed that he could control the Kiowa and Comanche if he could contain them on the reservation.[22]

In the autumn of 1872, the Indians of Tatum's agency were assured that Satanta and Big Tree would be returned the following spring from prison in Huntsville, Texas. The agent realized that the return of these chiefs would erode further his already waning influence with the Indians and

---

[22] *Ibid.*; Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1872*, pp. 246–247.

diminish any possibility of pursuading them to become farmers. Also, the pragmatic agent had learned that military force was often necessary to restrain his wards from raiding. The use of violence and arms contradicted the policy of the Council of Friends. Because of the mounting criticism of his stern methods of handling impudent Indians, Tatum resigned as agent in December of 1872. After three years and nine months of service to the government and Indians of the Kiowa Agency, Lawrie Tatum withdrew from the scene, seeking relief from the pressures which had constantly burdened him.[23]

Tatum's administration at the Kiowa Agency ended in 1873, but contrary to his own conclusions and those of others, he did not depart as a total failure. The Quaker was frustrated because the "Peace Policy" had failed to be an immediate and complete success. Although Tatum did not make farmers of the nomadic Kiowa, Comance and Apache, he introduced these Indians to agricultural methods and showed them how to till the soil. He also illustrated the agricultural potential of the area, not only to the Indians but also to the whites. Tatum supervised the construction of a school house, broke new farm land and built numerous agency buildings. Unknowingly, he had pioneered in the government's efforts to civilize and Christianize the Indians. His successors would build on his foundation and would learn from both his successes and failures.[24]

---

[23] Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1873* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1873), p. 201; Tatum, *Our Red Brothers*, p. 160; Cutler, "Lawrie Tatum and the Kiowa Agency," *Arizona and the West*, Vol. XIII, pp. 243–244.

[24] *Ibid.*; Tatum, *Our Red Brothers*, p. 160; Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1873*, p. 201.

TEN-BARREL "WHODUNIT" AT RED FORK

*By Joe Donald Roberts**

Oklahoma is such an important part of the Mid-Continent Oil Field that it is hard to remember that its first real oil boom was started by a ten-barrel show at Red Fork in June, 1901. Oil was no novelty in Indian Territory at the turn of the nineteenth century, but there had not yet been a boom. Then the Spindletop, Texas, gusher drew the attention of the world to its flood of oil. This discovery made people believe in big oil outside the East, and it made conditions right for another boom in this part of the country. As the Red Fork story illustrates, a boom can start with only a hint of oil for fuel. An oil boom requires, first and foremost, an accelerating sequence of acts of imagination. In its first days there is far more money going out than coming in. The mad scramble for a small hill at Spindletop had created a hunger which could not be satisfied there. The Red Fork promoters were the first after Spindletop to offer opportunity to the oil boomers. That the object of all the attention was judged a mighty ten-barrel producer by its driller seemed to bother no one.

Once a boom begins it takes on a life of its own, but the first steps have to be taken by men, men whose identities often get lost in the shuffle. Red Fork was the work of promoters whose identities are well known. Yet, through the years the answer to the obvious question "who drilled the first well at Red Fork?" has been a matter of dispute. The controversy has been a happy circumstance for historical purposes, however, for it has resulted in the accumulation and preservation of the Heydrick Collection.

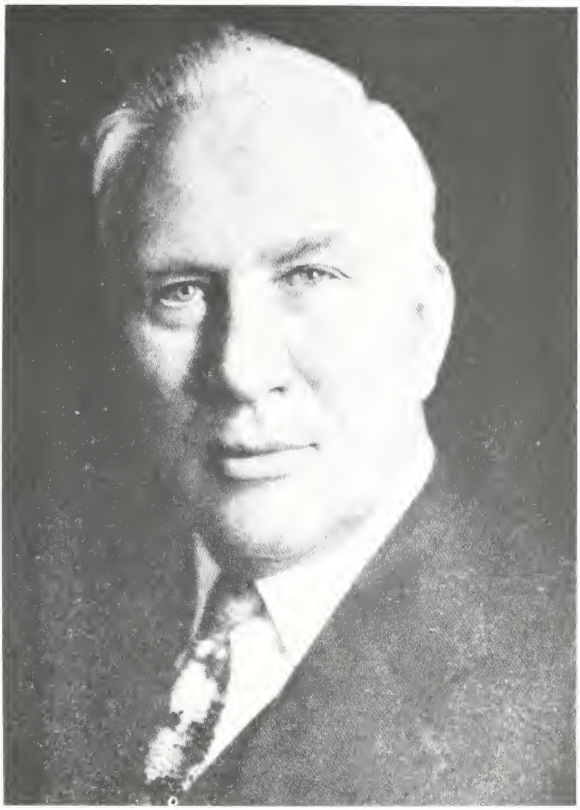
This remarkable record, in the Western History Collection of the University of Oklahoma Library, keeps alive both fact and flavor of Indian Territory's first real oil boom. It also states conclusively who drilled the first well at Red Fork.

C. B. Glasscock notes the controversy in 1938 in *Then Came Oil*: "One faction gives all the credit to Dr. [J.C.W.] Bland and his friend and associate, Dr. Fred S. Clinton. Another faction accords the honor to J. S. Wick and Jesse A. Heydrick, oil promoters from Butler, Pennsylvania."[1] Glasscock did not land hard on either side, but he was only able to interview Dr. Clinton, sole survivor among the principals. Strongly implied in the Glasscock account is that the doctors had outmaneuvered Wick and Heydrick by filing a successful allotment in the name of Dr. Bland's Creek

---

* The author is a Doctor of Philosophy candidate at the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis, Minnesota.

[1] C. B. Glasscock, *Then Came Oil* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1938), p. 132.



Dr. Fred S. Clinton, who was deeply involved in the Red Fork controversey

wife on the land where the well was drilled. Wick and Heydrick, after all, had only a worthless lease to show in claiming mineral rights to the Sue A. Bland forty acres. Carl Coke Rister's 1949 account of the Red Fork discovery appears to settle the matter in favor of Heydrick and Wick.[2] In 1952, however, Dr. Clinton wrote an article in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* in which he stated with great assurance that he and Dr. Bland deserved the credit. Included in the evidence cited in the article was a photograph of the Oklahoma Historical Society marker, dedicated March 23, 1950, which gave credit to the two doctors. Dr. Clinton's account might have been the last word, except for the remarkable efforts of the sons of Jesse A. Heydrick.

[2] C. C. Rister, *Oil! Titan of the Southwest* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1949), pp. 81 ff.

Not content to let the doctors' claim be accepted as fact, they compiled correspondence, legal documents, affadavits, published accounts and much miscellaneous material in support of their father's claim to fame. The Heydrick Collection, accumulated roughly between 1930 and 1950, also preserves a fascinating glimpse of those days in the oil business in the Creek Nation. However, from the viewpoint of a disinterested observer, it would seem that all concerned would have done more for posterity had they emphasized less who was "Number One" and emphasized more the fluid, panicky, outrageous circumstances that characterized attempts to produce oil in that time and place.

Of particular importance at Red Fork was the time. The process of allotting the tribal land and dissolving the Creek Nation was not complete. The guide in matters of mineral extraction and land tenure was the Creek Agreement, which superseded the Curtis Act of 1898.[3] The agreement prevented allottees from alienating their land, and it contained no provisions for leasing arrangements even though it assigned mineral rights to individuals rather than the tribe. What this meant was that no clear title to land was available to oil promoters, nor could they they lease mineral rights. The only people entitled to either were Creek citizens. What occurred in 1901, however, should only surprise those who confuse a turn-of-the century oil boom with the production of oil.

Heydrick and Wick were experienced oil men. Wick lived at Muskogee, and it was his working relationship with the Creek tribal council that persuaded Jesse A. Heydrick to come out from Butler for a look. Nearly Seventy, Heydrick was forty years an oil man. What tempted him and his backers to take a chance on the Indian Territory was a lease, negotiated by Wick, which exchanged the sum of two dollars for mineral rights to 500,000 acres in the Creek Nation. This transaction would seem to compare favorably with the purchase of Manhattan Island except there was at least one overlapping lease.[4] In addition, the Curtis Act and the Creek Agreement had made the lease's validity dubious at best. Heydrick and Wick tried to validate the lease in court by challenging the Curtis Act, to no avail.

Heydrick knew his business. He knew that the best way to turn a dollar among all the uncertainties was to find oil, to have at least a fighting chance at rights to it and then to sell fast. This was not to be. The best he could manage was to find oil.

---

[3] Angie Debo, *And Still the Waters Run* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1940), pp. 86–88.

[4] Affadavit of F. C. Hubbard, President, Creek Oil and Gas Co. in Heydrick Collection, Western History Collection, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma.

J. C. Heydrick (front row, left) who was the son of Jesse Heydrick, received a letter from his father which declared, soon after the discovery of the Red Fork field, that he had an offer to purchase the discovery well (Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Library)

To drill the well, Heydrick contracted with the Crossman Brothers of Joplin, who loaded their equipment on railroad cars and brought it to the end of the track at Red Fork.[5] What happened next is vague in all accounts. Everyone agrees that the drillers were stuck at the depot, having only a New York draft which the agent would not accept for the freight charges. Glasscock implied that Doctors Bland and Clinton happened along to rescue some strangers.[6] Not so. The Heydrick and Wick lease of July 16, 1900, which superseded leases of 1895 and 1899, shows the name of Sue A. Bland. According to one source, Dr. Bland helped negotiate this lease.[7]

[5] Well log, Sue A. Bland Number One, Heydrick Collection.

[6] Glasscock, *Then Came Oil*, p. 133.

[7] J. W. Flenner, "History of Early Oil Developments in Oklahoma," Ch. 13, bound in booklet "Red Fork Discovery June, 1901," Heydrick Collection. Flenner says "Dr. Bland, formerly interested in the Progressive Oil Company and Red River Mining Company leases in this section, became of material assistance rendered Messrs. Heydrick and Wick in the securing of their blanket mineral lease had placed them under obligations to him, and for this reason the Pennsylvanians had at last bowed to Dr. Bland's wishes [to drill the Bland Forty]."

Dr. Clinton claimed to have borrowed three hundred dollars from the station agent and loaned it to Perry Crossman, though Crossman denied it thirty years later.[8] Dr. Bland's help with the lease and Dr. Clinton's loan to Crossman would seem to be the basis of their claim that they promoted and drilled the Sue A. Bland Number One, though Dr. Clinton's article only mentioned the loan. Sue A. Bland's land title has no bearing on the dispute. You can not make a hole with a land title.

That the doctors helped Heydrick and Wick is beyond doubt. Did that help make them interested parties? Rister says "It has been said that Heydrick was grateful for this service [Dr. Clinton's loan] and gave to each of them a share of his company's stock."[9] W. H. Heydrick, one of Jesse's sons, denied this in a 1947 deposition:[10]

Such early day gushers as this was the result of the boom touched off by the Red Fork strike

> I remember well that Father said he intended to give Drs. Bland and Clinton each one share or unit of stock in the Red Fork well block as an appreciation for the favors and cooperation they had extended to Father and Mr. Wick; however, as litigation and lease trouble developed immediately after the well was brought in, the stock or unit was never issued.

Sure enough, the articles of incorporation of the three corporations Wick and Heydrick organized to explore the Creek Nation do not show the names of either Dr. Bland or Dr. Clinton. In fact, the only interested party with an Indian Territory address was Wick. The well log on the Sue A. Bland Number One shows only the names of Heydrick, Wick & Co. and

---

[8] Perry Crossman to J. C. Heydrick, September 3, 1931, in "Red Fork Discovery June, 1901," Heydrick Collection.

[9] Rister, *Oil! Titan of the Southwest*, p. 83.

[10] "Statement of W. H. Heydrick," June 1, 1947. Western History Collection.

the Crossman Brothers. Perry Crossman, who was in charge of drilling the Well, said: "I made a personal contract with . . . J. A. Heydrick to drill the first well that produced oil. It was on the Dr. Bland forty acres and John Wick was only appointed to look after the drilling. His name was not in the contract."[11] Obviously, Crossman saw his obligation to the doctors as personal, and not involving the drilling operation.

The contradictions of Red Fork can best be explained by the tendency to expect things of events after the fact that no one expected at the time they occurred. Both Dr. Clinton and Jesse Heydrick admitted that they wanted most to promote a boom. Dr. Clinton put it this way:[12]

> Many persons planned to drill for oil, and some had drilled wells in the hope of securing large approved leases in the Indian Territory. . . . It was my suggestion to Doctor Bland that we proceed immediately to initiate the oil development on the Sue A. Bland homestead adjoining Red Fork, and if we struck oil to give it the widest publicity; this would attract oil people and insure development.

The fact that the well was drilled not on a homestead but on unallotted land which was filed on after oil was discovered fits the picture. In a letter to his son, James C., written just after the discovery well came in, Jesse Heydrick mentioned an offer to buy the well and forty acres. Trying to decide whether to drill deeper or sell immediately, the elder Heydrick said "I will . . . use my judgement in matter of running tools again—a sale must be made while hot."[13]

It is easy, three generations later, to place undue emphasis on the land title which later came to Sue A. Bland. At the time of the discovery, Heydrick and Wick had a lease they thought had some chance of being approved. The doctors had nothing—no interest in the exploration corporation, no title to the land, no mineral rights, no part in the drilling contract. The plain truth is that if it had been up to the doctors to drill an oil well at Red Fork, it would not have happened.

The circumstance that played into Dr. Clinton's hands was that the well blew in before anyone expected it to. When it did, Heydrick was in Butler. Perry Crossman was in Joplin. Dr. Bland was down with appendicitis. Wick, who Perry Crossman accused of being drunk, ruined any chance his

---

[11] Crossman to Heydrick, September 3, 1931, in "Red Fork Discovery June, 1901," Heydrick Collection.

[12] Fred S. Clinton, "First Oil and Gas Well in Tulsa County," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXX, No. 3 (Autumn, 1952), p. 312–313.

[13] Ms. J. W. Flenner, "History of Early Oil Developments in Oklahoma," Heydrick Collection.

interests had to profit with his jubilant telegram to "Send packer, Oil is spouting over the derrick."[14] The boom was on.

The only man who kept his head was Dr. Clinton. He took the one course of action that had the sanction of law in the long run. Hastily, he got power of attorney from Mrs. Bland, caught a train and made his way to Muskogee. It is truly remarkable, considering the communications of the time, that he was able to file a valid allotment in Muskogee June 26, 1901—the day after the well blew in. For a small-town physician to so outmaneuver the pros was an historic feat. But that feat should not be confused with the promotion and drilling of the well.

The Heydrick family did little about the Red Fork discovery being attributed to the doctors until 1931, when John W. Flenner, a Muskogee newspaperman whose bad health had forced him to retire, contacted the sons of Jesse A. Heydrick. As a hobby, Flenner was writing a book on early oil developments in Oklahoma. He became fascinated with the Red Fork controversy, devoting two years to digging out the story. His manuscript, never published, is on file at the Mid-Continent Oil and Gas Association in Tulsa. The parts of it pertinent to Red Fork are also in the Heydrick Collection. Flenner's research was thorough, and his conclusion was unequivocal: Heyrick and Wick drilled the well. The Heydricks asserted their claim in the *Tulsa World* March 15, 1934.[15] But the *Tulsa World* of May 19, 1940, gave credit to doctors Bland and Clinton.[16]

In 1944 Keith Clevenger, an independent research consultant under contract to the Mid-Continent Oil and Gas Association, contacted W. H. and L. C. Heydrick, two of Jesse's sons, and compiled a number of documents which he said "seem to confirm the fact that your father drilled the Red Fork well."[17] Rister's book reasserted the Heydrick and Wick claim in 1949, but the Heydrick family was disappointed when the Oklahoma Historical Society erected a marker in 1950 giving credit to the doctors. Then, in 1952. Dr. Clinton wrote his version of the dispute in the autumn number of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*. There he stated that people who were in a position to know had testified that he and Dr. Bland were "responsible persons; i.e., answerable legally and morally for the payment of the bills for drilling of the Bland-Clinton oil well. Even in that early day," he said, "we were careful to be trustworthy in all our promotions."[18]

---

[14] Crossman to Heydrick, September 3, 1931, in "Red Fork Discovery June, 1901," Heydrick Collection.

[15] Clipping, Heydrick Collection.

[16] Clipping, *Tulsa World*, March 15, 1934, Heydrick Collection.

[17] Keith Clevenger to W. H. Heydrick, September 13, 1944, Heydrick Collection.

[18] Clinton; "First Oil and Gas Well in Tulsa County" *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXX, p. 318.

L. C. Heydrick was particularly displeased with these developments. He provided the family store of documents to the University of Oklahoma, and he paid an independent consultant, Dr. W. A. Settle of the University of Tulsa, to examine them and report his conclusions. Dr. Settle said:[19]

> No competent and disinterested person could examine the Heydrick papers at the University of Oklahoma without concluding that Jesse A. Heydrick and John S. Wick deserve the credit for promoting and drilling the Red Fork discovery well, the Sue A. Bland No. 1.

There the controversy stands to date. However, the Heydrick Collection supports the conclusion that the doctors were of material assistance to Heydrick and Wick and outwitted them in the matter of land title. But Heydrick and Wick promoted and drilled the Sue A. Bland Number One.

---

[19] W. A. Settle, "Report of Examination of Heydrick papers in Archives of University of Oklahoma Dealing with Red Fork Oil Discovery, June 25, 1901," Heydrick Collection.

THE EXILE OF THE NEZ PERCÉ IN INDIAN TERRITORY, 1878–1885

*By Alan Osborne**

"Experience has demonstrated the impolicy of sending northern Indians to the Indian Territory." The Commissioner of Indian Affairs then aptly recorded in his 1877 annual message the devastating results such a move had already wrought upon several tribes due to the radical change of climate. For instance, the Pawnee lost over 800 in the first two years following removal out of a total population of 2,376. The Northern Cheyenne also suffered severely, and the Poncas, who had been in Indian Territory only a few months, had already witnessed the deaths of thirty-six of their tribe. Commissioner E. A. Hayt calculated that this figure would normally represent the death rate for the Poncas for four years.[1] His admonition against removal of northern tribes to Indian Territory was quickly ignored, barely allowing the ink to dry on his report. The ominous words of disaster were soon to prove tragically prophetic for yet another tribe destined for the territory, the Nez Percé. Another chapter in the history of the relations between the American Indian and the United States was about to begin: the exile of the Nez Percés under Chief Joseph in Indian Territory following their surrender in the Nez Percé War.

Joseph had surrendered to Brigadier General Nelson A. Miles at Bear Paw Mountain, Montana, on October 5, 1877, less than three months after the outbreak of hostilities. Miles assured Joseph, upon his surrender, that the Nez Percés would be returned to the Northwest and settled on the Lapwai Reservation with the rest of the Nez Percés. However, the government considered the terms unconditional, and Miles' superiors certainly did not have a return to the Northwest in mind. The hostiles had to be taught a lesson. In fact, haggling over their future had begun weeks before the Nez Percés had given up.[2] Little did Joseph realize that the Nez Percés "Trail of Tears" would lead to exile in the Indian Territory. Miles did his best to live up to his battlefield promise to Joseph and repeatedly urged the return of the Nez Percés to the Northwest, but these Indians were destined to become tragic examples of a harsh and indifferent policy of exiling "hostile" Indian tribes to Indian Territory, or simply moving others there who were blocking westward expansion.[3] This practice was blindly fol-

* The author is Director of Continuing Education, College of Santa Fe, New Mexico.

[1] United States Department of Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1877* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1877), pp. 401–402.

[2] Chief Joseph, "An Indian's Views of Indian Affairs," *North American Review*, Vol. CXXVIII (April, 1879), p. 413.

[3] Berlin B. Chapman, "Nez Percés in Indian Territory: An Archival Study," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 1 (June, 1949), p. 101.

lowed regardless of the devastating effects such a change might have on the particular tribe in question.

The commissioner, noting the impassible obstacles to a Nez Percé return to the Northwest, such as the probability of white retaliation and the outstanding indictments against some of them for crimes committed at the War's outbreak, recommended that they be sent to Indian Territory. "This will be no hardship to them, as the difference in temperature between that latitude and their old home is inconsiderable."[4] He was sadly mistaken, for it was a fear of extinction which finally prompted their return to the Northwest in 1885.[5] Brigadier General Oliver O. Howard, who had recently fought the Nez Percés, exhibited typical military feelings regarding the exiles, stating, "Should the Indians return to the scene of their horrid outrages, they could have no peace. There is not an Indian there now . . . Let them settle down, and keep quiet, in the Indian Territory . . . and they will thrive. . . ."[6]

They were indeed thriving before the war, when the tribe enjoyed great prosperity. The Nez Percés were well known for their talent both in riding and breeding horses. After the conflict, however, those who had taken part were destitute, all their belongings seized. In exile they suffered terribly from the change in climate and the resulting sickness this change brought. But they nevertheless managed to make a valiant attempt toward economic self-support. During the seven long years of exile, they made remarkable progress in agriculture, education and other endeavors leading to eventual civilized means of self-support. Their death rate, however, remained abnormally high, "dying as much from broken hearts as from disease." It finally became clear that, in spite of their economic gains, they would probably all die if not returned to their native climate. During the exile, their reduced economic status, the resulting diseases and their ever-present longing for their old homes combined to decimate the tribe. It is in view of these factors that their steadily improving economic picture was phenomenal, and they constantly received praise for their noble efforts in this direction.[7]

---

[4] United States Department of Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1877*, p. 409.

[5] United States Department of Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1882* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1882), p. 52.

[6] General Oliver O. Howard, "The True Story of the Wallowa Campaign," *North American Review*, Vol. CXXIX (July, 1879), p. 53.

[7] United States Department of Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the year 1881* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1881), p. 152; United States Department of Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1882*, p. 136. Allen P. Slickpoo, Sr., *Noon-Ne-Me-Poo* (Lapwai, Idaho: Nez Percé Tribe of Idaho, 1973), p. 196.

Following their surrender, the 418 prisoners of war were sent to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. There they spent the winter of 1877 and following spring in deplorable conditions on a swampy island in the Missouri River bottom, between a lagoon and the river. Only river water was available for cooking and drinking, and malaria ravaged the restless and inactive band. Meanwhile, scattered Nez Percés were rounded up and sent to join the others. By winter, the Nez Percés numbered 79 men, 178 women and 174 children, for a total of 431. A few additional members of the band were also sent to Fort Leavenworth, further swelling the number, but only 410 left there alive.[8] Joseph lamented, "Many of our people sickened and died, and we buried them in this strange land . . . The Great Spirit Chief who rules above seemed to be looking some other way, and did not see what was being done to my people."[9]

The Nez Percé fate was sealed by a May, 1878, Indian appropriations bill. They were to be removed to Indian Territory and placed under the care of the Bureau of Indian Affairs following their transfer from the War Department. Tensions in the Northwest were extremely strained, and the officials of the Lapwai Reservation did not want the hostiles returned for fear of trouble.[10] So the Nez Percé prisoners were ordered in July, 1878, to the Quapaw Reserve in northeastern Indian Territory. Three children died enroute, 260 of the Nez Percés were sick and the suffering continued throughout the eleven months spent at that agency. By November, the total fatalities had exceeded one hundred.[11]

Quapaw Agent H. W. Jones had no supplies for the Indians and did not know where to locate the new arrivals, at first placing them on the Modoc Reservation about three miles from Seneca, Missouri. Nearly all the Nez Percés were sick, following their ordeal at Fort Leavenworth, and several died. There was no medicine to give them, for that year's supply had not yet been received. Letters from the agent repeatedly urged that quinine and other supplies be sent to replenish his exhausted supply. Failing this, he was finally forced to buy medicine on the open market. By August, the

---

[8] James McNeil to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 24, 1878, Quapaw Agency, Letters Received, National Archives, Washington, D.C.; United States Department of Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1878* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1878), p. 464; Helen Addison Howard and Dan L. McGrath, *War Chief Joseph* (Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, 1941), pp. 283–284.

[9] Joseph, "An Indian's Views of Indian Affairs," *American Review*, Vol. CXXVIII, p. 430.

[10] United States Department of Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1877*, p. 409; United States Department of Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1884* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1884), p. 114.

[11] United States Department of Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1887*, p. 464.

Nez Percés numbered 86 men, 168 women and 137 children, for a total of 391. Due to the sickness and constant lack of supplies, the Nez Percés were idle much of the time at the Quapaw Agency.[12]

In August, the agent bought 7,000 acres from the Confederated Miami and Peoria Indians of his agency to use as a home for Joseph and his band. However, Joseph would not commit himself to accept this purchase because of his understanding from Miles that his people would be allowed to go back to the Northwest. The agent wrote in his annual report that with time he might succeed in getting the Nez Percés permanently located in their new home. An Indian carpenter was hired to help them build houses, and it was hoped a day school could be opened in the near future. Further, he thought their sickness was subsiding and that the worst was over for the tribe. His confidence was of dubious value for the Nez Percés were not faring well, and the agent had precious little time for them, as he was responsible for an agency containing nine tribes on seven reserves and five schools.[13]

Joseph was visited in October by Commissioner Hayt and also that month by a United States Senate investigating committee. Joseph told Hayt in no uncertain terms that he had surrendered with the promise of being returned to Idaho. In addition, he complained that the land they then occupied was not fertile, water was scarce and that he did not like it. The Commissioner agreed that the land was neither suitable nor desirable.[14] So Hayt took Joseph, Huses Kutte and A. J. Chapman, their interpreter, on a trip encompassing 250 miles through southern Kansas and the eastern part of the Cherokee Outlet in search of a more suitable home for Joseph's people. As it developed, Joseph was pleased only by land lying west of the new Ponca Agency, near the confluence of the Chikaskia and Salt Fork rivers in what is now Kay County, Oklahoma. Chief White Eagle of the Poncas welcomed the visitors to the fertile timbered land bounding Ponca country. Hayt, who had been much impressed by his visit to the Nez Percés, hoped that Joseph would choose this land for his new home. He con-

---

12 Endsley Jones to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Nov. 19, 1878, Quapaw Agency, Letters Received; H. W. Jones to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 6, 1878, *ibid.*; William Stickney to the Secretary of Interior, August 12, 1878, *ibid.*

13 Stickney to the Secretary of Interior, August 13, 1878, *ibid.*; H. W. Jones to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 27, 1878, *ibid.*; H. W. Jones to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 25, 1878, *ibid.*; United States Department of Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1878*, p. 563.

14 A. J. Chapman to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 9, 1878, Quapaw Agency, Letters Received; Chapman to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 22, 1878, *ibid.*; Endsley Jones to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 29, 1878, *ibid.*; E. A. Hayt to Carl Schurz, October 15, 1878, *ibid.*; United States Department of Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1878*, pp. 464–465.

Woodcut illustrating the surrender of Chief Joseph

sidered the Nez Percés as superior to the Osage and Pawnee, brighter than the Poncas and stressed that they should be placed where they would thrive.[15]

While Joseph was prepared to take the land he had visited, he had been buoyed by the recent visit of the senate committee, which had also seen that he was not acclimating well. Several of the senators had indicated to Joseph that Congress might create a reservation in the Northwest for his people, rather than keep them in Indian Territory. If that possibility failed, then Joseph would move to the land near the Poncas.[16]

To further their cause, Joseph and Yellow Bull traveled in January, 1879, to Washington, D.C., where they spoke to a large gathering in Lincoln Hall that included congressmen, cabinet members and diplomats. They were given an enthusiastic welcome and received frequent applause. "A general handshaking followed, the Indians appearing much delighted with the attention shown them."[17]

Their plight was publicized by the Washington newspapers. "If there is any noble red man it is Chief Joseph," heralded the Washington *Evening Star*. "He is an Indian without brutality, a merciful savage, a military genius who does not despise the art of peace." The *Washington Post* ran its human interest stories about Joseph under lurid titles, such as, "A Shameful Story," and "Broken Pledges," the latter being subtitled "How Red Joseph was sold by his white brethren." "My friends," the *Washington Post* quoted Joseph as saying at a January 15 meeting, "I am glad to see so many men whose hearts are good towards the Indian. My heart is not false. I have always told the white man that I did not want to leave my home." Joseph continued that he did not sell his land, and he believed that it was still his. "My heart is sad when I think of my home, which the Great Spirit gave my fathers." This speech was also warmly applauded, although there were no concrete results.[18]

The next day, the *Evening Star* claimed, "Chief Joseph has never surrendered by treaty with the government the land which he claims to own in Idaho, and to which he says it was promised at the time of his surrender that he should return." Actually, the land was the Wallowa Valley, which

---

[15] *Ibid.*; Major Ernest V. Chappell, *The Nez Percé in Kay County, Oklahoma* (Np., n.d.), p. 1.

[16] Chapman, "Nez Percés in Indian Territory, an Archival Study," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, Vol. I, p. 114; Chapman to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 19, 1878, Quapaw Agency, Letters Received; Chapman to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 22, 1878, *ibid.*

[17] *Evening Star* (Washington, D.C.), January 18, 1879.

[18] *Ibid.*, January 16, 1879, p. 2; *Washington Post* (Washington, D.C.), January 16, 1879 and January 18, 1879.

is located in northeastern Oregon. The paper continued, "There is no possibility that the government will consent to the removal of the Nez Percés from Indian Territory." The only thing that could be done, according to the *Evening Star*, was to compensate Joseph for the lost land by giving him a large fertile reservation which was both timbered and bountiful in running water. He could then be moved from the Quapaw Reserve, "the present objectionable locality," and all the Nez Percés could eventually be located there. It is highly doubtful that the Nez Percés on the Lapwai Reserve shared the same feelings with the newspaper.[19]

Thinking that they had gained some momentum, Joseph and Yellow Bull filed on January 31 a proposition in the Office of Indian Affairs wherein they offered to give up all claims to land in the Northwest in return for four townships to be chosen by them from good land in Indian Territory, plus a bonus of $250,000 and the expense of moving them. Commissioner Hayt considered the proposal a fair one, and the plan was sent to Congress with a favorable request for action, but none was taken. But arrangements for the move were made anyway, and the Nez Percés expressed a readiness to go there in a council on April 24. No title of land ownership was issued, but it was felt that Congress would eventually give the plan favorable action.[20]

In the meantime, Joseph had made yet another trip to Washington, this time in March, to present his case. He gave an interview, published in the April edition of the *North American Review*, in which he told the history of the misfortunes of the Nez Percés, a simple and straight-forward talk. Joseph's version of the war was rebutted in the July issue by Howard, his main opponent. Miles, writing generally of the Indian problem as a whole in an edition earlier that year, continued his dogged support of the Indian. He voiced the need the Indians had for a system of law, by which they could avoid controversies ending in bloodshed.

In his interview, Joseph spoke the words of his dying father, many years before, "A few more years and the white men will be all around you. They have their eyes on this land." His father's last words were, ". . . never sell the bones of your father and mother." Joseph buried him, "in that beautiful valley of Winding Waters. I love that land more than all the rest of the world." He closed with words of his father that were timeless and which everyone could take to heart, "no man owned any part of the earth, and a

---

[19] *Evening Star*, January 18, 1879. Chapman to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 12, 1879, Quapaw Agency, Letters Received.

[20] Berlin B. Chapman, "Nez Percés in Indian Territory, An Archival Study," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, Vol. I, p. 115; United States Department of Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1882*, p. 51.

man could not sell what he did not own." He further stated,"I do not believe that the Great Spirit Chief gave one kind of a man the right to tell another . . . what to do." And lastly, a frustrated pronouncement we can still relate to, "The white people have too many chiefs. They do not understand each other. . . ."[21]

As summer approached, the Nez Percés prepared to leave the Miami-Peoria lands which the Quapaw agent had purchased for them, in anticipation of the move to the 90,710 acre Oakland Reserve west of the Poncas the land which Joseph had liked when he traveled with the commissioner. A string of 65 wagons crossed the Chickaskia River in northern Indian Territory on June 14, 1879, and made camp at the junction of that river with the Salt Fork of the Arkansas. Loaded in the wagons, along with their baggage were the approximately 370 remaining Nez Percés. The 180 mile trek from the Quapaw Reserve to the Oakland was begun 8 days before, made with an additional 25 teams which the Indian Bureau had given them, because the Nez Percés, who had given up over 1,500 horses when they surrendered, did not have enough horses to make the trip.[22] The land to which they were sent is now included in Carlisle, Owen and Tonkawa townships and was then under the jurisdiction of the Ponca Agency. As they crossed the Chikaskia River, they no doubt realized that they would probably never see their homeland again.

Several of the Nez Percés died on the journey and more died in the following weeks. To make matters worse, they were left in the care of Ponca Agent William H. Whiteman, who had not received any instructions concerning his specific responsibilities, nor any official notification that the Nez Percés were even coming to his agency until a few days after their arrival, creating a very awkward situation for him. "I was greatly embarrassed," he wrote, "to know what to say to them or do for them, and until I know the intention of the Department concerning them, my embarrassment will continue." Absolutely no preparations were made for their coming, as had been the case at both Fort Leavenworth and Quapaw, "and the effect will be to discourage, and give them had impressions of the country . . . and gloomy apprehensions for the future." Joseph asked Agent Whiteman many pointed questions concerning his people's future, "to which I could make no reply, because I was utterly ignorant of the plans of the Department." Consequently, they spent the winter living only in primitive canvas tepees, victims of the rain and cold weather. Also, medi-

[21] Joseph, "An Indian's Views of Indian Affairs," *North American Review*, Vol. CXXVIII, pp. 412–433; Howard, "The True Story of the Wallowa Campaign, *ibid.*, Vol. CXXIX, p. 53; General Nelson A. Miles, "The Indian Problem," *ibid.*, Vol. CXXVII (April, 1879), pp. 304–314.

[22] Andrew B. Meacham, "Editorial Observations Among Indians," *The Council Fire*, Vol. II, No. 10 (October, 1879), p. 145; Chappell, *The Nez Percé in Kay County, Oklahoma*, p. 1.

cine was in extremely short supply, and the ill received no attention. While the government promised houses, stoves, plows and more horses and cattle, few of the promises were filled until several months after their arrival. Most of the Indians made their camp on the west bank of the Chikaskia, two miles from its junction with the Salt Fork. While this land was not equal agriculturally to the Ponca land, the agent believed that it was a good location and the Nez Percés were as healthy as could be expected.[23]

The exiles were visited in their new location in July 1879, by Andrew B. Meacham, former superintendent of Indian affairs in Oregon. At this time he was the editor of *The Council Fire*, a monthly journal dealing with the American Indian. While he was impressed by the potential of the natural resources in Joseph's new home, Meacham also observed their distress. Joseph was especially depressed and seemed to have lost all hope. Death had come often for his people, and the Great Spirit had all but deserted them. The chief thought his people were doomed and would all die within a few months. This was a sad contrast to their status in 1870, when they had been blessed with land, horses and cattle. Now all that had changed, and they were poor exiles dependent on government rations. However, houses had been ordered built by the commissioner, a doctor had been ordered and their improving health seemed to indicate better days if they could overcome their deep homesickness. Meacham pointed out that one-third of the band under Yellow Bull had moved away from the main camp and settled at a crossing several miles up the Salt Fork, where they began an attempt at farming and raising livestock. Yellow Bull requested seeds, tools, chickens and livestock from the agent so his band could become self-supporting. If only Joseph could follow this example, lamented Meacham, but the chief was controlled by the medicine man and made only a token attempt at farming. The work of three young educated Nez Percés from Idaho who had come late in 1878 to work with the exiles was noted. Working as preachers, farmers, interpreters and teachers, they had already claimed to have converted one third of the tribe to Christianity. Unfortunately, Mark Williams and Archie Lawyer both became weakened by the climate and returned to Idaho, while James Reuben remained until 1883 as teacher, preacher and interpreter.[24]

---

[23] William H. Whiteman, to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June 16, 1879, Ponca Agency, Letters Received, National Archives, Washington, D.C.; Whiteman to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 30, 1879, *ibid.*; Secretary of the Interior to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June 18, 1879, *ibid.*; Slickpoo, *Noon-Ne-Me-Poo*, p. 196; United States Department of Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Annual Affairs for the Year 1879* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1879), p. 180.

[24] Meacham, "Editorial Observations Among Indians," *The Council Fire*, Vol. II, pp. 145–146; James Reuben, Mark Williams and Archie Lawyer to Stickney, Dec. 15, 1878, Quapaw Agency, Letters Received; Kate C. McBeth, *The Nez Percé Since Lewis and Clark* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1908), p. 96.

Joseph, Chief of the Nez Percé

Commissioner Hayt reported that by November the exiles were being supplied with various items for their subsistence. These included agricultural tools, wagons, horses and cattle. As these items became more readily available, some of the Nez Percés gave gardening a try, and others began a cattle herd. The Nez Percés showed a natural disposition as herdsmen, but this potential skill was never fully realized because they did not have enough cattle. While their fame as horse breeders was already widely recognized, horses were more difficult to obtain than cattle. Nevertheless, even though the government had finally moved the Nez Percés to good land and had given them tools and supplies, expecting them to become peaceful farmers, "nothing erased the sorrow in their hearts."[25]

In an effort to help the exiles get back on their feet again, the government spent $100,000 during their six years at Oakland. These expenditures were not wasted, for even though the Nez Percés had never practiced traditional agriculture, they became admirable farmers. Suffering from drought, crop failure and trampling animals, plus an agonizingly slow Indian Bureau, they nevertheless managed to produce worthy yields. This was a remarkable feat in the face of a sick and dying population, a chronic lack of supplies and the ever-present desire to return home. By late summer 1879, the Nez Percés had already cut and stacked some seventy-five tons of hay for winter feed. The impressed agent had mistakenly thought the new arrivals would be adverse to hard work. From this humble beginning the Nez Percés proceeded to turn increasingly more to agriculture and with increased success.[26]

Whiteman asked for and received permission to purchase two mowing machines, two horse hay-rakes and twenty-four hay forks for the Nez Percés, shortly after their arrival. An agency farmer and assistant farmer were employed by 1880 to help the exiles in their drive toward self-subsistence, and they enjoyed a more fruitful harvest that year. That year's estimate for garden seeds was indeed impressive, and from these were produced an abundance of garden vegetables. An enthusiastic agent then requested fruit trees and vines for the Indians. Hit by a drought the next year, their crop was not as large as it should have been, but still considerably larger than the harvest the previous season. Much of the seed that should have arrived in time for spring planting never came. Some of the tribe bought their own seeds, but planting time had passed. From then on, in

[25] United States Department of Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1879*, p. 100; Merrill D. Beal, *"I Will Fight No More Forever"* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1963), p. 285; Slickpoo, *Noon-Ne-Me-Poo*, p. 195.

[26] United States Department of Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1879*, p. 181; Berlin B. Chapman, "Nez Percés in Indian Territory, An Archival Study," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, Vol. I, p. 116.

The Reverend Robert Williams, the first ordained minister to the Nez Percés

spite of similar temporary setbacks, such as another drought in 1884, the Nez Percés produced good harvests and drew praise from officials for their peaceful agrarian habits. No doubt they secretly hoped that by their good works and faithful adherence to peace, they might be allowed to return to their homeland.[27]

The exiles were also pursuing commendable religious and educational pursuits. James Reuben's day school, which opened in February, 1879, was soon being run with an average daily attendance of twenty. By the next year, this number had nearly tripled, and the school was filled to capacity, well-attended even in the coldest weather. The more advanced students were able to go on to the new Industrial School at the Ponca Agency or the

---

[27] Secretary of the Interior to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June 24, 1879, Ponca Agency, Letters Received; William Whiting, to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1880, *ibid.*; Andrew R. Satterthwaite to E. J. Brooks, February 14, 1880, *ibid.*; Satterthwaite to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 26, 1880, *ibid.*; United States Department of Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1881*, pp. 335–337.

Chilocco Boarding School near Arkansas City, Kansas. In the spring of 1880, five Nez Nercé children were taken to the Carlisle School in Pennsylvania. Only four were originally authorized to go, but the special agent in charge could not refuse to leave the pleading fifth child behind. Whether he just wanted to be with his friends or whether he was that enthusiastic about the school is not known, but the former sounds more plausible in view of the rigidity of the Carlisle School. Soon work was begun on the foundation for a new larger school and supplies were ordered. Reuben's efforts so pleased the agent that he ordered a cabinet organ for the day and Sunday schools. The Nez Percés were seen by the agent as an industrious people, ready and willing to help themselves. Commissioner E. M. Marble was similarly impressed with the work of the educated Nez Percé man from Idaho, not only as a teacher, but also as a missionary. Reuben's outdoor religious services were attended by the entire tribe, even though only 124 had officially joined the church. Not only was attendance good, but the Nez Percés were an attentive and well-behaved congregation. Their positive attitude led Marble to believe that they would soon reach prosperity.[28]

Indeed, the exiles were displaying proficiency in other fields of endeavor as well. While improvements for their benefit were almost non-existent by the end of 1879, except for a nearly completed warehouse, the agent hoped confidently to begin other necessary buildings as soon as possible. He requested two counter scales, one platform scales and two warehouse trucks, noting that the agency had no truck and that the labor of moving incoming supplies by hand was too great. He also ordered 110 cookstoves to be installed in the contemplated Nez Percé houses. While the Ponca sawmill was not large enough to handle the capacity of lumber needed for both tribes, a new larger one was ordered for the Poncas in 1880, and the Nez Percés were given the old one. They soon set it up and began sawing lumber for houses, of which they had built four by August. These four were for the chiefs, but the agent hoped to have them all housed by winter, although

---

[28] United States Department of Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1880* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1880), pp. 107, 207; United States Department of Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1881*, pp. 152, 335–337; United States Department of Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1882*, pp. 136–137, 395. Chappell, *The Nez Percé in Kay County, Oklahoma*, p. 2; Whiteman to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 27, 1879, Ponca Agency, Letters Received; Whiteman to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 17, 1879, *ibid.*, Whiting to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June 5, 1880, *ibid.*; Whiting to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 8, 1880, *ibid.*; Whiting to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 23, 1880, *ibid.*; Secretary of the Interior to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 30, 1879, *ibid.*; Inspector William J. Pollack to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 2, 1880, *ibid.*; United States Department of Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1884*, pp. 133–134.

this proved unrealistic. An engineer was in charge of the sawmill and a carpenter in charge of construction, both white employees, but Indians were employed where possible and did much of the work, soon becoming skilled in their respective jobs, whether it be assistant engineer, herder or carpenter's apprentice. In at least one instance, a white carpenter was dismissed so that an equally skilled Indian could be employed, albeit at a lower rate of pay. The sawmill also produced an astonishing amount of firewood, fence posts and shingles annually. With only twenty-three teams of horses, the Nez Percés hauled all their supplies the one hundred miles from the railroad terminus and also hauled all their own logs to build the houses and other necessary buildings on their reserve. Eventually, they built thirty-eight houses while at Oakland, there being enough timber on their land for construction purposes.[29]

This availability and abundance of timber on their reserve caused the Nez Percés much grief, as white settlers were constantly cutting and stealing wood. At one point the Ponca agent estimated that more than 1,000 loads of wood had been stolen in a 30 day period. Unfortunately, the nearest court having appropriate jurisdiction was 250 miles away in Fort Smith, Arkansas. Thus, there was no deterrent to the lumber thieves, and the agent could not effectively cover such a large area himself. In addition, there were "many lawless men making their appearance in this part of the Territory, committing murders and robbery wherever they go." Agent Whiteman considered travel in the area dangerous and recommended that one dozen Winchester rifles and 1,000 rounds of ammunition be issued for use by the Indian police in case of emergency.[30]

The Ponca Agency Indian police, on which six Nez Percés served, were proud of the trust and responsibility placed in them. They responded by playing an important part in keeping law and order during this difficult time. The Nez Percés and Ponca land covered some of the choicest tracts of the 6,000,000 acre Cherokee Outlet and attracted illegal settlers, cattlemen

[29] United States Department of Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1879,* p. 181; United States Department of Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1880,* p. 207; United States Department of Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1881,* pp. 152, 337; United States Department of Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1882,* pp. 51–52, 137; United States Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1883* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1883), pp. 44, 137, 331; Pollack to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 7, 1880, Ponca Agency, Letters Received; Satterthwaite to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 11, 1880, *ibid.*

[30] Whiteman to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 23, 1879, *ibid.*; Whiteman to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 8, 1879, *ibid.*; Whiteman to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 25, 1879, *ibid.*; War Department to Whiteman, October 9, 1879, *ibid.*

and lumber thieves. This encroachment was a problem faced by most of the Indian tribes of Indian Territory in some degree. Many of the settlers and cattlemen claimed authority to settle or graze cattle granted them by the Cherokee Nation. The agent believed that "the government, by conceding to the Cherokee tribe of Indians jurisdiction and control over this part of the Territory has practically opened it to settlement." One of the more prominent settlers was James M. Bell, who claimed membership in the Cherokee tribe, although "in none of them is there the least indication of Indian blood." Whiteman ordered Bell and his colony out of Indian Territory and the Indian police helped escort the illegal settlers to the Kansas state line, in addition to evicting six wagon loads of emigrants on their way to Bell's settlement. An alert Nez Percé policeman in 1880 arrested a white rabble-rouser, a Mr. Tibbles, caught trespassing on the Oakland Reserve. Tibbles had built up quite a reputation for incessantly trying to incite the Poncas to move off the reservation. These and other efforts of the Nez Percé police exemplified the efforts of the whole tribe to make the land their home as best they could.[31]

Often the trespassers were not people, but cattle. During their Oakland exile, the Nez Percés had come under increasing pressure to lease their land to white ranchers who wanted to use the land for grazing their cattle. The reserve was surrounded by large cattle ranches, and cattle often trampled hay and corn fields, even gardens. Ranchers often pastured their herds on Indian land and refused to move them. Though the commissioner was against allowing private leases on Indian land, cattlemen kept up the pressure, pointing out that many cattle were already grazing on the land illegally, so the Nez Percés might as well be paid for it. So Agent John W. Scott used his discretionary power and allowed the tribe to enter into grazing agreements.[32]

Selected by the council, Joseph, Yellow Bull and Huses Kutte went to the Cowley County Courthouse in Winfield, Kansas, where they made an agreement with a rancher from Arkansas City, R. A. Houghton. He was allowed by this agreement in February, 1884, to lease 75,000 acres of land on the Oakland Reserve. The Nez Percés were to receive $2,000 a year in return. Houghton also agreed to fence any part of the leased area already occupied by the Nez Percé and arranged to give all improvements made on the land to the Indians when the lease expired. As the land was unproductive any-

---

[31] Whiteman to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 4, 1879, *ibid.*; Schurz to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 22, 1879, *ibid.*; Whiteman to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 26, 1879, *ibid.*; Whiting to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 15, 1880, *ibid.*

[32] Slickpoo, *Noon-Ne-Me-Poo*, p. 199.

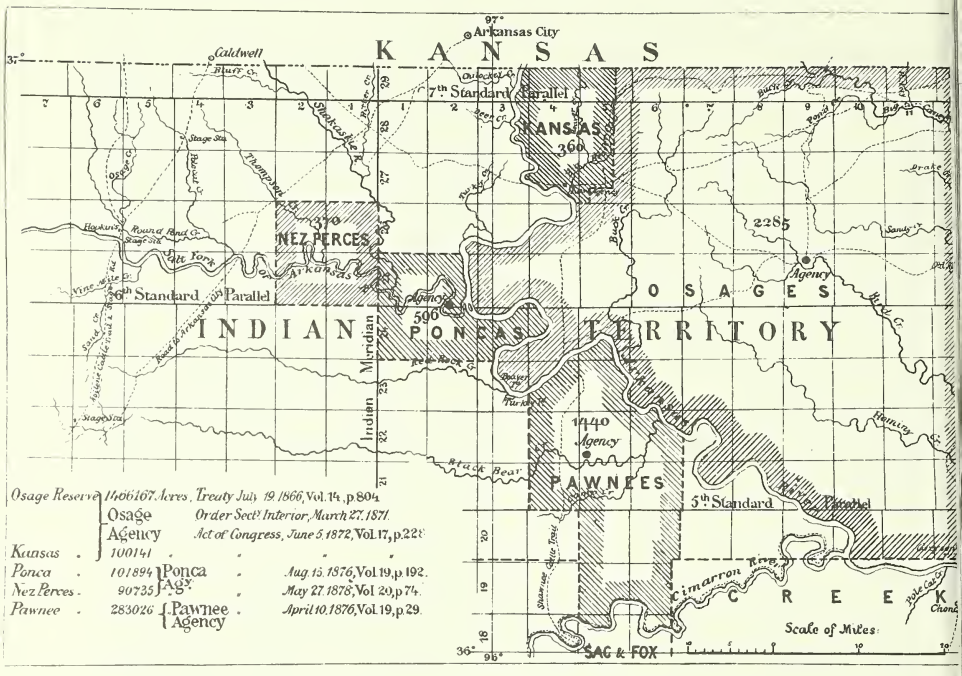
way, the added income was warmly welcomed by budding Nez Percé businessmen.[33]

Charges and countercharges of dishonesty and illegal activities were leveled not only at settlers and ranchers, but also at officials of both the Quapaw and Ponca agencies. These disruptions determined in large part how efficiently the respective agencies were run and to what degree the Nez Percés were subjected to additional suffering because of the bureaucratic feuding. Agent H. W. Jones of the Quapaw Agency, the first agent encountered by the Nez Percés in Indian Territory, came under fire from several directions. C. J. Buckingham of Poughkeepsie, New York, who visited the Quapaw Agency shortly after Commissioner Hayt in October 1878, held Agent Jones responsible for a series of misdeeds. Due to the apalling conditions at the Nez Percé camp, the agent was blamed for allowing the Indians to die from both lack of food and medicine and for the dysentery caused by rotten flour and uneatable beef. He "should be made to disgorge some of his illgotten gains and . . . indicted for manslaughter." Buckingham further indicated that there was plenty of evidence to support the latter charge. Of course, one of the main reasons for sending this fiery letter to the Indian Bureau was to suggest another gentleman for the job, one he personally knew.[34] Whether the charges against Jones were true or not is difficult to determine. While the Nez Percés did suffer miserably at the Quapaw Agency from lack of medicine and supplies, Jones constantly sent letters and telegrams to the Indian Bureau pleading for these to be sent. He was finally forced to purchase the needed items on the open market.

The official Nez Percé interpreter, A. J. Chapman, also had little regard for Agent Jones, but the feeling was mutual. Chapman accused the agent of cheating the Nez Percés on their beef issues, among other things, and a week later, in February, 1879, the interpreter was out of a job, dismissed by the agent. The government, however, soon reinstated him. Chapman's influence over Chief Joseph and Yellow Bull was deeply resented by James Reuben and the other two educated Nez Percés from Idaho, who had hoped to be able to exert their own influence over the exiles. Reuben claimed he was the only one qualified to interpret Joseph's eloquent speeches and accused Chapman of advising the Nez Percés to cause trouble. The same charges were leveled by Chapman against Reuben and his friends. Reuben was extremely upset that he was not allowed to accompany Joseph to Washington on his trip in January, 1879, and put the blame on Chapman. As Chapman was forced to pay the trip expenses out of his own pocket, including

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 200. Chappell, "The Nez Percé in Kay County, Oklahoma," p. 4.

[34] C. J. Buckingham to J. M. Ketchmer, December 2, 1878, Quapaw Agency, Letters Received.



Map showing the location of the Nez Percé Reservation on the Salt Fork of the Arkansas River in the Cherokee Outlet

those of Joseph and Yellow Bull, and had a difficult time settling with the government, perhaps Reuben was lucky that he didn't go![35]

At the Ponca Agency, a succession of four agents and one acting agent during the six-year exile of the Nez Percés indicated the lack of stability there. William H. Whitman, the Nez Percés' first Ponca agent, was "previous to his appointment . . . a dishonest man, possessing no ability to transact any kind of business, and a lawyer without a reputation . . . ," besides being a "crook," accused of embezzlement. Answering these charges brought by his clerk, Andrew R. Satterthwaite, Whiteman claimed, "I have done more work in less time, and for less money than was ever done at any Indian agency before." However, the special inspector sent to examine the charges brought against the agent apparently did not feel that Whiteman's evaluation of himself was completely accurate, for after taking 100 pages of depositions, the inspector concluded that the agency affairs

[35] Arthur J. Chapman to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, February 13, 1879, *ibid.*; Chapman to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 16, 1878, *ibid.*; Chapman to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Nov. 10, 1878, *ibid.*; Chapman to Schurz, April 17, 1880, Ponca Agency, Letters Received.

were loosely managed and that a new agent should be sent. At the very least, the evidence was "damaging as to the Capabilities, if not the honesty, of the Agent. . . ." Even the Nez Percés spoke bitterly toward the agent in a council in which he was present. They complained that their rations were continually short and late. Because Chapman, their interpreter, had since left his post, the Nez Percés attributed this inequity to his absence. They believed they could get better representation from him than from Reuben, who had taken his place. To bring partial remedy to the scene, Whiteman was relieved. Obviously, the welfare of the Nez Percé was not always the central concern of most of the agents, and both neglect and willful corruptness contributed to the exiles' already difficult situation.[36]

The primary manifestation of this precarious situation was the steadily dwindling Nez Percé population. Out of the 431 who had been gathered at Fort Leavenworth in 1878, only 287 were left by the end of 1884. This alarming drop, in spite of their economic progress, was explained differently by the various agents. Whiteman noted that a large portion of the population consisted of old people and children, as many of the young men and women were killed in the war, and the death rate was high because children and old people were more susceptible to disease. He also claimed that a high number of northern Indians suffered from lung diseases which prevented them from living much longer in any climate. Though he acknowledged the devastating effects which malaria had on the northern Indians in Indian Territory, he insisted that pulmonary lung diseases brought from the north caused more deaths than malaria. Congress also seemed content with their new home, for by an act of June 1880, the Oakland land was purchased for the Nez Percé from the Cherokees for $300,000.[37]

More understanding, Agent Thomas Jordan, in 1881, believed the cause was a lack of acclimation and also because they were living in tepees which had become rotten and were inadequate for keeping out the spring rains. Numbering then only 328, he predicted they would soon become extinct, a very realistic view not shared by his optimistic predecessor. This would be a painful end to the "most intelligent, truthful and truly religious" tribe Jordan had known. The commissioner therefore recommended that the

---

[36] Whiteman to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 18, 1879, *ibid.*; Satterthwaite to Chapman, December 8, 1879, *ibid.*; Chapman to A. B. Meacham, January 21, 1880, *ibid.*; J. C. Naylor to Satterthwaite, December 4, 1879, *ibid.*; Dr. L. P. Patty, to Hayt, January 3, 1880, *ibid.*

[37] Slickpoo, *Noon-Ne-Me-Poo*, p. 195; United States Department of Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1879*, p. 181; United States Department of Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1880*, pp. 107, 367; Chappell, *The Nez Percé in Kay County, Oklahoma*, p. 2; Berlin B. Chapman, "The Nez Percés in Indian Territory, An Archival Study," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, Vol. I, p. 116.

remaining tribal members be sent back to Idaho by the next spring, if possible, hoping that Congress might appropriate the funds necessary to send them home. If this failed, he hoped that at least the Nez Percé would receive title to the Oakland Reserve. Their peaceful behavior was commended by the commissioner, as were the valiant attempts at self-support. He viewed their results as remarkable considering their plight.

Lewellyn E. Woodin, the new Ponca Agent in 1883, followed his predecessor by lauding Nez Percé progress. He believed that they would continue to do better each year in their drive toward civilization and self-subsistence, but Woodin completely ignored the death rate.[38] An indication that all was not well with the Nez Percé was seen in the return of thirty-three Nez Percés, mostly widows and orphans, to Idaho in May 1883, accompanied by James Reuben. Upon their arrival at the Lapwai reservation, they were treated with sympathy and kindness by their kinsmen. Proposed by the Indian Bureau and approved by the War Department, the plan was followed by a public cry for the return of the rest of the tribe, but it was not to occur for another two years. Most of the whites of the Northwest were still strongly opposed to the return of the Nez Percés, and indictments were still outstanding for some of them. A sense of unfortunate permanency was added to the exiles' situation when they received title to the Oakland Reserve June 14, 1883, exactly four years after their arrival.[39]

Fewer Nez Percés died in 1884 than usual, so the new agent, John W. Scott, thought their sanitary condition was somewhat improved and predicted this trend would continue, as only those that were healthy and fit were left alive. A look at the statistics for the Pawnee Indians, located at the Pawnee Agency southeast of the Ponca Agency, will show that they, too, suffered terribly from the change in climate. They had already lost over 800 in the first two years after they were removed to Indian Territory, from a total of 2,376. By 1877, the time of the Nez Percés' surrender, they numbered only 1,521. Interfering less with economic growth than with population growth, the climate in Indian Territory produced summers that were too hot and debilitating damp winters. The northern Indians were used to cool summers, cold winters and higher elevation. The Nez Percé dead were buried in the burial ground at the Oakland Reserve. Dr. George

---

[38] United States Department of Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1881*, pp. 152, 337, 355; United States Department of Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1882*, pp. 51–52, 136–137; United States Department of Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1883*, pp. 44, 137.

[39] *Ibid.*, p. 137; United States Department of Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1882*, p. 52; *The Daily Oklahoman* (Oklahoma City), November 20, 1910.

Spinning visited the reserve and counted the graves of 100 children. Nearly all those born there died, he reported. Chief Joseph's daughter, born during the war, was among those who fell victim. Another was Halahtookit, an elderly Indian said to be the natural son of William Clark, of the Meriwether Lewis and Lewis Clark expedition.[40]

During this time of both suffering and success, eastern civic groups, churches and philanthropists were echoing the Nez Percé plea to be returned to the Northwest. This movement gathered intensity in the early 1880s. Partial success of this effort resulted in the return of the 33 widows and orphans in 1883. Letters, telegrams and petitions supporting the Nez Percé cause finally culminated in the passage of an act on July 4, 1884, giving the secretary of the interior the power to decide the future of Joseph's band. He could now return them to the Northwest if he saw fit. Joyous over this news, the Nez Percés expected to be sent home at once. But the government was still cautious about white tensions in Idaho. So a plan was formulated by which the exiles would be divided: those not under indictment and the more progressive Nez Percés would be sent to Lapwai under the leadership of Huses Kutte. The rest would be sent to the Colville Reservation in northern Washington under Joseph's guidance.[41]

This plan was transmitted to the agent, Scott, and he presented it to the Nez Percés at a council in the fall of 1884. They were happy over the news, but Joseph objected to going to Colville, thinking he had been punished enough. However, Joseph finally agreed to the plan, as a return to the Northwest was the main objective. Plans were made, and the supplies purchased for the trip, but continued apprehension among government officials postponed the removal for seven months.[42]

Finally, on May 21, 1885, the Nez Percés left the Oakland Reserve for Arkansas City, where they would go by train to the Northwest. Their belongings were piled in thirty-four wagons which also carried a few women, children and old people. Most were on foot and they struggled through deep mud caused by spring rains. Out of the original 431 gathered in Kansas, only 268 left Indian Territory. Before boarding the train on May 22, Joseph, Yellow Bull and Huses Kutte signed papers relinquishing

---

40 United States Department of Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1884*, pp. 133–134; Chappell, *The Nez Perce in Kay County, Oklahoma*, pp. 4–6; Kate McBeth, *The Nez Percé Since Lewis and Clark*, p. 97.

41 Beal, "*I Will Fight No More Forever*," pp. 288–289.

42 Slickpoo, *Noon-Ne-Me-Poo*, p. 200; United States Department of Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1885* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1885), p. 57; United States House of Representatives, *Estimate for Nez Percé Removal, 1885* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1885); Beal, *I Will Fight No More Forever*, p. 293; Chappell, *The Nez Percé in Kay County, Oklahoma*, p. 5.

all claims to the Oakland land, which reverted back to government ownership. When the train left Arkansas City, the Nez Percés began moaning and crying in memory of the more than 100 dead left behind in the Nez Percé burial ground.[43]

Of the Nez Percés who returned to the Northwest, 118 were taken to the Lapwai Reservation in Idaho, to join their fellow tribesmen, while 150 more were exiled once again. Joseph and these Nez Percés, sent to the Colville Reserve, were destined to remain here. Nevertheless, Joseph continued his efforts to have the Nez Percés returned to their homeland, the Wallows Valley. He died in 1904, only four years after seeing his native valley and the grave of his father for the last time. All of Joseph's nine children were dead. One died during the Colville exile, two died in Indian Territory and the rest died in Idaho. According to agency physician, Joseph "died of a broken heart while sitting before his tepee fire."[44]

So ended the tragic chapter of the Nez Percé exile in Indian Territory, the culmination of a disastrous series of events. The exile itself was a tragedy, but it was brightened somewhat by their remarkable economic achievements in the face of death. The exiles demonstrated an amazing amount of adaptability, as evidenced by their work in agriculture, at the sawmill, and in construction, education and religion, things that did not form a part of their traditional past. In spite of a chronic lack of supplies at both agencies, and very little medicine, the Nez Percés proved that they could still make the best of a bad situation and adapt themselves to the work at hand. When they returned to the Northwest, they continued to demonstrate this adaptability, both at Colville and at Lapwai, and new talents are being developed even now to try and meet the demands of a new world. But their past must remain as important to them as their future, and the Nez Percé past is a noble one. Hopefully it will help guide their future.

For their part, the government finally realized that both justice and humanity required the removal of the Nez Percés back to the Northwest. But the realization that they could not survive much longer at Oakland took fearfully long, and cost the Nez Percés an enormous price. But the removal of Indian tribes to Indian Territory was common at that time, some of the tribes being anxious to reach the relative freedom which Indian Territory offered. There was talk of moving many tribes there and certainly not all of the Indians there suffered on the scale of the Nez Percés or

---

[43] United States Department of Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1885*, p. 322; Chappell, *The Nez Percé in Kay County, Oklahoma*, p. 5.

[44] *Ibid.*; United States Department of Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1885*, p. 322; Berlin B. Chapman, "The Nez Percés in Indian Territory: An Archival Study," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, Vol. I, p. 121.

the Pawnee, who were not allowed to return to their old homes. Other tribes who suffered, in addition to the Nez Percé, were allowed to return to their original climate, such as the Northern Cheyenne. But there seemed to be no method to the policy followed by the government. There was no guarantee which tribes were allowed to return and which were not. Indian Territory might have been an appropriate place for some tribes, and even a welcome home, but for others it was disastrous. If the government could have realized this and followed a policy incorporating this theory, there would have been more satisfaction on both sides of the fence. However, the consideration of the welfare and happiness of the American Indian was not often evident in the official policy followed by the United States, and many Indians died needlessly.

Even in the case of the Nez Percés, when they were finally repatriated, more than one-half their number were sent into another exile. Perhaps they thought that the lesson would be lost if all the Nez Percés were returned to Idaho. But they were overlooking the fact that none of the Nez Percés were allowed to return to their beloved Wallowa Valley. This was the final tragedy.

☆ NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

THE WHALE'S RIFLE

*By Dr. Brad Agnew**

During the Indian wars of the nineteenth century scores of soldiers were recognized for acts of courage in combat. Medals, ceremonial swords, or other symbols of the nation's appreciation were duly presented, but within a generation or two most of the heroic deeds of these men were forgotten. The case of a Cherokee warrior named the Whale is unusual. His conspicuous act of valor at the Battle of Horseshoe Bend in 1814 earned special presidential commendation and the promise of a ceremonial rifle and silver medal.

Twenty-nine years after the battle the Whale informed Cherokee Agent Pierce M. Butler that he had never received his rifle or medal.[1] His letter and the correspondence it generated preserved a heroic and colorful moment in the history of a battle that served as Andrew Jackson's springboard to the presidency. Writing from Park Hill in the Cherokee Nation the Whale recounted his role in the Battle of Horseshoe Bend in the following letter:

Park Hill Cherokee Nation
February 18th 1843

My Friend and Brother

Permit me to state that at the commencement of the memorable battle fought at the Horse Shoe on the 27th day of March 1814 between the forces under the command of Major Genl. Andrew Jackson and the Hostile Creek Indians, the Cherokee Regiment together with the mounted Tennessee Troops under Genl. Coffee were posted on the opposite side of the river so as to surround the bend and prevent the Enemy escaping across the river in their canoes.

In order to enable the Cherokee Warriors to engage in the conflict, myself and two other Warriors swam the river to secure some of the canoes. Upon reaching the opposite shore I received a gun-shot wound from the enemy. My associates however, succeeded in taking two of the canoes and conveyed me over to my Company. By this exploit our Warriors were enabled to cross the river and obtain other canoes by which they succeeded in carrying over a force strong enough to attack the Enemy in the rear. And

* The author is Associate Professor of History at Northeastern Oklahoma State University.

1 Pierce M. Butler served as an army officer at Fort Smith and Cantonment Gibson in the 1820s. He was elected governor of South Carolina in 1836, accepted an appointment as Cherokee agent in 1841 and served in that capacity until 1846. The following year Butler was killed in combat at Churubusco, Mexico.

by keeping up a hot fire soon dislodged them from their breast works. They were then pursued and engaged in personal renconter until the victory was gained. For this Conduct, upon the representation of the Cherokee Officers through our then Agent, Colo. R. J. Meigs President Madison in 1816 ordered three elegant silver mounted Rifles to be expressly made at Harper's Ferry, to be presented to my associates and self who first swam the river together with a silver medal to each with his own likeness impressed on the same. The rifle intended for me had the following inscription engraved on a silver plate.

"Presented by James Madison President of the U. S. to *The Whale*, a Cherokee Warrior for his signal valour & Heroism at the battle of the Horse Shoe in March 1814." Neither the rifle nor medal has ever been delivered to me for the reason, as I have since been informed that they were delivered by the Agent, at the instance of Major Walker to a wrong person. My object in stating these facts, to you at this time is to inquire whether the Testimonials of President Madison for my conduct on that occasion which have thus been conferred upon a wrong person cannot or will not be made good to me by President Tyler according to the instructions of his illustrious Predecessor. Your aid in this application will be thankfully acknowledged by

Your friend & Brother
The Whale X
alias
Tahgus[2]

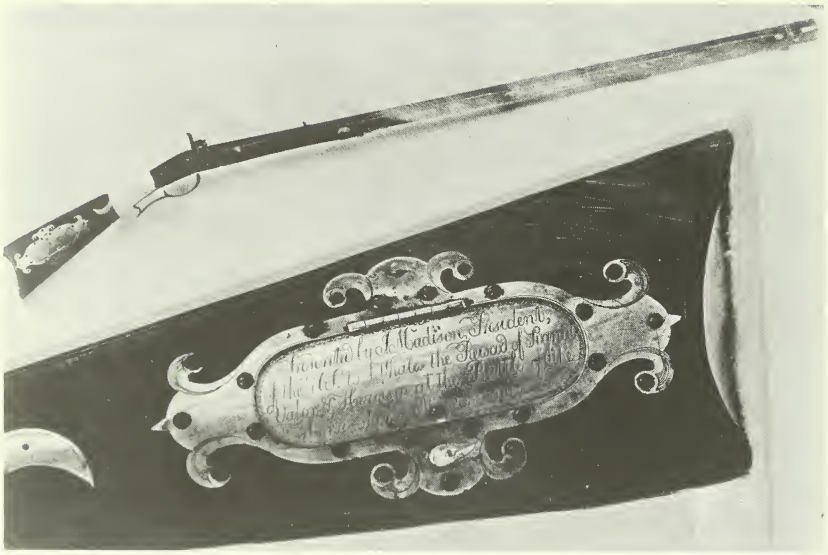
Test.
John Ross

Lewis Ross, brother of Cherokee Chief John Ross, attached the following paragraph to the Whale's letter:

This will certify that I was living at the Cherokee [Agency] East at the time the forgoing mentioned Guns [were] delivered at that place. and that I saw the Gun that was intended for the Whale. his name being engraved on the Box. I know the statement made by the Whale about his not getting the Gun to be true. there was also a Medal accompanying the Gun as stated by him. I am well acquainted with the Whale he is a dis-

---

[2] The Whale to Gov. P. M. Butler, February 18, 1843, Letters Received, Office of Indian Affairs, 1824–1881, Cherokee Agency, 1843, Microcopy 234, Roll 87. In this and subsequent letters, spelling and punctuation have been reproduced just as they were originally written. The river mentioned in the letter is the Tallapoosa in Alabama. General John Coffee, a personal friend of Andrew Jackson, commanded the Middle Tennessee Mounted Rifle Brigade in the Creek War of 1813–1814 and served under Jackson at the Battle of New Orleans. As president, Jackson appointed Coffee a commissioner to negotiate the Choctaw removal treaty. Return Jonathan Meigs was a veteran of the American Revolution who served as Cherokee agent from 1801 until his death in 1823. John Walker was one of four Cherokees who held the rank of major in the Creek War. He distinguished himself in combat at the battle of Horseshoe Bend.



In 1914 this ceremonial rifle, ordered by the President of the United States to honor the bravery of a Cherokee warrior, was displayed at the centennial celebration of the battle of Horseshoe Bend

tinguished Warrior amongst his people and a Good man Whose representation may be relyed on—

Lewis Ross[3]

Feby 18, 1843.

Cherokee Agent Butler forwarded the Whale's request to the commissioner of Indian affairs, T. Hartley Crawford, with the following letter:

Fort Gibson, Cherokee Nation
May 10, 1843

Sir

I have the honor to enclose a communication from "The Whale—"(a Cherokee Warrior) to me—relative to a Rifle and Medal—intended for him—for valorous conduct—at the "battle of Horseshoe,"—and request that his application may be complied with having evidence that he is the person intended, and satisfied as to the truth of his statement—that he "never has received either the rifle or medal;"—which not only in justice he is entitled to,—but from policy should be presented to him.—It may be a small matter to Government—still it is of considerable consequence to him,—as a testi-

[3] Endorsement to The Whale's letter by Lewis Ross, February 18, 1843, *Ibid*. Parts of this letter were illegible; words bracketed were deduced from context and length.

monial of regard for "valorous conduct as a warrior."—which in the eyes of an Indian, is the greatest honor that can be conferred;—it has great influence in convincing them of the justice of our Govt. in rewarding those who have been of Service; and act as an incentive to others.

The Govt. should at all times be willing & ready to reward those who have sustained injury in his behalf—more especially Indians,—whose friendship and aid can be more securely obtained by such acts,—than by any mode of reasoning—or moral obligations which may be imposed

Very Respectfully
Your Obt. Servt.
P. M. Butler
Cherokee Agent

T. Hartley Crawford Esq.
Commr. of Ind. Affairs
Washington City
D. C.[4]

The commissioner of Indian affairs apparently sent the Whale's request to the secretary of war. He referred the letter to his chief of ordnance, Lieutenant Colonel George Talcott, who returned the correspondence to Secretary of War James Mason Porter with the following suggestion:

Ordnance Office
Washington 3d August 1843

Hon J. M. Porter
Secretary of War
Sir

In relation to the letter of the Indian Warrior Whale, asking that a Rifle & medal promised him by President Madison, for valourous conduct at the Battle of the Horse shoe in 1814, may now be given him; I have the honor to report that, Rifles mounted in the manner described, have usually been made at private armories; from which, they can be obtained of any description and mounted according to order, at a much less rate than they can be expected to cost at a National Armory, where the tools and patterns are provided for the fabrication of plain soldier's arms only, and of a uniform calibre. I therefore respectfully suggest that a good Rifle be produced by purchase at Philadelphia or elsewhere, suitably ornamented and with such inscriptions as may be deemed proper for the occasion.

Mr. Butler's letter & its enclosure are returned herewith.

I am Sir, Very Respectfully
Your Obt. Servt.
G. Talcott
Lt. Col. Ordns.[5]

[4] Butler to Crawford, May 10, 1843, *Ibid.*
[5] Talcott to Porter, August 3, 1843, *Ibid.*

Secretary Porter accepted Talcott's suggestion and sent the following letter to the Whale:

War Department of the United States
Washington City, August 19, 1843

"Whale" or Tahgus To the
Cherokee Nation
Brother:

Governor Butler, the agent of your nation, has shewn me the letter which you addressed to him in February last.

I regret that any other person should have obtained the rifle and medal intended by your Great Father for yourself, and have endeavored to remedy the evil as far as could be done by having another rifle prepared with a suitable inscription commemorative of your gallantry at the Horse Shoe in March 1814, and forwarding the same with two medals to you.

On one of those medals, as well as upon a plate inserted in the stock of the rifle, you will find impressed the likeness of the gallant General under whom you fought, who yet lives in venerable and respected old age, enjoying the esteem of a grateful country. On the other medal is impressed the likeness of your great Father, the President of the United States, by whose directions the rifle and medals are presented to you.

That you may long live, esteemed by your brethren and enjoy the retrospect of a well spent life is the sincere wish of your friend and Brother,

J. M. Porter[6]

Newspapers around the country reported Secretary Porter's decision. One such account written by the Washington correspondent for the *Baltimore Sun* summarized the Whale's role in the battle and the developments in his request for the rifle and medal in the following article:

RESTORATION OF A RIFLE TO A CHEROKEE WARRIOR

On the 27th, March 1814, General Jackson fought the celebrated battle at the Horse-Shoe with the Creek Indians. The General posted the Cherokee Regiment, together with the mounted Tennessee volunteers, under General Coffee, on the opposite side of the river, so as to surround the band, and prevent the enemy escaping in their canoes. In order to enable the Cherokees to engage in the conflict, "*Whale*," a Cherokee warrior of great bravery and resolution, with two companions swam the river and carried two of the Creek canoes across the river to their company. This enabled the Cherokees to obtain their canoes. with which they succeeded in carrying over a force strong enough to attack the enemy in their rear and dislodge them from their breastworks. "Whale" received a gun-shot wound in the shoulder, in taking one of the first canoes. In 1816, President Madison

[6] Porter to Whale, August 19, 1843, Letters Sent by the Secretary of War Relating to Military Affairs, 1800–1889, Microcopy 6, Roll 25.

had three rifles made at Harper's Ferry to be presented to the three warriors who first swam the river together with medals to each. The rifle intended for "Whale," however, he never got—another person having obtained it. On the fact being communicated to the War Department by Governor Butler, the agent of the Cherokees, the Secretary of War has had another rifle prepared, to be presented to the Old Warrior. There is on it, a plate-likeness of General Jackson, and a silver plate is inserted in the stock with this inscription: "Presented by the President of the United States to *"WHALE", a Cherokee Warrior, for his signal valor and heroism at the battle of the Horse-Shoe, in March, 1814."* This rifle accompanied by the medal, will be presented to him by Governor Butler, (now here) on his return to the Cherokee agency. The mounting and engraving on this rifle has been executed in a beautiful and workmanlike manner, by Mr. Robert Keyworth, Pennsylvania Avenue.—*Washington Correspondent Baltimore Sun.*—

The Columbus Democrat September 9, 1843[7]

Neither Cherokee Agency correspondence nor newspapers published in Arkansas, which usually carry news of the Indian Territory, record that Butler actually presented the rifle to the Whale. Over eighty years later, however, a rifle was displayed at the centennial celebration of the Battle of Horseshoe Bend in Tallapoosa County, Alabama. A plate on the stock bore the following inscription:

> Presented by J. Madison, President, of the U. S. to Whale the Reward of Signal Valor & Heroism at the Battle of the Horseshoe March, 1814

Since the inscription is not precisely as reported by the correspondent of the *Baltimore Sun*, it is possible that this rifle could have been the one ordered by Madison in 1816 from Harper's Ferry. On the other hand the absence of a United States Arsenal stamp on the rifle suggests that the weapon might have been procured in 1843 from a private arms firm at the recommendation of Lieutenant Colonel Talcott. In either case the rifle endures as a tribute to a forgotten Cherokee warrior and his courage in the face of the enemy over a century and a half ago.

---

[7] *The Columbus* [Mississippi] *Democrat*, September 9, 1843, reprinted in Peter A. Brannon, "Whale's Rifle," *Arrow Points*, VI (January, 1923), 47–48.

EDUCATION AND THE AMERICAN INDIAN: THE ROAD TO SELF-DETERMINATION, 1928–1973. By Margaret Szasz. (Albuquerque: University of New Meixco Press, 1977. Pp. xvii, 252. Illustrations. Maps. Elipogue. Bibliography. Index. $5.95.)

Imagine a small Navajo boy who just entered a boarding school of the Bureau of Indian Affairs for the first time in his life. The surroundings are so strange, so regimented and so white. Now picture, if you will, that this small boy is sitting in a classroom where he is told not to speak his "heathen" tongue, but because of his need for a pencil, he asks a girl not far from him if he can use one of hers. Not only is he caught talking without permission, but he spoke in Navajo! For his "crime" the youngster is punished. He is yanked from his seat, taken to the front of the room and forced to lie face down on the floor in front of his "teacher's" desk for the remainder of the day. He is not permitted to look up or stand up, and therefore he misses his noon-day meal. Worse yet, he is not permitted to leave his position to either urinate or defecate.

This is a true story which typifies the sordid "education" which was provided for Indian people during this century. The volume under review is not filled with lurid tales of the mistreatment of Indian students in the white man's schools, although such an historical account could be written. Yet, this book is a powerful piece of literature, for it documents the history of Indian education from the Meriam Report of 1928 to the establishment of Indian owned and controlled educational institutions of the 1970s. After a brief introduction into Indian education, the author details the reform movements of the 1920s, the significances of the Indians' New Deal, the tragedies of termination, and the emergence of self-determination. The flowing style of the book makes for good reading, and the content is extremely informative.

Margaret Szasz has produced a well-documented work which pulls together traditional historical documentation with the oral history of Indian people. Like a master weaver, she produces a tightly woven rug which will be long lasting and very useful. The product of her work is not only colorful but strong as well. The author asserts that the government did very little until the 1920s to uphold its solemn treaty obligations by providing education for the tribes. She traces the reform efforts of the Collier administration but argues the real strides in American Indian education came during the 1960s when Indian peoples made more and more of the decisions which concerned their own people. The flaw of the past was to permit whites to decide what was "best" for tribes; since the 1960s there has been a movement among Indians and Anglos to have Native Americans decide

for themselves what was best. This is particularly seen at Navajo Community College where the tribe owns and operates the unique Indian institution. This paperback edition of Education and the American Indian is worth a great deal to specialist and non-specialist who are interested in the past and present of American Indians.

Clifford Earl Trafzer
Washington State University

RAILROADS IN OKLAHOMA. Edited by Donovan L. Hofsommer. (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Historical Society, 1977. Pp. vii, 171. Illustrations. Maps. Bibliography, Index. Appendix. Cloth, $11.00; Paper, $7.50.)

The ten essays collected here in Volume V of the Oklahoma Series are vignettes showing some aspects of railroad development in the state; they were not intended to be a complete or definitive treatment of the whole subject. Railroads first entered Oklahoma in the 1880s and reached their maximum extent, 6,678 miles of track, in 1930. Their history is a microcosm of what happened nationally.

H. Craig Miner's article discusses the Indian reaction to the first lines coming into their territory. In clever and intelligent fashion the tribes sought to turn this intrusion to their maximum advantage, but the rulings of the federal government generally thwarted their well laid plans. Stan Hoig covers the construction of the Santa Fe through the Unassigned Lands of Indian Territory, a line forming part of a Chicago to Gulf route. Charles E. Winters pictures the Fort Smith and Western from inception through 1923, when it seemed finally to have a bright future (but actually was completely abandoned in the 1930s). John L. Fike traces the Kansas, Oklahoma and Gulf from its shaky beginning as a highly speculative venture through to its incorporation into the Missouri Pacific as part of a valuable Kansas City-Fort Worth through route. The rise of the Oklahoma City to Norman interurban from the worst of the depression to heights of service during World War II is told by Forrest D. Monahan, Jr. The generally unsuccessful attempts to promote other electric lines throughout the state is outlined by H. Roger Grant. Other articles cover a bad passenger train wreck in 1906 (by Robert E. Smith), a railroad townsite dispute (by Peter L. Peterson and Donovan L. Hofsommer) and the Katy's decision to shift motive power from steam to diesel (by Leon H. Sapp).

There are 17 page-length pictures from the 1940s by railroad photographer Preston George, nationally-known for his excellence. Other photos and some maps supplement the essays. There is a list of all proposed interurbans in the state and a helpful guide to further reading. *Railroads in Oklahoma* is a useful and interesting collection of material, a credit to the editor, authors and publisher.

William S. Greever
University of Idaho

GERONIMO: THE MAN, HIS TIME, HIS PLACE. By Angie Debo. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976. Pp. XX, 480. Photographs. Bibliography. Index. $14.95.)

Angie Debo is well into her ninth decade of living. *Geronimo* provides eloquent proof that octogenerian status has failed to diminish this seasoned historian's research capability, scholarly judgment and writing talent. Her thirteenth book and Number 142 in the University of Oklahoma's Civilization of The American Indian Series constitutes a solid and fascinating addition to Native American history.

Geronimo's name has evoked the very essence of Indianness-past for generations of Americans, whites and Indians. The Apache war leader, whose last armed confrontation with the United States ended in September, 1886, satisfied the white man—or was he? This new biography suggests that there was a three dimensional person behind the famous and earliest known photograph of Geronimo on bended knee with rifle and scowl. Biographer Debo provides him with recognizable character traits and a distinct personality. She attributes a strong economic sense and deep religious strain to go with the better known, sterner facets of the Apache's being. Geronimo's affection for family and steadfastness toward friends is given equal consideration alongside his extreme competitiveness and uncompromising hatreds. In short, Debo offers the reader a portrait of the man, an indiivdual Apache, not a Native American caricature.

And *Geronimo* is a complete picture rather than a mere sketch. The narrative contains information on Apache folkways from child rearing practices to food preparation techniques. The long, bloody history of Spanish, Mexican and Anglo-American interactions with the Apache people is outlined in general and detailed in the particulars that involved Geronimo. In the chapters dealing with the war leader's military exploits, the author leans heavily on established writers in the field but does not fail to balance her knowledge of formal scholarship with published and unpublished accounts taken from Geronimo, from members of his family and band, and from fellow warriors. Professional historians will enjoy pursuing the numerous bibliographical footnotes discussing conflicts of fact and interpretation, arising from the sources.

They and the general reader, however, will be more fascinated by the latter portion of the biography covering Geronimo's 23 years of captivity from 1886 to his death in 1909. Drawing from a wealth of primary sources, Debo powerfully limns the painful odyssey of the nearly four hundred men, women and children who shared Geronimo's imprisoned existence. Their changing life styles, small triumphs and greater tragedies are sympathetically, although not romantically, recounted as the small Apache band which

was orginally incarcerated at Fort Pickens in Pensacola, Florida, and subsequently was moved to Mount Vernon Barracks, Alabama, and finally to Fort Sill in Oklahoma. The last chapters of this estimable biography convincingly portray the man behind the myth which Geronimo was unwittingly helping to create during his own waning years of life.

Nearly seventy outstanding photographs enhance this volume's highly knowledgeable prose. The whole is set in the University of Oklahoma Press's usual handsome style accented by an arresting dust jacket illustration. In every respect Geronimo deserves the appreciation that is sure to come from its readers.

T. Paul Wilson
University of California, Berkeley

THE SPIRO MOUNDS SITE. By Mary Ann Holmes and Marsha Hill. (Norman: Stovall Museum, The University of Oklahoma. 1976. Pp. 32. Illustration. $2.25.)

The story of the Spiro Mounds Site in this well illustrated, easy to read paperback deals with a record of American history; a record which was almost lost when a few people—who wished to make money and did—plundered the mounds and in the process wrote a dim chapter of their own for history.

The earliest excavations at these marvelous mounds, done by such notables as the Pocola Mining Company, gathered the best artifacts and damaged or destroyed most others in their search for curios for private collections and the open market. Enough good fragments and overlooked pieces were left so that the probable story of the Spiro people could be put together. Had enough artifacts survived, a satisfyingly solid recreation of their history could have been completed.

From existing material, some of the activity of these people has been reconstructed. This answers many questions, but raises others. Perhaps this book expresses it best when the authors ask, "What do these activities tell us about the religion, thought, and government of the Spiro people?" Who were they? Where did they come from? Where did they go? Why did they leave? These questions cannot be fully answered, but the readers' appetite will be whetted to learn the answers.

The authors resisted the obvious temptation to sermonize against the desecration of such tremendously valuable cultural resources. Yet, at times, such sermonizing may be of great benefit. If today's "pot hunters" (an unattractive but accurate name given to those who find and mutilate physical remains of our history) could be taught the need to preserve for study the few remaining significant sites of pre-history, the generations to come would

benefit. Although much was lost at Spiro, much was gathered that has provided for a readable and interesting story of a people.

C. Earle Metcalf
Oklahoma Historical Society

OIL IN OKLAHOMA. By Robert Gregory. Foreword by James C. Leake. (Muskogee, Oklahoma: Leake Industries, Inc., 1976. Pp. xi, 90. Illustrations. Photographs. $10.00.)

Petroleum has dominated the economic and social maturation of Oklahoma. However, the story of the development of this industry has been sadly ignored by writers. James C. Leake, a leading businessman of the state and noted aficionado of its past, had led the way toward recognition of petroleum's importance with the publication of *Oil in Oklahoma.*

Robert Gregory, former reporter for a major television network and the recipient of many awards for his documentary works concerning Oklahoma's past, tells the story of oil in Oklahoma. Although brief, the book provides a complete overview of the development of the oil industry in the state. In addition to chapters devoted to individuals—legends such as J. Paul Getty and William G. Skelly—sections covering the development of Tulsa, the Greater Seminole Field and "The last, and biggest, hurrah," Oklahoma City, are included. Gregory has a flare for the romantic and ironic in the past. His writing style carries the reader into the past with prose such as, "They followed their instincts, suspicions, hunches, even dreams." He has captured the greatness of Tulsa in its heyday at the center of the petroleum industry, he has illustrated the excitement of a "boomtown" at Seminole. Perhaps one of the most interesting aspects of the text is the lengthy interview with the late J. Paul Getty. Twice, in 1973 and 1974, the billionaire consented to talk with Leake and Gregory. To readers enchanted by the super-rich this section will be entertaining; to the reader interested in the historic value of the comments of a pioneer of the petroleum industry the section will be equally informative.

Although Gregory's text is well done and enjoyable, the illustrations of the book grab the reader's attention. From rough photographs of the early fields to interior shots of the plush mansion of E. W. Marland in Ponca City, the illustrations add immeasurably to the book and make it a joy to read.

This book was not intended to be a comprehensive study of oil in Oklahoma—the need for such a work still exists. But Leake and Gregory have given the public an exciting and informative introduction into the wealthy and mystical world of the legends of the past and have laid the basis for

further study. The book should be well received—it will provide many hours of delightful reading for anyone interested in Oklahoma's past. Both Leake and Gregory should be complimented for their idea and for the taste with which they executed it.

Carl N. Tyson
Palo Alto, California

H. Wayne Morgan and Anne Hodges Morgan. *OKLAHOMA, A BICENTENNIAL HISTORY* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1977. Pp. xv, 190. $8.95.)

This comparatively slim volume is a significant contribution to the history of Oklahoma and historical interpretation of the state. Primarily, it is made up of authoritative summary and bright interpretation of events. It goes further than previous histories in synthesizing the post-World War II period and correlating the contemporary events to the pioneer heritage.

From the placement of events within a geographical environment, the descriptions are vivid and alive. For example the scenes of the prairie grasses, with particular interest in the bluestem and its constantly changing appearance remain with the reader: "It appeared a light green in the early spring, looked at with the wind, and dark green seen against the wind. In summer the bluestem took on a reddish-brown cast. By autumn its purple and copper tints contrasted with the red, gray, white and silver tones of dropseed, switch grass, squirreltail and Indian grass." Each culture, Plains Indian, Five Civilized Tribes, the modern Anglo-American are drawn by the authors in relation to this beauty, as each moved into the area and ultimately becoming a part of Oklahoma.

Much of the volume's primary focus is placed on the twentieth century political events. The Constitutional origins of the state are seen in a balanced frame of reference which considers the radical provisions as ". . . a logical result of Oklahoma's unusual historical development and economic situation as of 1907."

Particularly good interpretive material is provided on the Oklahoma transition in the decade of the 1940s. Using the political perceptiveness of Robert S. Kerr, the authors noted that:

> The Oklahoma of 1942 bore little real resemblance, whatever the rhetoric, to the state a generation earlier. Dugouts, Indian teepees, prairie schooners, and land runs were all memories of a distant past. The boisterous oil boomtowns of the 1920s were now settled communities where men held steady jobs and raised God-fearing families. Munition factories and military airfields dotted the prairies. Royal Air fliers trained near Ponca City for the attack on Berlin. And columns of heavy army vehicles thundered along

> highways once crowded with Okies in pursuit of the California dream. About half of all Oklahomans still farmed in 1942, but machinery, the radio, electrification, and news of the world all had changed their lives. The exodus to urban centers such as Oklahoma City, Tulsa, Muskogee, Lawton, Enid, and Bartlesville continued and would clearly change the state. The era of clashing titans seemed over, though Oklahomans would always reward the historic virtues. But now voters sought brains and a broad national viewpoint, as well as sentiment and concern for purely local questions.

Industrial development, segregation issues and political reform received particularly good summary views and interpretation. The school desegregation efforts of Ada Sipuel as she entered the University of Oklahoma's law school in the 1950s. The authors write that the state's needs continue to change at a more rapid rate than most of its leaders reflect in their policy decisions.

Oklahoma, A Bicentennial History is a reflective history which stands well in comparison with the best works of Joseph Thoborn, Muriel Wright, Edward Dale, Grant Foreman, Edwin McReynolds and Arrell Gibson. The authors are occasionally somewhat uncritical of their sources, as in the example of accepting the federal government's reports of lawlessness in the Five Civilized Nations, as the national government laid its policy for dismembering the Indian governments in favor of an Anglo-American dominated state government. But, these are minor considerations in point of view in the face of the success of the volume with its very helpful bibliographic essay, which provides the reader with added critical insights.

The Morgans' history of Oklahoma illustrates the renewed emphasis of the historians' commitment to the future. There is no attempt to shut out the distractions of Oklahoma's past so that the reader is given only what may be considered pleasant, offering a richer sense of the state's complex heritage.

H. L. Meredith
Oklahoma Historical Society

THE FRONTIER: COMPARATIVE STUDIES. Edited by David Harry Miller and Jerome Steffen. (Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1977. Pp. viii, 327. Illustrations. Maps. Index. $14.95.)

The essays in this book originally were presented at the University of Oklahoma Symposium on Comparative Frontier Studies. The Frontier Symposium is an attempt to change the approach to studying western or frontier history. Historians have agreed for years that more sophisticated ap-

proaches to studying these fields were needed. For example, Earl Pomeroy, a well-known historian of the American West, has written that Western historians have been guilty of many sins, including writing "factual rather than interpretative studies . . . by conferring academic dignity on vulgarization, by debasing literature into accumulation." Pomeroy recognized, as have the editors of this volume, the need for a more sophisticated methodological approach to the study of western and frontier history.

This book contains a discussion of different aspects "of the frontier as an anthropological, or historical problem." The editors suggested that through the use of comparative history a less esoteric approach could be employed in the study of frontier history. Furthermore, they insisted that the usual approaches to frontier historiography have encouraged a "self-perpetuating system" which has "led eventually to a lack of confidence in the possibility of historical knowledge." As a result of this conceptual crisis many historians have become concerned about the "intellectual and scholarly integrity of their profession." These essays are in response to this methodological dilemma.

The papers in this collection do not represent one accepted definition of the frontier, nor are these efforts confined to any one geographical area or time period. This work contains chapters on numerous subjects. For example, Emilio Willems studied mining, agriculture, urban development and social change in Latin America by comparing "plantation and farm family agricultural frontiers . . ." Kenneth Lewis examined the frontier in regard to colonization and environmental adaptation by focusing on colonial Jamestown, Virginia. David J. Wishart presented a geographic synthesis of the American fur trade. In this study he discussed the "relationship between defined ecological subsystems and the total ecological system controlling the fur trading frontier." John C. Hudson studied the theory and methodology in comparative frontier studies. He saw little to be gained from using Frederick Jackson Turner's theories or ideas as the focus for future comparative frontier research. Other studies, equally as varied, were included in this collection.

Thus, this study is an effort to make western and frontier history a more sophisticated area of study. There is definitely a need and a place for such scholarly efforts. This book would be a positive addition to the library of any serious historian in this field.

Joe A. Stout, Jr.
Oklahoma State University

☆ FOR THE RECORD

MINUTES OF THE QUARTERLY MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

July 27, 1978

The quarterly meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society was held at 1:30 p.m., July 27, 1978, in Room 512-A of the State Capitol. The change in meeting place from the Board Room of the Historical Building was made because of a faulty airconditioner in the board room.

President W. D. Finney called the meeting to order and Executive Director Jack Wettengel called the roll. Those present were Mrs. George L. Bowman, Q. B. Boydstun, O. B. Campbell, Jack T. Conn, Joe E. Curtis, Harry L. Deupree, M.D., Mrs. Mark R. Everett, W. D. Finney, Dr. LeRoy H. Fischer, Bob Foresman, E. Moses Frye, Senator Denzil D. Garrison, Dr. A. M. Gibson, Mrs. L. E. Hodge, Jr., Mrs. Charles R. Nesbitt, Earl Boyd Pierce, Jordan B. Reaves, Genevieve Seger, Britton D. Tabor and H. Merle Woods. Those who had asked to be excused were Dr. Odie B. Faulk, Nolan J. Fuqua, C. Forest Himes and John E. Kirkpatrick. General Frye moved to excuse the absent members, Mrs. Seger seconded and the motion was approved unanimously.

Mr. Wettengel reported that 39 persons had applied for membership in the Society and that Annual Member W. D. Lehman had requested life membership in the Society. Miss Seger moved that the memberships be approved; Mrs. Bowman seconded and the motion passed unanimously.

Mrs. Bowman, Treasurer, gave the quarterly report of the cash receipts and disbursements of the Cash Revolving Fund 200. Mrs. Bowman also read the annual Life Membership Endowment Trust Fund report, reviewing the income earned during the year. Mr. Woods moved that the board forgive the sum of $2,504.97, the total due the Endowment Fund for interest earned and annual fee of $1.50 per life member. Miss Seger seconded the motion and approval was unanimous. Mrs. Nesbitt moved that the board accept the financial report; Mr. Gibson seconded and the motion carried unanimously.

Mrs. Everett reported on the Library Committee meeting held prior to the board meeting. The committee had discussed cataloging, evening security, janitorial service, the annual budget for the library and personnel matters. The committee recommended that vacancies on the library staff not be filled on a permanent basis until the Library Committee is able to explore the possibility of a restructured plan for the library staff. Mrs.

Everett placed the recommendation in the form of a motion, which was seconded by Dr. Gibson. Those voting to approve were Bowman, Boydstun, Campbell, Curtis, Deupree, Everett, Finney, Fischer, Foresman, Garrison, Gibson, Hodge, Nesbitt, Pierce, Seger, Tabor, and Woods. Nay votes were Frye and Reaves with Conn abstaining.

Mrs. Everett reported that Mrs. Zebalene M. Ramsey of Oklahoma City had presented a gift of $924.00 to the Library Division which is to be used toward the purchase of bindery equipment.

After discussion regarding janitorial services provided for the Historical Building by the State Board of Public Affairs, Mr. Pierce moved that President Finney and Mr. Wettengel be authorized to go to the Board of Affairs to advise the Board of the poor quality of the janitorial services and apprising the Board of the unique janitorial requirements of the Society. The motion was seconded by Mr. Curtis and passed unanimously. The possibility of contracting for private janitorial services was discussed.

Senator Garrison deferred to Mr. Wettengel for the report of the Indian Archives Committee. Mr. Wettengel spoke of the enlargement of the Archives section, the progress of the federally funded microfilming project, but said humidity controls have not yet been installed in the area.

Mrs. Everett read the minutes of the Black Heritage Committee held at Langston University June 23, 1978 and the notes from a meeting with Mrs. Rubye Hall, Mrs. Zella J. Patterson, Ms. Rosalind Savage, and Mr. Wettengel on July 25. She advised the Board of the goals suggested at the June 23 meeting: 1. Support for a project in progress of a history of Black Women in Oklahoma; 2. Encouragement for young people in search for heroes; and the formation of junior history clubs; 3. Purchase of microfilm rolls of newspapers and books on Black History; and encouragement of research into that history; and 4. Co-sponsorship of Black Heritage Week in February by the Oklahoma Historical Society and the Oklahoma Federation of Colored Women's Clubs. President Finney asked for more information from the group as to the request for the Society's involvement in Black Heritage Week. Mrs. Everett said she would bring the matter to the next meeting of the organization.

Mr. Foresman outlined the program of the Education Division for the coming year. He said Bruce Joseph, education director, was planning a film for each of the Society's 14 sites and an introductory film to present to groups visiting the Historical Building. Historical pamphlets are also being planned.

The Society's involvement in the 1979 Will Rogers Centennial was discussed. Suggestions were made for special Will Rogers museum exhibits; dedication of the spring issue of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* to Will

Rogers; a membership campaign during the Centennial Year and issuance of a special Will Rogers certificate; and a Will Rogers theme for the 1979 annual meeting. Dr. Fischer recommended that the matter be discussed at the September Executive Committee meeting.

President Finney announced that Mrs. L. E. Hodge had accepted an appointment to the Historic Sites Committee. He then requested Dr. Deupree for the report of that committee. Dr. Deupree said that the committee had recommended that one building be restored at Fort Towson—probably the sutlers and ammunition building. The canopy for the Fort Towson cannon has been completed and the cannon is now in place. He said there was an urgent need for a better road at Fort Towson. The cannon for Fort Washita is being restored by Mr. Reaves and a canopy is being erected. At Fort Supply the pump house has been put in good repair.

Speaking as the State Historic Preservation Officer, Dr. Deupree said that the staff of the Preservation Division would be increased to comply with the requirements of the Historic Conservation and Recreation Service.

The Honey Springs Battlefield Park Commission had not met during the quarter, said Chairman Boydstun, but he announced that the County Commissioners of McIntosh and Muskogee counties have promised the Commission's Road Committee that a blacktop access road would be built to the site. Mr. Boydstun referred to the authorization by the Board at the January meeting to request the Attorney General to institute condemnation proceedings to secure additional land for the site. Mr. Wettengel had made another attempt to contact land owners with an offer to buy the designated property. Responses from the land owners contacted had not yet been received.

A report of the meeting of the Newspaper and Microfilm Committee was given by Mr. Woods. Mr. Woods paid tribute to the work of H. Milt Phillips in developing the newspaper microfilming program and told of the 'Milt Phillips Roast' held in Shawnee June 12, 1978, with Governor David Boren as guest speaker. Mr. Woods said because of the difficulty in retaining a full staff, it will take approximately five years to complete the filming of state newspapers between the years 1917 and 1957. He praised the work of Mary Moran who has been in the Division since 1964.

Dr. Fischer said the Museum Committee will ask the Executive Committee for two special fund allocations. One will be for $6,000.00 for the restoration of the Alfred Jacob Miller painting, "Cavalcade," hanging in the Museum galleries. A grant for matching funds has been applied for and a restoration specialist from Dallas has examined the painting and has recommended that it be brought to Dallas for the restoration.

The second request will be $35,000.00 to hire a consulting firm for a year

to 18 months to coordinate the plans, thematic sequences, artifacts, and photographs in the Museum's collections.

Dr. Fischer reported that six student workers funded by the American Indian Training and Experience Program have been working on the Museum's inventory project during the quarter and have placed the project several years ahead of schedule. He said Marshall Gettys, staff archaeologist at Fort Towson, and Donald Reeves, museum curator, have completed the inventory of the basket collection and are preparing an exhibit of baskets created by eastern tribes. The exhibit will produce a catalog for resale and may be a traveling exhibit if grant funds are made available by the National Endowment of the Arts.

In the absence of Chairman Odie B. Faulk, a Publications Committee meeting was not held. President Finney said that since the resignation of Dr. Kenny A. Franks, the Executive Committee has been seeking an editor and hopes to make a decision within the next two or three months. Associate Editor Martha L. Mobley has been continuing the work of the division in preparing future issues of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* and the *Oklahoma Series*.

The board members discussed the role of the various committees especially the Executive Committee and its responsibilities. Board members asked that the full board be informed of the budget requests of each of the divisions as presented to the state budget office each September.

Mr. Boydstun moved to postpone an election to fill the vacancy on the board until the October 26, 1978 meeting. General Frye seconded the motion. Those voting to postpone were Bowman, Boydstun, Campbell, Conn, Deupree, Finney, Fischer, Foresman, Frye, Gibson, Hodge, Nesbitt, Pierce, Reaves, Seger, Tabor, and Woods. Those opposed: Curtis and Garrison. Everett abstained.

Dr. Fischer moved to accept the gifts to the Library and Museum. General Frye seconded and the motion was passed unanimously.

Dr. Fischer moved to approve the minutes of the April 27, 1978 Board meeting. General Frye seconded and the motion passed unanimously.

Dr. Fischer moved to approve the minutes of the Executive Committee for May 19 and June 21, 1978. Mrs. Everett seconded the motion. Those voting approval were Bowman, Boydstun, Campbell, Conn, Curtis, Deupree, Finney, Fischer, Foresman, Frye, Garrison, Gibson, Hodge, Pierce, Reaves, Seger, Tabor, and Woods. Nesbitt abstained.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned at 4:15 p.m.

W. D. FINNEY, PRESIDENT

JACK WETTENGEL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

GIFT LIST

The Oklahoma Historical Society wishes to acknowledge the following people who donated gifts during the second quarter of 1978:

MUSEUMS AND HISTORIC SITES:

Mr. & Mrs. Lloyd Nelson
Miss Maybelle Conger
Ralph W. Jones
Mrs. Laura Hamilton Badger
Don Higgins
Mr. & Mrs. Richard E. Weston
H. Leland Steffen, M. D.
Richard E. Grayson
Mrs. Mattye Wilson Williams
Miss Helen T. Lee
Estate of Urgie Ammann by G. Russell Fletcher, Executor
Mrs. William J. Kastenhuber
Estate of Dr. Leslie LeHew
Guy Gigoux
Mr. & Mrs. Hugh Plumlee
Mr. & Mrs. Wiley W. Lowrey
Mrs. LaNita Smith Stuart
Joe Hempling
Mr. & Mrs. Leo S. Cade
Mrs. Esther V. Borden
Mrs. Ruth P. Andrews
Carl Hickerson
Mrs. Louise Colbert Crews
Mrs. Edward Dewey
John B. Sisneros
Sam Howard
Mrs. Jesse Willis Ryan
Mrs. Elizabeth C. Kendall
Estate of Faye Gensman Webber by Dr. George R. Webber, Executor
Mrs. Richenda Brown
John Wilson
Gene O. Elder
John R. Hill
Mrs. Cora M. Nay
Charles V. Smith

LIBRARY AND PHOTOGRAPHIC SECTION:

Dr. and Mrs. A. A. Walker
Dorothy Brinker
John Newton Alley and Family
Dr. H. D. Ragland
Mrs. Elizabeth Hunt
Mrs. Doris A. Gimpel
Mrs. Loyd Benefield
Oklahoma Genealogical Society
K. C. Emerson
Marvin Emerson
Hazel Combs Breeze Smith
Ralph Evans
Mrs. Mary McBryde
Mrs. Margaret Hayes
Q. B. Boydstun
William M. Morrison
Apco Oil Corporation
Eleanor Tracy
Troy Davenport
Mrs. A. F. Hyden
National Women's Relief Corps
Syrenia G. Chick
Earl Knisley Yost, Jr.
Elizabeth C. Eastwood
James Logan Morgan
John A. Harrer
Mrs. Bonnie Easterling
Brig. General Ross H. Routh
Egbert S. Musick
Mrs. Rita Boyle
Clark Hibbard
Terry Pendleton
Mrs. Edmund (Lora) Benton
Mrs. Lula Ball Surrell
Mrs. Geraldine Fairless
Mrs. Nancy Dickey

INDIAN ARCHIVES:

M. M. Wedel
Jan Martin
Oklahoma Indian Affairs Commission
Mike Reggio
Lois Cowden
Mary W. Kelsey
B. Maxfield
Pierce Martin
Ray E. O'Dell
Sharron Ashton
Patsy Burns
Dr. Charles D. Van Tuyl
Hans-J. Bademann

NEW ANNUAL MEMBERS*

April 28, 1978 to July 27, 1978

Belvin, B. Frank	Okmulgee
Bienstock, Barry Wayne	Brooklyn, New York
Blochowiak, Mary Ann	Oklahoma City
Chastain, John	Blair
Cones, Homer F.	Oklahoma City
Crawford, Suzanne Jones	Norman
Crawford, Mrs. W. D.	Beaumont, Texas
Crim, Mrs. Earlene	Cordell
Dietrich, Margaret Wilson	Trenton, New Jersey
Dunn, Mrs. Evans H.	Tulsa
Ellis, Mrs. James L.	Phoenix, Arizona
Ellis, Mrs. Marvin	Guthrie
Falconer, Ray	Ponca City
Foster, Dean	Idabel
Gaines, Mrs. Sybil	Shawnee
Henry, Bethene	Stillwater
Holmberg, Julia Ann	Erick
Hudson, Donald R.	Norman
Lane, Mrs. Pauline Loughmiller	Oklahoma City
Maloney, Della Lee	Bethany
Mason, Joan	Ponca City
Mattingly, William	Pawhuska
May, Brandt	Sand Springs
McCray, Dr. Eloise	Midwest City
McCray, Paul H.	Midwest City
Meibuhr, Arthur	Ponca City
Nave, Mrs. Art	Collinsville
Pearson, John R., Jr.	Cambridge, Massachusetts
Prentice, Mrs. Burl	Stigler
Pricer, Harold A.	Lewiston, California
Replogle, Dee A., Jr.	Oklahoma City
Schuster, E. Elaine	Oklahoma City
Shierk, Daniel E.	Overland Park, Kansas
Sleeper, Barbara Perrine	Oklahoma City
Smith, Mrs. Margaret P.	Cordell
Stephens, Melvin C.	Atoka
Swigger, Boyd Keith, Ph.D.	Commerce, Texas
Trafzer, Clifford Earl	Pullman, Washington
Webb, L. H.	Norman

NEW LIFE MEMBERS*

April 28, 1978 to July 27, 1978

Lehmann, W. D.	Guthrie

* All members in Oklahoma unless otherwise designated.

☆ INDEX

—A—

Abbot, C. G., 144
Adair, William P., 249, 252–253
Adams, Governor Alva J., Colorado, 381, 383–384
Adventures in the Apache Country: A Tour Through Arizona and Sonora, 1862, J. Ross Browne, reviewed, 232–233
Africans and Seminoles: From Removal to Emancipation, Daniel F. Littlefield, Jr., reviewed, 361–362
Agnew, Brad and Helen Wheat, "Special Collections Department at Northeastern Oklahoma State University," 73–84
Agnew, Brad, "The Whale's Rifle," 472
Agriculture in the Great Plains, 1876–1936, Thomas R. Wessel, ed., reviewed, 349
Alabama-Quassarte, 294
Alexander, George A., 290
Alliance, 266
Alva Daily Record, 205
American Baptist Home Mission Society, 137, 252
American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 251, 341
American Defense Society, 422
American Federation of Labor, 384
American Indian Policy in the Jacksonian Era, Ronald N. Satz, reviewed, 223
Anthony, Susan B., 379
Archaeological Investigations Along the Waurika Pipeline, Comanche, Cotton, Jefferson, and Stephens Counties, Oklahoma. Contributions of The Museum of the Great Plains Number 5, Towana Spivey, C. Reid Ferring, Daniel J. Crouch, and Kathy Franklin, reviewed, 218
Arkansas City, Kansas, 462
Austin Colony, 145
Axtell Mining Company, 403

—B—

Bailey, H. E., 403
Bailey, Mrs. Minnie Keith, 379
Baker, Newton, D., Secretary of War, 411
Baldwin, D. William, 187
Ball, Larry D., book review, 232–233
Banco Hipotecario Internacional, 148
Baptist Church, 164
Barker, Ballard M., *Platt National Park: Environment and Ecology*, reviewed, 227
Bartlesville: Remembrances of Times Past, Reflections of Today, Joe Williams, reviewed, 352
Barringer, John W., 394, 396
Barrow, Clyde, 201
Barton, Benjamin Smith, 174, 176
Bartram, William, 334
Battle of Horseshoe Bend, 472
Beaver, Meade & Englewood Railroad, 393, 396–397, 399–402, 407
Beaver Men, The, Mari Sandoz, reviewed, 351–352
Beckham County Council of Defense, 417
Bedrock: Images from the Wayside, Del Smith, reviewed, 230
Bellmon, Henry, United States Senator, 408
Bennett, Wendell C., *The Tarahumara: An Indian Tribe of Northern Mexico*, reviewed, 228
Bernard, Katie, 389
Berthrong, Donald J., *The Cheyenne and Arapaho Ordeal: Reservation and Agency Life in the Indian Territory, 1875–1907*, reviewed, 101–103
Beyond the Civil War Synthesis: Political Essays of the Civil War Era, ed., Robert P. Swierenga, reviewed, 111–112
Biddle, Nicholas, 176
Biggers, Mrs. Kate H., 379–380, 382
Big Tree, 440
Bischoff, J. P., book review, 349
Bixby, Tams, 409, 414

Blackburn, Bob L., "Law Enforcement in Transition: From Decentralized County Sheriffs to the Highway Patrol," 194–207
Black Hills: Or, The Last Hunting Grounds of the Dakotahs, The, Annie D. Tallent, reviewed, 109–111
"Black Slavery in the Creek Nation," Janet Halliburton, 298–314
Blackwell Daily Journal, 205
Blalock, George, 148
Blalock Mexico Colony, 147
Bland, Dr. J. C. W., 442–443, 445–447
Bland, Dr. Thomas A., 261
Board of Indian Commissioners, 130, 249, 251, 254–255, 257–258
"Board of Indian Commissioners and the Delegates of the Five Tribes," Francis Paul Prucha, 247–264
Bonnin, Gertrude, 134–137, 139–141
"Botanical Itineraries of A. H. Van Vleet," George J. Goodman and Cheryl A. Lawson, 322–330
Boudinot, Elias Cornelius, 257–258
Bourne, Eulalia "Sister," Ranch Schoolteacher, reviewed, 104–105
Boyd, Dr. David Ross, 322
Boyer, Mrs. Ida Porter, 379
Bradbury, John, 186
Broadcloth and Britches: The Santa Fe Trade, Seymour V. Connor and Jimmy M. Skaggs, reviewed, 348
Bradford, Mrs. Mary, 379–385
Brainerd, 341
Brookings Institute, 204
Brooks Opera House, 384
Brosius, S. M., 133
Browne, J. Ross, *Adventures in the Apache Country: A Tour Through Arizona and Sonora, 1864*, reviewed, 232–233
Browning, Denise, "The E. W. Marland Mansion and Estate," 40–72
Brunot, Felix R., 294
Buchanan, Robert W. and Murray L. Wax, "Solving 'The Indian Problem': The White Man's Burdensome Business," reviewed, 105–106
Bureau of American Ethnology, 127, 139, 142, 144
Bureau of Indian Affairs, 128, 452
Burbank, Garin, *When Farmers Voted Red: The Gospel of Socialism in the Oklahoma Countryside, 1910–1924*, reviewed, 353–355
Burke, Charles, 144

—C—

Cadenhead, Ed., book review, 362–363
Calhoun, Secretary of War John C., 186
Canadian River Cattle Company, The, 316
Canal Zone, 266–267
Cape Horn, 268
Carlisle Indian School, 135, 142
Carmelites, 147–148
Carney, George O., book review, 353–355
Carter, Mrs. N. M., 379
The Cattlemen's Association, 205
Chamal, 149
Chambers of Commerce, 205
Chapman, Frank, 315
Checote, Samuel, 251, 282–283, 286
Cheek, Charles, *Honey Springs, Indian Territory: Search For a Confederate Powder House, an Ethnohistorical and Archaeological Report*, reviewed, 350
"Cherokee Acculturation and Changing Land Use Practices," Douglas C. Wilms, 331–344
Cherokee Advocate, The, 291
Cherokee Collection, 73–84
Cherokee Female Seminary, 163–164
Cherokee Male Seminary, 163
Cherokee Orphan Asylum, 163
Cherokee Outlet, 163–166
Cherokee Nation, 158–170
Cherokee National Council, 158, 164
Cherokees, 247–248
Cherokee Tobacco Case, 168
Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency, 143
The Cheyenne and Arapaho Ordeal: Reservation and Agency Life in the Indian Territory, 1875–1907, Donald J. Berthrong, reviewed, 101–103
Chief Joseph, 353, 355–356, 364–366, 450, 469
Chief White Eagle, 453
Chickasaws, 247
Chilocco Boarding School, 462

Choctaws, 247–248
Choctaw Nation, 160
Christianization, 251
Chronicles of Oklahoma, The, 6, 443, 448
Cities on Stone: Nineteenth Century Lithograph Images of the Urban West, John W. Reps, reviewed, 224
Civilization Fund, 341
Civil War, 159, 163, 165, 170, 282
Civil War in the Indian Territory, The, Donald L. and Larry C. Rampp, reviewed, 229–230
Clark, William, 171
Clay, Miss Laura, 379, 382–383
Clinton, Dr. Fred S., 442–443, 445–447
Cloud, Henry, 386
Cloud, Mrs. Henry L., 388
Clifton, James A., *The Prairie People: Continuity and Change in Potawatomi Indian Culture, 1665–1965*, reviewed, 226
Coahuila-Texas, 145
Coal Mines, 168
Colorado State Democratic Committee, 384
Columbian Exposition, 127
Colville Reserve, 469, 470
Comeawhait, 178
Committee of Friends, 437
Conaster, Tom, 315
Concho, Oklahoma, 143
Confederate Indian Tribes, 159
Confederate States of America, 312
Congregational Church, 165
Congress, 249, 251, 256
Congressional Appropriation Committee, 268
Connor, Seymour V. and Jimmy M. Skaggs, *Broadcloth and Britches: The Santa Fe Trade*, reviewed, 348
Constitutionalist forces, 154
Convention Articles of Will Rogers, Joseph A. Stout, ed., reviewed, 362–363
Cookson Hills, 201
Cooley, D. N., 158
Corozal, 269
Cothuchee, 283
Council Fire, The, 261, 458
Council of Friends, 441
Council of National Defense, 414–415
County Commissioners' Organization, 205
Covered Wagon Geologist, 323
Cowboy: Six-Shooters, Songs, and Sex, The, Charles W. Harris and Buck Rainey, reviewed, 109
Cox, J. D., 167
Craig, John B., 165
Crazy Snake, 290
Creek Agreement, 444
Creek Indian Nation, 282
Creek Lighthorse, 311
"Creek Nativism Since 1865," Mark K. Megehee, 282–297
Crossman Brothers, 447
Crossman, Perry, 446–447
Crockett, Norman L., "The Opening of Oklahoma: A Businessman's Frontier," 85–95
Crouch, Daniel J., *Archaeological Investigations Along the Waurika Pipeline, Comanche, Cotton, Jefferson, and Stephens Counties, Oklahoma*. Contributions of the Museum of the Great Plains Number 5, reviewed, 218
Culebra Cut, 268
Curtis Act, 264, 289–290, 444
Custer, Lieutenant Colonel George Armstrong, 344

—D—

Daily Oklahoman, The, 287
Dale, Dr. Edward E., 76
Davis, Britton, *The Truth About Geronimo*, 220
Dawes Commission, 263–264, 290–291, 293
Dawning: A New Day for the Southwest; A History of the Tulsa District, Corps of Engineers, 1939–1971, The, William A. Settle, reviewed, 97
Death Songs: The Last of the Indian Wars, John Edward Weems, reviewed, 98–99
Debo, Angie, *Geronimo: The Man, His Time, His Place*, reviewed, 480
Delawares, 162
Department of the Interior, 139
Department of Transportation, 408
De Vorsey, Louis, 331

Diaz, Porfirio, 145, 146, 152
Dinsmoor, Silas, 339
Downing, Lewis, 161
Duke, J. W., 384
Dunbar, William, 181

—E—

East Guthrie Women's Christian Temperance Union, 382
Education and the American Indian: The Road to Self-Determination, 1928–1973, Margaret Szasz, reviewed, 478
Ellis, Richard N., book review, 113
El Reno News, 287
Emarthla, 288
Euchees, 294
Eufaula Boarding School, 296
"Exile of the Nez Perce in Indian Territory, 1878–1885, The," Alan Osborne, 450
Farmers' Education Union of America, 384
Faulk, Odie B., book review, 97, 233–234, 352
Faulk, Odie, *The McMan: The Lives of Robert M. McFarlin and Hames A. Chapman*, reviewed, 222
Federal Bureau of Investigation, 200
Federation of Womans' Clubs in Guthrie, 384
Ferring, C. Reid, *Archaeological Investigation, Along the Waurika Pipeline, Comanche, Cotton, Jefferson, and Stephens Counties, Oklahoma. Contributions of the Museum of the Great Plains Number 5*, reviewed, 218
Firearms, Traps & Tools of the Mountain Men, Carl P. Russell, reviewed, 107
Fischer, LeRoy H., and Thomas D. Isern, "Horsethief Canyon: Landmark on the Cimarron River," 34–39
Fisk, Clinton, B., 254–255
Five Civilized Tribes, 247–251, 259
"Flat Top," 316, 318–319
Flenner, John W., 448
Floyd, Charles A., "Pretty Boy," 201
Forsyth, John Duncan, 44–45, 49, 68
For the Record, 116, 237, 367, 486
Fort Leavenworth, 457, 452
Fort Reno, 291
Fort Sill, 432
Fort Smith & Western, 393
Fort Smith, Arkansas, 159
Fort Smith Peace Treaty, 161
Fort Supply-Fort Elliott Military Road, 315
Fowler, James H., II, "Tar and Feather Patriotism: The Suppression of Dissent in Oklahoma During World War I," 409
Franklin, Kathy, *Archaeological Investigations Along the Waurika Pipeline, Comanche, Cotton, Jefferson, and Stephens Counties, Oklahoma. Contributions of the Museum of the Great Plains Number 5*, reviewed, 218
Frasier, W. E., 152
Freedmen, 165–166
Freeman, Thomas, 182
Frederick Leader, 205
Friends of the Indians, 130
Frontier: Comparative Studies, The, ed. David Harry Miller and Jerome Steffen, reviewed, 484–485
Frontier Lady: Recollections of the Gold Rush and Early California, A, Sarah Royce, reviewed, 219
Frontier Regulars: The United States Army and The Indian, 1866–1890, Robert M. Utley, reviewed, 103–104
Frontier Violence: Another Look, W. Eugene Hollon, reviewed, 356–358

—G—

Gamboa Dike, 268
Gandy Bill, The, 134
Garvin County Council of Defense, 417
Gatun Lake, 268
Gatun Locks, 266–267
Gentry, Highway Commissioner J. M. "Bud," 206
Geronimo: The Man, His Time, His Place, Angie Debo, reviewed, 480
Gettys, Marshall, book review, 219
Ghost Dance Religion, 127–135
Gibson, Arrell Morgan, "Indian Pioneer Legacy: A Guide to Oklahoma Literature," 3–33
Glasscock, C. B., 442
Godman, John D., 179

Goodman, George J. and Cheryl A. Lawson, "The Botanical Itineraries of A. H. Van Vleet, 322–330
Gould, C. M., 323
Grant, President Ulysses S., 247–248, 431
Grant's Peace Policy, 431
Green Corn Rebellion, 410, 412, 426, 429
Green Corn Dance, 295
Green, Donald E., book review, 348
Greenleaf, 296
Green Peach War, The, 286, 290
Greer County, Oklahoma, 148
Greever, William S., book review, 479
Gregg, Mrs. Laura, 379
Gregory, Robert, *Oil in Oklahoma*, reviewed, 482–484
Guthrie City Hall, 379

—H—

Hadsell, S. Roy, 323
Haines, Francis, *The Nez Perces: Tribesmen of the Columbia Plateau*, reviewed, 359–361
Halliburton, Janet, "Black Slavery in the Creek Nation," 298–314
Halliburton, R. Jr., *Red Over Black: Black Slavery Among the Cherokee Indians*, reviewed, 217
Hammond, Sue, "Socioeconomic Reconstruction in the Cherokee Nation, 1865–1870," 158–170
Hanraty, Peter, 381, 385, 390
Harding Administration, 144
Harjo, Chitto, 290–291
Harjo, Lochar (Crazy Turtle), 283–284
Harlan, James, 159
Harlan, Richard, 179
Harlow's Weekly, 6, 205, 413
Harlow, Victor E., 424
Harris, Charles W. and Buck Rainey, *The Cowboy: Six-Shooters, Songs, and Sex*, reviewed, 109
Haskell, Charles N., 389, 391
Hawkins, Benjamin, 338
Hayden Bill, The, 135, 137, 142
Hayden, Carl, 135
Hayt, Commissioner E. A., 450, 453, 460
Hazen, Colonel W. B., 432, 434
Henshaw, George A., 381, 384–385, 389
Heydrick Collection, 442, 444, 449
Heydrick, Jesse A., 442–444, 447
Heydrick, L. C., 449
Heydrick, Wick & Co., 446
Hickory Ground, 290, 393, 396
Higham, Robin, book review, 358–359
Hill, Marsha and Mary Ann Holmes, *The Spiro Mounds Site*, reviewed, 481–482
History of the Cherokee Indians and Their Legends and Folk Lore, Emmet Starr, 73
Hoag, Enoch, 431
Hodge, David M., 290
Hodge, Mrs. L. E., Jr., 216
Hofsommer, Donovan L., "What is the Future for Railroad Branch Lines in Rural Areas?," 393
Hogg, 389, 390, 392
Holmes, Mary Ann and Marsha Hill, *The Spiro Mounds Site*, reviewed, 481–482
Hollon, W. Eugene, *Frontier Violence: Another Look*, reviewed, 356–358
Honey Springs, Indian Territory: Search For a Confederate Powder House, An Ethnohistorical and Archaeological Report, Charles Cheek, reviewed, 350
"Horsethief Canyon: Landmark on the Cimarron River," LeRoy H. Fischer and Thomas D. Isern, 34–39
Hot Springs, Arkansas, 195
Hotulke Emarthla (Edward Bullet), 287
House Committee on Indian Affairs, 258
House of Kings, 282, 287
House of Warriors, 282
House Resolution 2614, 135
Houston and Texas Central Railroad Company Survey, 316
Houston, William R., 140
Howard, Brigadier General Oliver, 451
Hughes, John H., 396
Humboldt, Baron Alexander Von, 176
Hunter, Dr. George, 181
Huses Kutte, 464, 469

—I—

Indian Bureau to the War Department, 260, 460
Indian Defense Association, 261
Indian Journal, 291

Indian Life: Transforming an American Myth, William W. Savage, Jr., ed., reviewed, 355–356
"Indian Pioneer Legacy: A Guide to Oklahoma Literature," Arrell Morgan Gibson, 3–33
Indian Rights Association, 131, 137–138
Indian Territory, 167, 247, 254, 385
Indian Women's Suffrage League of Indian Territory, 388
Industrial Workers of the World, 413, 426, 428
Interstate Commerce Commission, 377, 393–394, 403–404, 408
Isern, Thomas D., book review, 98–99
Isern, Thomas D., LeRoy H. Fischer, "Horsethief Canyon: Landmark on the Cimarron River, 34–39
Isparhecher, 284, 286, 287, 290
Isthmian Canal Commission, 265
Isthmian Commission Clubhouses, 269

—J—

James, Dr. Edwin, 185, 191–192
James, Louise Boyd, "The Woman Suffrage Issue in the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention," 379
"James Mooney and the Peyote Controversy," L. G. Moses, 127–144
Jameson, William Carl, *Platt National Park: Environment and Ecology*, reviewed, 227
Jefferson, Thomas, 171, 173–175
Jessup, August Edward, 187
John Vaughan Library, 73
Jones, John B., 161–162
Jones, Quapaw Agent H. W., 452
Joyce, Davis D., book review, 355–356
Joplin, Misouri, 195
Judge Legett of Abilene: A Texas Frontier Profile, Vernon Gladden Spence, reviewed, 233–234

—K—

Keechee Hills, 326
Kelley, George "Machine Gun," 200
Kentucky Equal Suffrage Association, 384
Kichai Indians, 326
Kialigee Town, 294
Kingfisher County Council of Defense, 418
Kinney, Reverend Bruce, 137
Kiowa Agency, 433, 439, 441
Kiowas, 127, 137, 144
Knights of Liberty, 429
Knox, Henry, 341

—L—

Lake Mohonk Conferences, 128–129
Lapwai Reservation, 450, 452, 468–469, 470
Larsen, Henry A., 140
Lasky, Mrs. Anna, 379
Last of the Real Badmen: Henry Starr, Glenn Shirley, reviewed, 112–113
"Law Enforcement in Transition: From Decentralized County Sheriffs to the Highway Patrol," Bob L. Blackburn, 194–207
Lawson, Alexander, 178
Lawson, Cheryl A. and George J. Goodman, "The Botanical Itineraries of A. H. Van Vleet," 322–330
Lax, Jack, book review, 352
Lewis and Clark, 171, 173–174, 180–181, 186, 193
Lewis, Meriweather, 171
Ledyard, John, 171
Liberty Loan, 415
"Life and Labor on the Panama Canal: An Oklahoman's Personal Account," William D. Pennington, 265–281
Lindberg, Charles, 201
Littlefield, Daniel F. Jr., *Africans and Seminoles: From Removal to Emancipation*, reviewed, 361–362
Little River Tulsa, 296
Liquor traffic, 167
Logsdon, Guy, book review, 112–113
Lone Wolf, 345
Long Expedition, 180, 185, 189–191, 193
Lottinville, Savoie, *The Rhetoric of History*, reviewed, 108
Louisiana Territory, 182
Lower Creeks, 296
Lyon, F. S., Agent, 283
Lyon, G., 147
Lynch, J. Harvey, 385

—M—
"Mammoth Creek," 316
Mansur, Charles H., 263
Marble, Commissioner E. M., 462
Marland, Earnest Whitworth, 40–72, 202–204
"Marland Mansion and Estate, The E. W.," Denise Browning, 40–72
McGillivray, Alexander, 299, 302–303
McGuire, Congressman Bird S., 384
McIntosh, Cub, 290
McIntosh, Chilly, 303
McIntosh, Roley, 308
McKellop, Albert P., 290
Mackenzie, Alexander, 171
McLaird, James, book review, 109–111
McMan: The Lives of Robert M. McFarlin and Hames A. Chapman, The, Carl N. Tyson, James H. Thomas and Odie Faulk, reviewed, 222
McMaster's Oklahoma Magazine, 6
Meacham, Andres B., 458
Megehee, Mark K., "Creek Nativism Since 1865," 282–297
Meredith, Howard L., book review, 223, 483–484
Meredith, Mary Ellen, book review, 224
Metcalf, C. Earle, book review, 98, 482
Methodists, 284
Mexican Revolution, 1910, 147
Michaux, Andre, 174
Mid-Continent Oil and Gas Association, 448
Miles, Brigadier General Nelson A., 450, 453
Miller, David H., book review, 218
Miller, David Harry and Jerome Steffen, eds., *The Frontier: Comparative Studies*, reviewed, 484–485
Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railway, 167, 393–395, 397, 400–402, 404, 406–408
Mondale, Walter F., Senator, 408
Mooner, James, 334
Morgan, Anne Hodges, and H. Wayne Morgan, Oklahoma, *A Bicentennial History*, reviewed, 483–484
Morgan, H. Wayne and Anne Hodges Morgan, *Oklahoma, A Bicentennial History*, reviewed, 483–484
Morgan, James F., book review, 111–112
Moses, L. G., "James Mooney and the Peyote Controversy," 127–144
Moulton, Gary E., book review, 224
Moravian Church, 164
Mormons, 146
Munsies, 162
Murray, William H., 391
Muskogee, Indian Territory, 255

—N—
National American Woman Suffrage Association, 379, 380–381
National Civil Liberties Bureau, 425–426
National Council, 282, 290
National Defense Act, 414
National Guard, 203
National Indian Defense Association, 261
Native American Church, 138, 140
Nave Papers, 78
Neutral Lands, 162
New Annual Members, 491
Nez Perce War, 450
Nez Perces: Tribesmen of the Columbia Plateau, The, Francis Haines, reviewed, 359–361
No Man's Land, 316–317
Norman Transcript, 325
Northwestern District, 393–394, 396–397, 400–401, 406, 408
Norwell, Mrs. Ida Wood, 379
Notes and Documents, 96, 208, 344, 472
Nuttall, Thomas, 186
Nuyaka, 296, 389
Nuyaka Square, 284

—O—
Oakland Reserve, 457, 464, 469, 470
Ocampo, 152
Oil in Oklahoma, Robert Gregory, reviewed, 482–483
Oil Workers Union, 428
Okchiye Town, 287
Oklahoma, A Bicentennial History, H. Wayne Morgan and Anne Hodges Morgan, reviewed, 483–484
Oklahoma Books, 114, 235, 365
Oklahoma Historical Association, 322
Oklahoma Historical Literature: "Mug" histories, 3; general history, 3–4; bibliographies, 5; periodical litera-

ture, 5–6; tribal publications, 7–8; special sources and guides, 8; theses and dissertations, 8; manuscript collections, 8; geography and environment, 9; prehistory, 9; Indian heritage, 10, 12–16, 20–21; colonial empires, 10; Spanish administration, 10; French period, 10; French trader, 11; expeditions, 11; trappers and traders, 11; waterways, 12; slavery, 16; ante-bellum, 16; federal government, 17; military frontier, 17–18; Civil War in Indian Territory, 19; lawlessness, 20; economics, 22–23; mining development, 22; post-Civil War industries, 23; ranching, 23, 32; territory growth, 24; politics 25, 28–31; Klan activities, 29; oil industry, 32; interpretive works, 32; fine arts, 32; literature sources, 32
Oklahoma Historical Society, 443
Oklahoma Welfare Act, 294
Oklahoma Innovator: The Life of Virgil Browne, Mathew Paul Bonnifield, reviewed, 363–364
"Oklahoma Pioneers in Mexico: The Chamal Colony," John J. Winberry, 145–157
Oklahoma State Council of Defense, 410, 414, 416, 425, 430
Oklahoma State Geological Survey, 323
Oklahoma State Highway Commission, 206
Oklahoma Municipal League, 205
Oklahoma Territory, 385
Oklahoma Territory (business), 85–95
Oklahoma Treasures and Treasure Tales, Steve Wilson, reviewed, 98
Oklahoma Wheat Commission, 402
Oklahoma Woman Suffrage Association, 379, 384
Okmulgee Constitution, 251
Okmulgee Council, 248
Oktarharsars Harjo (Sands), 283
"On the White Man's Road: Lawrie Tatum and the Formative Years of the Kiowa Agency, 1869–1873," T. Ashley Zwink, 431
"Opening of Oklahoma: A Businessman's Frontier," The, Norman L. Crockett, 85–95
Opothleyaholo, 282, 286, 296–297, 312
Ord, George, 178–179
Osborne, Alan, "The Exile of the Nez Percé in Indian Territory, 1878–1885, 450
Oteo Indian Agency, 142
Owen, Robert L., 144, 380, 381, 383–384

—P—

Panama Canal Treaties, 265
Panama Independence Day, 260
Panhandle, 401
Parker, Arthur C., 142
Parker, Bonnie, 201
Parker, Linda S., book review, 222
Park Hill, 163, 472
Parks, Mrs. Jessie Livingston, 379
Parman, Frank, book review, 356–358
Payne, John Barton, 143
Peale, Charles Willson, 178
Peale Museum, 178
Peale, Titian Ramsay, 187–189, 191–192
Pedro Migual Locks, 268
Penateka Band, 435
Pennington, Bill (William D.), book review, 105–106
Pennington, William D., "Life and Labor on the Panama Canal: An Oklahoman's Personal Account," 265–281
Perryman, J. M., 286
Perryman, Principal Chief L. C., 287
Peterson, Susan, book review, 220
Phillips, H. C., 130
Pike Expedition, 180, 186, 193
Pike's Peak, 191
Pike, Zebulon, 182
Pitchlynn, Peter, 249, 251
The Plains Apache, John Upton Terrell, reviewed, 113
Platt National Park: Environment and Ecology, Ballard M. Barker and William Carl Jameson, reviewed, 227
Poinsett, Joel, 147
Porter, Pleasant, 252–253, 261–263, 290–292
Ponca Agency, 466
Porter, Secretary of War James Mason, 475–476
Prairie People: Continuity and Change in

Potawatomi Indian Culture, 1665–1965, The, James A. Clifton, reviewed, 226
Pratt, Richard Henry, 135
Prentiss, Julia Bent, 137, 139, 142
Presbyterian Board, 251
Presbyterian Church, 164
Prucha, Francis Paul, "The Board of Indian Commissioners and the Delegates of the Five Tribes," 247–264
Pursh, Frederick, 179

—Q—

Quapaws, 162
Quapaw Agency, 452–453
Quapaw Reserve, 456

—R—

Rafinesque, Constantine Samuel, 178–179
Rainey, Buck and Charles W. Harris, *The Cowboy: Six-Shooters, Songs, and Sex*, reviewed, 109
Rampp, Donald L. and Larry C. Rampp, *The Civil War in the Indian Territory*, reviewed, 229–230
Ranch Life in the Far West, Theodore Roosevelt and Frederick Remington, reviewed, 100–101
Ranch Schoolteacher, Eulalia "Sister" Bourne, reviewed, 104–105
Rathjen, Frederick W., book review, 226
Reconstruction Treaty, 282
Red Cross, 415
Red Over Black: Black Slavery Among the Cherokee Indians, R. Halliburton, Jr., reviewed, 217
Red River, 181
Red Rock, Oklahoma, 142
Reeves, Donald W., book review, 107
Remington, Frederick and Theodore Roosevelt, *Ranch Life in the Far West*, reviewed, 100–101
Reps, John W., *Cities on Stone: Nineteenth Century Lithograph Images of the Urban West*, reviewed, 224
Rhetoric of History, The, Savoie Lottinville, reviewed, 108
Rister, Carl Coke, 443, 446
Roberson, Glen, book review, 103–104
Roberts, Joe Donald, "Ten-Barrel 'Whodunit' at Red Fork," 442
Robison, William, 286
Rohrs, Richard C., book review, 108
Roosevelt, Theodore and Frederick Remington, *Ranch Life in the Far West*, reviewed, 100–101
Rose, D. S., 385–386
Ross, Principal Chief John, 158–159, 161–164
Ross, Lewis, 473
Ross, William P., 161, 251–252
Royal Hotel, 384
Royal Society of England, 174
Royce, Sarah, *A Frontier Lady: Recollections of the Gold Rush and Early California*, reviewed, 219
Rural Oklahoma, Donald E. Green, ed., reviewed, 358–360
Rural Railroad Assistance Act, 408
Rural Transportation Act of 1972, 408
Russell, Carl P., Firearms, Traps, & Tools of the Mountain Men, reviewed, 107

—S—

Sanborn, Brevet Major General John B., 165
Sandoz, Mari, *The Beaver Men*, reviewed, 351–352
Satanta, 345, 440
Satcher, Buford, book review, 229–230
Satz, Ronald N., *American Indian Policy in the Jacksonian Era*, reviewed, 223
Savage, William W., Jr., *Indian Life: Transforming An American Myth*, reviewed, 355–356
Say, Thomas, 178, 187–188, 191
Sells, Cato, 144
Seminoles, 247
Settle, Dr. W. A. (William), 449
Settle, Jr., William A., *The Dawning: A New Day for the Southwest*; *A History of the Tulsa District, Corps of Engineers, 1939–1971*, reviewed, 97
Seymour, Samuel, 187, 191
Society of American Indians, 128, 135, 139
Solving "The Indian Problem": The White Man's Burdensome Business, Murray L. Wax and Robert W. Buchanan, reviewed, 105–106
Southern Indian District, 432

Scott, Raymond A., book review, 350–351
Shawnees, 162
Shirley, Glenn, *Last of the Real Badmen: Henry Starr*, reviewed, 112–113
Sibley, Dr. John, 181
Skaggs, Jimmy M. and Seymour V. Connor, *Broadcloth and Britches: The Santa Fe Trade*, reviewed, 348
"Snake" Rebellion, 291
"Snakes," 290, 293
Sniffen, Matthew K., 133
Society of Friends, 431
"Socioeconomic Reconstruction in the Cherokee Nation, 1865–1870," Sue Hammond, 158–170
"Special Collections Department at Northeastern Oklahoma State University," Helen Wheat and Brad Agnew, 73–84
Swenson Saga and the SMS Ranches, The, Mary Whatley Clarke, reviewed, 225
Swierenga, Robert P. *Beyond the Civil War Synthesis: Political Essays of the Civil War Era*, reviewed, 111–112
Smallwood, James, book review, 363–364
Smiley, Albert K., 128
Smith, Del, *Bedrock: Images from the Wayside*, reviewed, 230–231
Smith, Michael M., book review, 228–229
Smith, Robert E., book review, 359–361
Smithsonian Institution, 127, 138
Spanish Dragoons, 185
Sparks, Captain Thomas, 181
Spence, Vernon Gladden, *Judge Legett of Abilene: A Texas Frontier Profile*, reviewed, 233–234
"Special Collections Department at Northeastern Oklahoma State University," Helen Wheat and Brad Agnew, 73–84
Spiechee, 285
Spiro Mounds, The, Mary Ann Holmes and Marsha Hill, reviewed, 481–482
Spivey, Towana, *Archaeological Investigations Along the Waurika Pipeline, Comanche, Cotton, Jefferson, and Stephens Counties, Oklahoma, Contributions of the Museum of the Great Plains Number 5*, reviewed, 218
Springer Ranch, 351
Springplace, 341
Starr, Emmet, 73
State Bureau of Criminal Identification and Investigation, 199
Steffen, Jerome and David Harry Miller, *The Frontier: Comparative Studies*, reviewed, 484–485
Stephens, Mrs. Adelia C., 379
Stinchecum, T. V., 138–139, 142
Stout, Joseph A., *Convention Articles of Will Rogers*, reviewed, 362–363
Stuart, John, 333
Stumbling Bear, 345
Sturm's Oklahoma Magazine, 6
Sue A. Bland Number One, 443, 446–447, 449
Suffrage convention committee, 384–385
Supreme Court, Creek, 282
Szasz, Margaret, *Education and the American Indian: The Road to Self-Determination 1928–1973*, reviewed, 478

—T—

Tarahumara: An Indian Tribe of Northern Mexico, The, Wendell, C. Bennett and Robert M. Zingg, reviewed, 228
"Tar and Feather Patriotism: The Suppression of Dissent in Oklahoma During World War I," James H. Fowler, II, 409
Tallent, Annie D., *The Black Hills: Or, The Last Hunting Ground of the Dakotahs*, reviewed, 109–111
Tamaulipas, 146–147
Tampico, 148
Taylor, Mrs. M., 379
"Ten-Barrel 'Whodunit' at Red Fork," Joe Donald Roberts, 442
Terrell, John Upton, *The Plains Apache*, reviewed, 113
Territorial Legislature, 322
Then Came Oil, 442
Thlopthlocco, 294
Thomas, James H., book review, 109
Thomas, James H., *The McMan: The Lives of Robert M. McFarlin and Hames A. Chapman*, reviewed, 222
Thomas, Phillip Drennen, "The United

States Army as the Early Patron of Naturalists in the Trans-Mississippi West, 1803–1820," 171–193
Thurman, Melvena Kay, book review, 104–105
Tobacco factories, 168
Torrey, John, 192
Trafzer, Cliff, book review, 100–101
Trans-Mississippi West, 171
Trapp, Governor M. E., 195
Treaty of 1866, 159, 162, 164, 168–169
Treaty of Holston, 339
Truth About Geronimo, The, Britton Davis, reviewed, 220
Tulsa County Council of Defense, 418–419, 428
Turner, Frederick Jackson, 127
Tuttle, John F., 315
"Tuttle Trail," Berenice Lloyd Jackson and Max Blau, 315–321
Twin Territory Federation of Labor, 384
Twin Territories Magazine, 6
Tyson, Carl N., book review, 482–483
Tyson, Carl N., *The McMan: The Lives of Robert McFarlin and Hames A. Chapman*, reviewed, 222

—U—

Union Pacific Railway, 167
United States Army, 171
"United States Army as the Early Patron of Naturalists in the Trans-Mississippi West, 1803–1820," Phillip Drennen Thomas, 171–193
Upper Creeks, 296
Urschel, Charles, 200
Utley, Robert M., *Frontier Regulars: The United States Army and the Indian, 1866–1890*, reviewed, 103–104

—V—

Vann, James, 162, 341
Van Vleet Highway, 322
Villista forces, 154

—W—

Walcott, Charles D., 138
Wallowa Valley, 471
Wagoner Record, 291
War Department, 452
War of 1812, 186
Watie, Stand, 160
Wax, Murray L. and Robert W. Buchanan, *Solving "The Indian Problem": The White Man's Burdensome Business*, reviewed, 105–106
Webbers Falls, 161
Weems, John Edward, *Death Song: The Last of the Indian Wars*, 98–99
Western History Collection, 442
Wessel, Thomas R., ed., *Agriculture in the Great Plains, 1876–1936*, reviewed, 349
"Whales's Rifle, The," Brad Agnew, 472
"What Is the Future for Railroad Branch Lines in Rural Areas?" Donovan L. Hofsommer, 393
Wheat, Helen and Brad Agnew, "Special Collections Department at Northeastern Oklahoma State University," 73–84
When Farmers Voted Red: The Gospel of Socialism in the Oklahoma Countryside, 1910–1924, Garin Burbank, reviewed, 353–355
White, Paul J., 323
Whiteman, Ponca Agent William H., 457, 463, 466–467
Whittlesey, Eliphalet, 260
Wichita Falls & Northwestern Railway, 393
Wick, J. S., 442–447
Wilkinson, Brigadier General James, 182
Wilkinson, First Lieutenant James B., 183
Williams, Joe, *Bartlesville: Remembrances of Times Past, Reflections of Today*, reviewed, 325
Williams, Nudie E., book review, 361–362
Wilms, Douglas C., "Cherokee Acculturation and Changing Land Use Practices," 331–343
Wilson, Alexander, 178–179, 183
Williams, Governor Robert, 414
Wilson, Michael S., book review, 230–231
Wilson, Raymond, book review, 206–207

Wilson, Steve, *Oklahoma Treasures and Treasure Tales*, reviewed, 98
Wilson, T. Paul, book review, 101–103, 480–481
Wilson, President Woodrow, 409
Winberry, John J., "Oklahoma Pioneers in Mexico: The Chamal Colony," 145–157
Woman's Suffrage Issue in the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention, The, Louise Boyd James, 379–392
Woods, Dr. Frances, 379, 380
Working Class Union, 413, 426
Wyeth, Nathaniel Jarvis, 186

—Y—

Yellow Bull, 455–456, 458, 464–466, 469

—Z—

Zingg, Robert M., *The Tarahumara: An Indian Tribe of Northern Mexico*, reviewed, 228
Zwink, T. Ashley, "On the White Man's Road: Lawrie Tatum and the Formative Years of the Kiowa Agency," 1869–1873, 431

THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Oklahoma Historical Society was organized by a group of Oklahoma Territory newspaper men interested in the history of Oklahoma who assembled in Kingfisher, May 27, 1893.

The major objective of the Society involves the promotion of interest and research in Oklahoma history, the collection and preservation of the State's historical records, pictures, and relics. The Society also seeks the co-operation of all citizens of Oklahoma in gathering these materials.

The Chronicles of Oklahoma, published quarterly by the Society in spring, summer, autumn, and winter, is distributed free to its members. Each issue contains scholarly articles as well as those of popular interest, together with book reviews, historical notes, and bibliographies. Such contributions will be considered for publication by the Editor and the Publications Committee.

Membership in the Oklahoma Historical Society is open to everyone interested. The quarterly is designed for college and university professors, for those engaged in research in Oklahoma and Indian history, for high school history teachers, for others interested in the State's history and for librarians. The annual dues are $5.00 and include a subscription to *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*. Life membership is $100.00. Regular subscription to *The Chronicles* is $6.00 annually; single copies of the magazine $1.50 unless otherwise stipulated by the Historical Society office. All dues and correspondence relating thereto should be sent direct to the Executive Director, Oklahoma Historical Society Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

EDITORIAL POLICY—"The Chronicles of Oklahoma shall . . . pursue an editorial policy of publication of worthy and scholarly manuscripts dealing with all aspects of Oklahoma or regional history. It shall not interest itself in the publication of manuscripts of a political or controversial nature." (Constitution Oklahoma Historical Society) Manuscripts submitted for consideration for publication should be typed on bond paper and double spaced. Footnotes should conform to *A Manual of Style* (The University of Chicago Press, 1975), be double spaced and be placed at the end of the manuscript. Appropriate photographs should be supplied with submitted manuscripts and will be returned upon author's request. The Publication Department reserves the right to make any editorial changes it deems necessary for the sake of clarity and conformity to its adopted style. No responsibility is assumed for unsolicited manuscripts, and such material will be returned to the author only if accompanied by postpaid envelope. All inquiries should be addressed to: Publication Department, Oklahoma Historical Society, Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, 73105. Telephone 405–521–2491 extension 34.

CONSTITUTION OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Article I, Section 2—The purposes for which the Oklahoma Historical Society is organized and conducted are to preserve and to perpetuate the history of Oklahoma and its people; to stimulate popular interest in historical study and research; and to promote and to disseminate historical knowledge. To further these ends and, as the trustee of the State of Oklahoma, it shall maintain a library and museum in which it shall collect, arrange, catalog, index and preserve books, pamphlets, newspapers, magazines, manuscripts, letters, diaries, journals, records, maps, charts, documents, photographs, engravings, etchings, pictures, portraits, busts, statuary and other objects of art and all other appropriate museum material with special regard to the history of Oklahoma. It shall perpetuate knowledge of the lives and deeds of the explorers and pioneers of this region; it shall collect and preserve the arts and crafts of the pioneering period, the legends, traditions, histories and cultural standards of the Indian tribes; it shall maintain a collection of the handiwork of the same, and an archaeological collection illustrating the life, customs and culture of the prehistoric peoples. It shall disseminate the knowledge thus gained by investigation and research through the medium of printed reports, bulletins, lectures, exhibits or other suitable means or methods. It shall discharge all other duties and responsibilities placed upon it by the Legislature of the State of Oklahoma.

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA
3 1262 09586 8674